THE TRIAL
OF
DRAGOLJUB-DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

STENOGRAPHIC RECORD AND DOCUMENTS FROM THE TRIAL OF DRAGOLJUB-DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

BELGRADE 1946

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PUBLISHED BY THE UNION OF THE JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATIONS
OF THE
FEDERATIVE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

THIS RECORD OF STENOGRAPHIC MINUTES TAKEN AT THE TRIAL OF THE TRAITORS AND WAR CRIMINALS LED BY DRAGOLJUB-DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ, CONTAINS ONLY THOSE PARTS OF THE INDICTMENT, THE EXAMINATION, EVIDENCE AND OTHER MATTER WHICH RELATE DIRECTLY TO .THE TRAITOR MIHAILOVIĆ.

INTRODUCTION

On June 10, 1946, before the Military Council of the Supreme Court of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia began the trial of 24 traitors and war criminals, including the leading criminal Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović.

The trial took place in the Summer Hall of the Infantry Training School at Topčider, and lasted till July 15, when sentence was passed. It was attended every day by hundreds of men and women from Belgrade and other parts of the country. A total of about 30.000 persons attended this trial.

The accused were tried before the Military Council of the Supreme Court of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, composed of the President, Colonel Mihailo Đorđević and the members of the Council, Lieutenant-Colonel Milija Laković and Lieutenant Mihailo Janković; the secretary was Lieutenant Todor Popadić and the assistant judges, Major Nikola Stanković and Major Radomir Ilić.

The prosecution was represented by the Deputy Military Prosecutor of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel Miloš Minić, with his assistant Captain Miloš Jovanović.

The accused were Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, Dr. Stevan Moljević, Dr. Mladen Žujović, Dr. Živko Topalović, Đuro Vilović, Radoslav-Rade Radić, Slavoljub Vranješević, Miloš Glišić, Slobodan Jovanović, Božidar Purić, Dr. Momčilo Ninčić, Petar Živković, Radoje Knežević, Dr. Milan Gavrilović, Živan Knežević, Konstantin Fotić, Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, Tanasije-Tasa Dinić, Velibor Jonić, Đura Dokić, Kosta Mušicki, Boško Pavlović, Dr. Lazar-Laza Marković and Dr. Kosta Kumanudi. The following were tried in their absence: Slobodan Jovanović and Božidar Purić, premiers of the emigrant government, Petar Živković, Dr. Momčilo Ninčić and Dr. Milan Gavrilović, ministers of the emigrant government, Radoje Knežević, minister of

the court in emigration, Konstantin Fotić ambassador of the emigrant government to the USA, Major Živan Knežević, director of the military chancellery of the presidium of the emigrant government, Dr. Živko Topalović and Dr. Mladen Žujović, political leaders of the Ravna Gora Četnik organization, who had fled abroad.

All the accused were represented by counsel, as follows: Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, by the barristers Nikola Đonović and Dragić Joksimović; Đuro Vilović, by Dr. Milan Omčikus, barrister; Dragoljub-Dragi Jovanović, by Slavko Dukanac, barrister; Tanasije Dinić, by Dr. Bogoljub Jovanović, barrister; Velibor Jonić, by Milan Živadinović, barrister; Đuro Dokić, by Dragoljub Joksimović, barrister; Dr. Lazar Marković, by Aleksandar Nikolić, barrister; Dr. Kosta Kumanudi, by Dr. Friedrich Pops, barrister, all of which were chosen by the accused themselves. The other accused were defended by counsel chosen by the Court: Radoslav Radić, by Lazar Vučetić, barrister; Slavoljub Vranješević and Miloš Glišić, by Blažo Radović, barrister; Kosta Mušicki, by Đorđe Ćirić, barrister; Boško Pavlović, Radoje Knežević, and Dr. Milan Gavrilović by Slobodan Subotić, barrister; Dr. Mladen Žujović and Dr. Živko Topalović, by Nikola Radovanović, barrister, Slobodan Jovanović, by Miloš Terzić, barrister; Božidar Purić and Petar Živković, by Pavle Miljaković, barrister; Dr. Momčilo Ninčić, by David Alkalaj, barrister, and Živan Knežević and Konstantin Fotić, by Dragutin Tasić, barrister.

The trial of the traitors and war criminals in Topčider was attended by more then 100 journalists of whom about 60 were from abroad, representatives of all big world papers and agencies. Special correspondents were sent by the agencies TASS, ČTK, PAP, Reuter, Associated Press, Agence France Presse, United Press, Overseas News Agency, International News Service, the Jewish News Agency, Tele-Press, the Albanian Telegraph Agency and the newspapers: Pravda, Izvestia, London Times, Daily Worker, New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, News Chronicle, Daily Express and others. In order to facilitate speedy communication for the foreign journalists, who had come from the USSR, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, China, Hungary, Roumania, Denmark and other countries, a special office for telegraph and telephone service was established at Topčider.

The entire proceedings of the trial were translated into Russian, French and English, so that the foreign correspondents were enabled to follow directly every word of the Court and the accused. In this way the correspondents were able to send to their agencies

and editors their reports on statements and facts which had been heard in Court a few minutes previously.

Special correspondents of the papers of all the People's Republics of Yugoslavia were also present.

The Belgrade Radio Station transmitted the whole course of the proceedings, so that the entire country and the world public could listen to every word pronounced at this stupendous trial.

Many hundreds of thousands of persons throughout Yugoslavia listened with the greatest attention to the transmission of the Topčider trial, in workshops, institutions, houses and squares, in all towns and villages.

INDICTMENT

THE ACCUSED AND THEIR DEEDS

The Deputy Military Prosecutor of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel Miloš Minić, after the trial was declared open, read the following indictment:

Military Prosecution of the Yugoslav Army, № 711/46, May 31st 1946, Belgrade, — to the Supreme Court of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia — Military Council, Belgrade.

On the basis of Art. 46 of the Law concerning the organization of the People's Courts and Art. 14, item 2, of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the People and the State, and in accordance with Art. 7 and Art. 19 of the Law concerning the Organization and Competence of the Military Courts of the Yugoslav Army, I submit to this Court the indictment of the following persons:

1. **Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović,** born April 27, 1893, at Ivanjica, son of Mihailo and Smiljana, maiden name Petrović, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, married, father of two children, before the war colonel of the former Yugoslav Army, during the occupation promoted to the rank of army general, was minister of war in the emigrant government and chief of staff of the Supreme HQ of the so-called Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland — now in prison.

2. **Dr. Stevan Moljević,** born January 6, 1888, at Rudo, son of Jovan and Mitra, maiden name Babić, married, father of two children, obtained his degree in law in Zagreb, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war lawyer in Banja Luka, during the occupation member of the General Staff of D. M. (Abr. for Draža Mihailović — Translator's note) — now abroad.

3. **Mladen Žujović,** born January 5, 1895 in Belgrade, son of Jevrem and Danica, before the war an assistant lawyer in Belgrade, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, absent — now abroad.

4. **Dr. Živko Topalović,** born March 21, 1886 at Užice, son of Periša and Mihava, married, lawyer in Belgrade, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, absent — now abroad.

5. **Đuro Vilović,** born December 11, 1889 at Brela, son of Đuro and Simone, maiden name Šašić, Croat, Yugoslav citizen, obtained his degree in philosophy and theology, by profession a writer and journalist, during the occupation member of the Central National Committee of D. M. organization and President of the Committee for Propaganda — now in prison.

6. **Radoslav-Rade Radić,** born in 1890 at Jašavka, Banjaluka District, son of Novak and Stoja, maiden name Spasojević, merchant, married, father of three children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, during the occupation Četnik commander in Bosnia and member of the Central National Committee of D. M. organization — now in prison.

7. **Slavoljub Vranješević,** born January 10, 1905 in the village of Kravica, Srebrnica District, son of Dušan and Danica, maiden name Kojić, former Yugoslav major, married, father of one child, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, last function commander of the D. M. organization in Western Bosnia — now in prison.

8. **Miloš Glišić,** born February 27, 1910 at Užička Požega, son of Stojadin and Stanka, maiden name Bogićević, captain of the former Yugoslav Army, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, married, father of two children, — now in prison.

9. **Slobodan Jovanović,** born November 21, 1869 in Belgrade, son of Vladimir and Jelena, bachelor, former professor of the Belgrade University, during the war and the occupation vice-premier and later prime minister of the royal Yugoslav emigrant government and deputy-minister of war, absent — now abroad.

10. **Dr. Božidar Purić,** born February 6, 1890 in Belgrade, son of Luka and Milica, married, former official of the ministry of foreign affairs, during the occupation prime minister of the royal Yugoslav emigrant government, absent — now abroad.

11. **Dr. Momčilo Ninčić,** born May 28, 1876 at Jagodina, son of Aron and Pole, married, father of two children, Yugoslav citizen, during the war and occupation minister of foreign affairs in the royal Yugoslav emigrant government, absent — now abroad.

12. **Petar Živković,** born January 23, 1879 at Negotin, son of Rako and Sava, bachelor, Serb, Yugoslav citizen. Before the war he was an army general and during the war and occupation member of the royal Yugoslav emigrant government, deputy supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army and at one time minister of war, absent — now abroad.

13. **Radoje Knežević,** born August 20, 1901 at Stragari, son of Lazar and Mileva, maiden name Veljković, married, father of two

children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war professor in Belgrade, during the occupation minister of the emigrant court, absent — now abroad.

14. **Dr. Milan Gavrilović,** born November 23, 1882 in Belgrade, son of Uroš and Agnjica, maiden name Vasić, married, father of two children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war councillor of legation in retirement and ambassador, during the occupation member of the royal Yugoslav emigrant government, absent — now abroad.

15. **Živan Knežević,** born June 15, 1906 at Vranje, son of Lazar and Mileva, maiden name Veljković, married, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war major of the Yugoslav Army and during



Colonel Mihailo Đorđević, president of the Council, and Lieutenant-Colonels Milija Laković (left) and Mihailo Janković (right), members.

the occupation secretary of the war cabinet of the royal Yugoslav emigrant government, and military attaché to Ambassador Fotić, absent — now abroad.

16. **Konstantin Fotić,** born February 17, 1891 at Šabac, married, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war deputy minister and plenipotentiary minister, and during the occupation ambassador of the Yugoslav government in Washington, absent — now abroad.

17. **Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović,** born July 27, 1903 at Požarevac, son of Ljubomir and Vilma, maiden name Draškoci, married, father of one child, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war chief of the Belgrade Police, and during the occupation held the same post, and was also Mayor of Belgrade, chief of the Serbian State Security Department and special commissioner for the town of Belgrade and the districts of Vračar and Gročan — now in prison.

18. **Tanasije-Tasa Dinić,** 55 years old, son of Đorđe and Paraskeva, maiden name Jovanović , born in Niš, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, married, no children, before the war retired infantry colonel of the former Yugoslav Army and ex-member of Parliament, during the occupation special commissioner for Personnel, assistant to the commissioner of the interior, minister of the interior and minister of social welfare — now in prison.

19. **Velibor Jonić,** born February 12, 1892 in the village of Krnjevo, Orašija District, son of Krsto and Sofija, maiden name Veljković, married, father of one child, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war professor of the Military Academy and journalist, during the war and occupation commissioner of the Ministry of Education and later minister of education in Nedić's government — now in prison.

20. **Đuro Dokić,** born at Užice in 1874, son of Lazar and Katarina, maiden name Lazarević, married, father of one child, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war reserve army general, and during the occupation minister of communication in Nedić's government from 3. X. 41 till the end — now in prison.

21. **Kosta Mušicki,** born April 7, 1897 at Slavonski Brod, son of Milan and Jelena, maiden name Mihailović, married, father of two children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, active colonel of engineers in the former Yugoslav Army, during the war commander of the Serbian Voluntary Corps and as such promoted to the rank of general — now in prison.

22. **Boško Pavlović,** born April 7, 1892 at Jajce, son of Vukašin and Katarina, maiden name Antras, married, father of two children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, before the war commander of the State Police Guards in Zagreb, during the occupation deputy commander of the Serbian State Guards and undersecretary of state in Nedić's government — now in prison.

23. **Dr. Lazar-Laza Marković,** born September 21, 1882, in Belgrade, son of Petar and Stana, maiden name Petrović, widower, father of one child, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, former minister in retirement — now in prison.

24. **Dr. Kosta Kumanudi,** born in 1874 in Belgrade, son of Dimitrije and Emina, maiden name Holcer, married, father of three children, Serb, Yugoslav citizen, former minister — now in prison, for committing the following criminal acts:

Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, for committing the following criminal acts:

IN THE PERIOD FROM JULY TO THE END OF NOVEMBER 1941:

1. Mihailović organized in occupied Yugoslavia a Četnik organization (which he called »the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland«) and as soon as the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia



Military prosecutor Colonel Miloš Minić reading the indictment; Captain Miloš Jovanović, assistant prosecutor (right)

against the invaders began, he entered into collaboration with the Germans and Italians and their servants and used his organization to suppress the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and to commit countless war crimes of all kinds.

2. In August 1941, Mihailović, although he had come to an agreement with representatives of the Valjevo Partisan Detachment that the Četniks and Partisans would not attack each other,

treacherously made a sudden attack on a platoon of the Valjevo Partisan Detachment in the village of Planinica (near Mionica). In this attack Mihailović personally commanded the Četniks, who killed two Partisans, wounded several and captured a few.

3. At the time of the outbreak of the people's uprising in Serbia, when the insurgents began liberating the towns, Mihailović secretly made contact with the traitor Milan Nedić. At Nedić's call, on August 29, 1941, the day of the formation of Nedić's Government — Mihailović sent a delegation to Belgrade consisting of Major Aleksandar Mišić and two high ranking officers, authorized to negotiate and conclude an agreement with Nedić about the joint struggle for the suppression of the people's uprising in Serbia. After the negotiations, which lasted from August 29 to September 5, 1941, Mihailović's Delegation concluded with Nedić the following agreement:

a) Nedić, that is Nedić's government, and Draža Mihailović shall collaborate in the struggle against the Partisans with the aim of annihilating them;

b) Nedić is immediately to extend financial help to Mihailović's organization so that Mihailović may pay salaries to the officers and non-commissioned officers and feed his army;

c) Nedić is immediately to appoint a liaison officer who will be constantly attached to Mihailović;

d) Nedić is to arrange with the Germans that Mihailović and his Četniks shall not be persecuted;

e) after the formation of the armed detachments of Nedić's government, Nedić and Mihailović shall make a joint plan of operation for the purging of Serbia of the Partisans.

On the basis of this concluded agreement Mihailović's Delegation received financial help from Nedić and immediately returned to Mihailović's Headquarters in Ravna Gora.

On the basis of this agreement and acting upon the orders of General Dankelmann who, on being informed by Nedić about the agreement concluded with Mihailović, approved of this agreement, the German units of occupation did not take any measures against Mihailović and his Četniks.

On the basis of this agreement, Pipan, Mihailović's liaison officer with Nedić, in the middle of September 1941, went to Mihailović's Headquarters together with the Deputy-Commander of Nedić's Government Lt. Colonel Marko Olujević, appointed by Nedić as liaison officer with Mihailović's Headquarters. Olujević carried with him Nedić's operational plan for the purging of Partisans from Serbia, in which the collaboration of Nedić's and Mihailović's detachments in

the purging operations was provided for — but Olujević fell into the hands of the Partisans with this plan in his possession.

In the greatest secrecy, having entered into collaboration with the quisling Nedić, Mihailović carried out preparations for the suppression of the liberation uprising in Serbia together with the invader and Nedić. But, in order to conceal his premeditated treason, he assured the Partisan representatives that his Četniks would never attack the Partisans and that he would enter into the struggle against the invader, but would do so at a time which he considered favourable. At the same time he organized the most active propaganda among the people to the effect that they should not rise in arms, that the uprising was premature, that »it is not yet time« for an armed fight against the invader, that the invader would annihilate the Serbian people by reprisals. By such propaganda, Mihailović wanted to intimidate and demoralize the popular masses who were rising in arms against the invader. By such propaganda, Mihailović, was already at that time helping the invaders who tried by all possible means to suppress the National Liberation uprising of the Serbian people.

4. Although in September 1941, the general liberation uprising embraced the whole of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Hercegovina and Lika, and the Partisan war spread more and more throughout Yugoslavia and some of Mihailović's detachments in Serbia began to join the Partisans in the fight against the German invaders, in spite of the fact that he had forbidden them to do so, yet even in such a situation, he continued in the greatest secrecy to prepare for a general attack against the Partisans and while working on this:

he took into his command a large number of Kosta Pećanac's commanders, who had openly entered the service of the Germans, as for example Budimir Cerski, Jovan Škava, Nikola Kalabić, Boža Javorac and others.

In September 1941 he issued orders to his commanders Miloš Glišić and Vučko Ignjatović to attack the Partisans in the liberated town of Požega and occupy it.

He permitted his officers Glišić and Ignjatović and their detachments at Požega to disarm the Partisan couriers and smaller Partisan groups, to stop trains running from Čačak to Užice with supplies of wheat to feed the population, and other transports of arms and ammunition which were being sent from Užice to the front for the fighters who were waging fierce battles against the Germans, to remove from a train the Commander of the First Šumadija Partisan Detachment Milan Blagojević, who was returning

ПРЕГЛЕД

...ог 1 које је одред ...учио. ...ковић водио са комунистима у ...
...ловиу и околини у времену од 4 до 10 нов...бра 1941 године.

...4 новембра ...ећ године у 11 час...ада сам се налазио на састанку ...ководног питања одбране ...ановца са командантом батаљона Рашић...ошао сам на телефон из Брањ...а од ...ког штаба пуковника Дра...вића којим је тада кратко наређено да одмах нападнем комунисте и да их разору...ам. Капетан Рајић командант ...ота и командант одреда који је тада стигао у ...ановац упознао ме Стојановић из с. ...ањи су да ја одем у Брањ...е и лично обавестим поручника Павловића да је његово наређење сада немогуће извршити јер ниј...е код војника отворено потребно ...ложење јер смо сви тих дана у ...ановцу упознали да упоставимо ...ередније ...ерске односе. Потпуковник Павловић одбио је све моје разлоге и наредио ...ам у ...ановцу поступимо одмах по издатом наређењу. По повратку у Милановац нашао сам капетана Рајића, Стојановића са одредом и остале официре /десетина/ извучене из Милановца у с. ...ушењу /Поповића кућа/ објаснили су ми да су тако уплашени да би се горе понашали за напад. Како нико од њих није хтео да се врати у Милановац ја сам одмах са пратиоцима продужио за Брањ...е и нашао ...амо 40 наших војника разбруканих /лоших делова штабе и одреда који се извукао/. У касарни одредом за борбу мој одред чекао је под командом и средином ...рсте Младења. На улазу у Милановац комунисте су покупили да мене и пратиоце разоружају што сам ја енергично одбио тражећи да ме одмах одведу њиховом команданту. Са Рашићем сам после кратког споразумевања успео у сваком делу ...ордије је одмах врлично разоружан војницима, сем похапшених трајаће пушке ...т су одвели капетана Стојановића и остали официри могли су се вратити у Милановац где сам их ја после пола сата и дошао. Капетан Рајић је у међувремену отишао у Брањ...е. Све ово коштало ме је мисли ...ећи да нећу комунисте напустити, који је од мене тражио Рајић као гаранцију.

...ећих сутрадан ...а Стојановићем донео сам одлуку да напустим комунисте но с тим да се ја привремено вратим Милановцу како бих одржао часову реч у коју су комунисте чврсто веровали.

Комунисте напустио одред нашао се у здравственом дому и Гимназији одред у Пожеги, Стојановићев одред са делом Симићевог одреда који је тада стигао из Ваљева био је у Кромановићевој башти и околним кућама а мој одред у касарни. Одлучили смо ујутро тако да мој одред нападне болницу с Стојановићев здравствени дом. Одмах сам потребне мере ...ређење и предао одред наредбу ...ићу наложено му пажљивије ...ућа да избегне крв...у ком сам ...ао већ одмах већи број комуниста /великоранка/ превезен у Ваљево.

Ноћу 7/7 новембра Рајић је са одредом ...ненадно опколио болницу напао комунисте и пушке 8 часова приморао их на предају држећи пушкомитраљезе док су комунисти били на првом спрату. Стварна борба била је мала кратка. Комунисти ...у се предали скоро сви /126 људи/. Приликом ове борбе погинуло је из мог одреда радов Милијан Голубовић. Заробљени комунисти спроведени су у Брањ...е исто вечере Стојановић је са одредом дошао здравственом дом чекало комунисте из напоља у страну с. Врбаве и заробио 10.

Пошто су наши одреди чврсто ...аколили Милановац чета је предала одреду мајора Савовића. Симићевић, Стојановић и мој одред добили су задатак ...а крену за Таково и даље за Брезну где ће се образовати нови ...ву ...азерву. 7 новембра 1941 год. у 17 час. заједнички Рајић предао ...ић је одред у с. Такову.

17 јун 1942 год.
Пожега

КОМАНДАНТ ПОРУЧНИК,

Фасцимил извештаја четничког команданта Звонимира Вучковића о нападу на партизане у Горњем Милановцу, новембар 1941.

Fascimile of the report of the Četnik commander, Zvonimir Vučković, on the attack against the Partisans at Gornji Milanovac, November, 1941.

from Užice to the front near Rudnik, and after cruel torture to kill him — and he did not undertake any measures against Glišić and Ignjatović.

He allowed the Četniks from around Kosjerić to attack lorries transporting 150.000 rounds of ammunition from the Užice ammunition factory to the fighters who, in fierce battles,

were checking the penetration of German forces from Obrenovac towards Valjevo through Posavina and Tamnava, in the first phase of the First Enemy Offensive, and to the fighters who were holding the blockade of Valjevo in sanguinary battles against the strong German garrison of that town.

Since he could not prevent the liberation uprising in Serbia, and fearing that he would remain completely alone and deserted by the whole people, on October 26, 1941 Mihailović concluded an agrement with the Commander of the National Liberation Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, Tito, regarding the joint struggle of the Četniks and Partisans against the invaders and their servants. But after concluding this agreement he continued to prepare secretly a general attack against the Partisans with the object of annihilating them, and thus making impossible any struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Shortly after arrival at his headquarters of Major Zaharije Ostojić and Mirko Lalatović from abroad sent by the emigrant government and the Supreme Command, and of the British Captain Hudson sent from Cairo, Mihailović issued an order on November 1, 1941, to the commanders of all his detachments to withdraw all their units from the fronts facing the Germans and to launch a general attack against the Partisans. Thus he violated the agreement made with Tito which he had signed five days earlier. Mihailović issued this order after having already carried out the necessary preparations for a general attack against the Partisans, and also in accordance with the message which Hudson conveyed to him from his (Hudson's) superiors and which read: »that Yugoslavs are to fight for Yugoslavia and not transform the fight into a rebellion of communists on behalf of Soviet Russia«.

In accordance with Mihailović's orders, all his detachments in Serbia withdrew from the front facing the Germans, thus leaving the road open to the German forces for their penetration into liberated territory, and launched a general attack against the Partisans, as follows.

On the night between November 1st and 2nd the Četniks, under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović, attacked at Užice the positions called Trešnjica (only a few kilometers from Užice), but after heavy fighting they were beaten and then after a counter-attack by the Partisans they were driven out of Požega.

On the night between November 1st and 2nd, Boža »Javorac« (who had placed himself under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović)

suddenly attacked Ivanjica, but after heavy fighting was routed and put to flight by the Partisans.

On November 6 the Četnik forces, who a few days earlier had withdrawn from the front near Valjevo, thus opening the way to the Germans into the liberated territory, made a sudden treacherous attack first on the Partisan tank unit and artillery, which consisted of tanks and guns seized from the Germans, destroying the tank and artillery crew, and then attacked Čačak from all sides, but after bitter fighting they were routed and withdrew in scattered groups towards Ravna Gora, closely pursued by the Partisans and deserted by an enormous number of their fighters;

The Četnik detachment of Captain Račić launched another attack on Užice, but on the Crnokos position it was quickly smashed, and fled in scattered groups towards Ravna Gora, deserted also by a large number of its fighters.

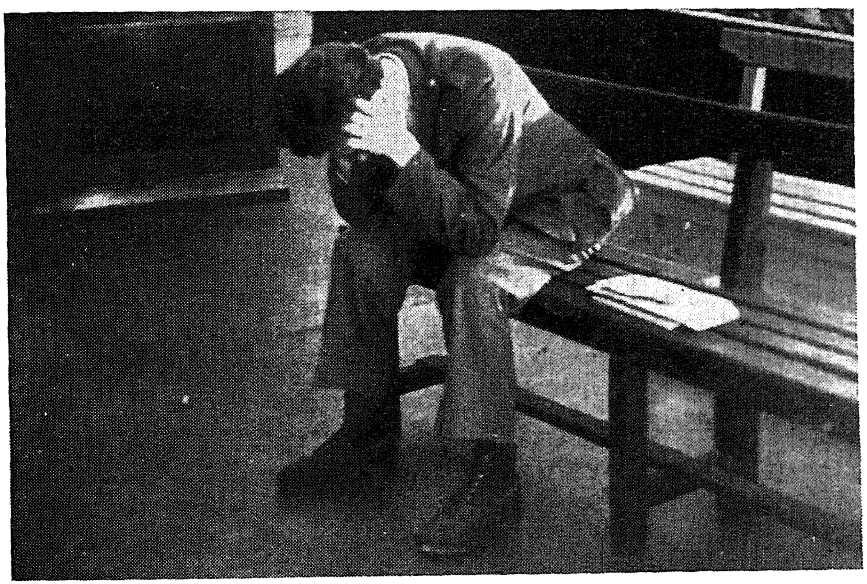
The Četnik detachment of Captain Neško Nedić and Lt. Voja Popović attacked the Kolubara Partisan battalion on the positions of Bačevci—Krčmar—Prijezdić—Zarubi—Ravni (near Valjevo). This battalion had been waging sanguinary battles for two monts in this position against the Germans who tried to penetrate with strong forces from Valjevo towards Užice into the liberated territory; these Četnik forces were also routed after several days fighting.

In all other parts of Serbia also, wherever there were Četnik detachments, the Četniks attacked the Partisan units, with the exception of the Četnik Detachment of Father Vlada Zečević and Lt. Martinović, who abandoned Mihailović and continued to fight together with the Partisans against the invader.

The general attack of Mihailović's Četniks on the Partisans was soon completely smashed. After the failure of the Četnik attack against the Partisans, Mihailović continued the fight against the Partisans, encouraged by the radio broadcasts of the Yugoslav emigrant government which, even during the general Četnik attack against the Partisans, announced that Mihailović was the only authorized representative of the King and the emigrant government in the occupied country and that all fighting forces should place themselves under his command. When the situation became serious for him, when the rapid deterioration of his detachments ensued, Mihailović, by the unanimous decision of his entire staff, went with his officers, Major Aleksandar Mišić, Colonel Branislav Pantić and Captain Nenad Mitrović, to the village of Divci (10 km. from Valjevo) and at an inn met representatives of the Germans: Chief of Staff of the German Military Commander for Serbia, the Gestapo officer Cap-

tain Dr. Matel and several other high-ranking German officers. The meeting was held in the greatest secrecy under the protection of German armoured cars and a large number of German soldiers. Through the British Intelligence Service Mihailović informed the emigrant government by radiogram of this meeting both before and after the meeting was held.

5. On the same night, between November 13 and 14, after this meeting with the Germans, by Mihailović's orders, his commander Jovan Škava handed over some 365 Partisans to the Germans in the village of Slovac (5 km. from Divci). These Partisans were captured by the Četniks by a ruse in the course of fighting on various fronts, and from Ravna Gora, where they were concentrated, they were transferred to the village of Mionica on November 13 and handed over to Jovan Škava. Several days later, after being handed over to the Ger-



Draža Mihailović on the prisoner's bench bows under the weight of his crimes as they are being proved in the court.

mans, all these Partisans were shot, with the exception of 30 of them who survived, after spending a long time in concentration camps.

6. Although on November 20, 1941, an agreement regarding a truce between the Partisans and the Četniks was concluded by Mihailović's authorized representatives and the representatives of the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia,

and although Mihailović bound himself by this agreement to continue the fight against the invader in collaboration with the Partisans, three days later, on November 23, 1941, when the second and main phase of the First Offensive of German invaders against the liberated territory had begun from Kraljevo—Kragujevac—Rudnik—Valjevo—Ljubovija in the direction of Užice, Mihailović, after having again broken the agreement concluded with the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Detachments, rejected the call of Tito to enter the fight against the German forces which were penetrating into the liberated territory, and issued an order to all his commanders that nowhere and under no conditions were they to enter the fight against the invader units which were attacking the liberated territory.

THE PERIOD FROM DECEMBER 1941 TO THE END OF NOVEMBER 1942.

7. After the end of the First Offensive of the German invaders, in the course of which superior German forces, with the help of Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments, succeeded in re-occupying the liberated territory in Serbia, and forced the bulk of the Partisan forces with the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia to withdraw towards Sandžak, a large number of Mihailović's commanders of detachments, after receiving instructions from Mihailović at a conference of commanders held at Ravna Gora on November 30, 1941, went each to his own terrain and, acting on instructions, »legalized« themselves with the invader. That is, they entered publicly and openly into the service of the Germans, and during the whole of 1942 participated together with the Germans and Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments in numerous battles against the Partisan detachments, which had remained in Serbia after the withdrawal of the bulk of the Partisan forces. These Mihailović's »legalized« detachments were armed, fed and clothed by the Germans, and were used under their command in the operations against the Partisans and also utilized as police forces, with the help of which tens of thousands of arrests were made of Serb patriots who helped the Partisans in the general people's uprising, and in addition to this, these detachments committed mass murders of Partisan sympathizers. Thus, the following Mihailović commanders with their detachments »legalized« themselves: Lt. Predrag Raković at Čačak, Glišić and Ignjatović at Požega, Pantelić at Loznica, Živan Lazović in the Belgrade District, Captain Borivoje Rajković and Captain Mladenović

at Kosjerić, Captain Mitić, Matić, Budimir Cerski, Jovan Škava, Mašan Đurović and others.

Although these Mihailović commanders and detachments by »legalizing« themselves with the invader, came under Nedić's command, they continued to recognize Mihailović's command and more or less secretly were in constant touch with him, receiving and executing his orders for the annihilation of the Partisans, submitting reports on their work to him and receiving from him approval of their actions.

Apart from the »legalized« detachments, Mihailović had several detachments in Serbia which did not openly place themselves under the command of Nedić and the Germans, but received arms and ammunition from the Germans more or less secretly and openly participated with the Germans, Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments and Mihailović's »legalized« detachments in fights against the Partisans. These detachments handed over captured Partisans and arrested sympathizers to the Germans, and together with the invader and his servants took part in the execution of numerous crimes against the civil population in Serbia. Thus, for instance, in the fights against the Partisans Mihailović's comanders Captain Neško Nedić and Lt. Voja Popović participated in fighting around Valjevo during the winter 1941/42. Mihailović was also constantly in touch with these detachments, he gave orders to them, received reports from them and approved their action.

It this period Mihailović established connections with a large number of Nedić's officers who commanded the armed detachments of Nedić's government, placed those officers under his command, and issued orders and instructions to them, received reports from them and approved their work, although they still remained under Nedić's command. Thus for instance Lt. Colonel Milan Kalabić and Captain Radovan Stojanović, who during the winter 1941/42 took part in the operation against the Valjevo group of Partisan detachments and in the Spring 1942 against the Požarevac Partisan detachments, placed themselves under Mihailović's command.

Thus all Mihailović's officers and detachments in Serbia in this period, acting upon his instructions and orders, openly entered the service of the invader in the struggle against the National Liberation Partisan Detachments and the National Liberation Movement in general, except a very small number of his officers who, together with him, in order not to get compromised as traitors, moved about, more or less secretly, under the protection of his »legalized« or »semi-legalized« units and Nedić's detachments, which had also placed themselves under his command.

Господине Министре.

Мој командант г.војвода Трифуновић-Бирчанин чије се здравље изненада погоршало до те мере,да се сваког часа може очекивати и најгоре,у немогућности да Вас обавести о једном важном догађају,који се одиграо у току 22 ов.месеца,наредио ми је да ја то учиним

Дозволите ми стога да одмах пређем на ствар

Командант овдашњег XVIII италијанског армиског корпуса генерал г.Спиго,по наређењу претпостављеног му команданте армије генерала г.Роате,после депеше коју је г.војвода послао генералу г.Роати /а чији Вам је препис већ достављен/,замолио је г. војводу да га посети,како би изгладили настале инциденте Војвода мада тешко болестан,прихвата тај позив и одлази на разговор у италијанску команду,без знања и одобрења лекара,чиме је нагло погоршао стање свог здравља.Командант је био донео чврсту одлуку,да им отворено и у лице каже све шта мисли,што је,како ћете видети из приложеног описа разговора,и учинио. Уздржао се ипак да прекине досадању колаборацију пре,него то Ви наредите,а да би добио у времену док добије Ваш одговор,он је привидно и привремено ликвидирао затегнуте односе.

Противно саветима лекара који су наредили апсолутан мир и изолованост,г.војвода је наредио да дођем,па ми је лежећи слабим гласом,тако да сам га једва разумео,рекао. "Обавестите Господина Министра о састанку и замолите га у моје име да ми објасни,дали да прекинем или продужим колаборацију

Достављам у прилогу опис разговора између г.војводе и генерала г.Спига,којем разговору сам имао част да присуствујем

Молим Вас,Господине Министре,да изволите примити изразе моје безграничне оданости

С ВЕРОМ У БОГА ЗА КРАЉА И ОТАЏБИНУ!

23 октобра 1942 године
С п л и т

генералштабни капетан I класе

Report of the Četnik general staff officer Ivanišević from Split on the cooperation of the Četnik commander Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin with the Italians.

8. In December 1941, Mihailović sent his officers Milivoje Nedeljković and Perhinek to Montenegro, with the task of establishing contact with the Četnik commanders in Montenegro and Sandžak, that is, with General Blažo Đukanović, Colonel Bajo Stanišić, Major Đorđe Lašić and Captain Pavle Đurišić, and to deliver to them his instructions for fighting against the Partisans. Towards the end of 1941, these Četnik commanders, organized their detachments with the full help of the Italian invaders, and together with them participated

in the fighting against the Partisans, receiving arms, food and pay from the Italians.

In Sandžak towards the end of 1941, Mihailović succeeded in placing Sandžak Četnik Detachments under his command. These, like the Četnik detachments in Montenegro, had openly entered the service of the Italians and taken part in the fights against the Partisans as early as November 1941.

In the winter of 1942, Mihailović, in his radiograms dispatched to the Četnik commanders in Montenegro and Sandžak, announced his approval of their action and gave them instructions to intensify the struggle against the Partisans and to use »discretion« with the Italians, i. e., to cooperate with the Italian invaders in the struggle against the Partisans.

9. In the autumn of 1941, Mihailović sent to Bosnia and Hercegovina his officers Major Boško Todorović, Lt. Mutimir Petković, Captain Sergije Mihailović, Lt. Momčilović and others, not counting Gendarmerie Major Jezdimir Dangić, whom he had already sent to Eeast Bosnia at the time of the uprising in Serbia.

Mihailović appointed Major Boško Todorović commander of East Bosnia and Hercegovina. Acting on Mihailović's instructions and orders, Major Boško Todorović entered into negotiations with the Italian invader in Hercegovina in December 1941 through Captain Mutimir Petković, the journallist Milan Šantić and Dobrosav Jevđević; and in January 1942 Boško Todorović, Dobrosav Jevđević and Mutimir Petković met with the OVRA (Organizzazione volantaria repressione antifascista) Captain Demateis, and concluded a written agreement concerning the collaboration of Mihailović's Četniks and Italian invaders in the struggle against the Partisans.

Acting upon Mihailović's instructions and orders, his officers in East Bosnia quickly succeeded in making an end to the cooperation between the Četniks and the Partisans in the struggle against the invader and the Ustašas, and when the German punitive expedition penetrated into East Bosnia in January 1942, Major Dangić ordered all his detachments to withdraw from the fronts, thus opening the way to the German punitive expedition and enabling it to penetrate quickly into East Bosnia and inflict unexpected heavy blows upon the Partisan Detachments; shortly after, he established contact with the Gestapo Captain Dr. Matel at Banja Koviljača, and immediately after the meeting with that Gestapo representative, left for Belgrade with the knowledge and approval of Mihailović, in order to ask help from Nedić and the Germans for the struggle against the Partisans in East Bosnia.

The local Četnik commanders in East Bosnia: Father Savo Božić, Cvjetin Todić and others who put themselves under the command of Mihailović's officer Captain Račić, who in December 1941, had crossed into East Bosnia, concluded agreements with the Ustaša authorities concerning collaboration, with the aim of annihilating the Partisans, and together with the Ustašas fought against the Partisan detachments in East Bosnia.

10. In the winter of 1942, Mihailović's officer Boško Todorović established contact through Radmilo Grđić, one of the leaders of the Hercegovina Četniks, with Ilija Trifunović, called Birčanin, who organized the Četnik Detachments in South West Bosnia and Lika in the closest collarobation with the Italian invaders, and who lived entirely legally with his staff and worked at Split protected by the Italian Carabinieri.

1.. At this time Mihailović sent his officer Major Novak to Slovenia. In close collaboration with the invaders and the quisling »White Guard«, he organized the Slovene Četniks known under the name of »Blue Guard«. Small in number, Mihailović's units in Slovenia, under the command of Major Novak, openly collarobated with the invaders and the Slovene quisling »White Guard«.

Having established contact in December 1941 and during the first months of 1942 with almost all the Četnik detachments in Serbia, Bosnia, Sandžak, Montenegro, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Lika and Slovenia, and after having put all these Četnik detachments under his command, although all of them openly collaborated with the German and the Italian invaders and quisling forces of Nedić, Ljotić, Pavelić and the Slovene »White Guard«, Mihailović, at the peak of the Third Offensive of the invader against the bulk of the Partisans forces in Montenegro and Sandžak, left Serbia, and in May 1942 arrived on Mount Zlatar in Sandžak, where he summoned the members of his Supreme Command Major Ostojić and Major Lalatović. On Zlatar he was met by his officer Petar Baćović with about 300 Četniks from East Bosnia.

Before his arrival on Zlatar, Major Ostojić, Chief of the operative, organization and intelligence department of Mihailović's Supreme Command, commanded all the Četnik forces which in the Third Offensive of the invaders, together with the Italians, the Germans, and the Ustašas, participated in the battles against the Partisan forces in Montenegro, Sandžak and East Bosnia. After his arrival on Zlatar, Mihailović took over the command of the Četnik forces, endeavouring to bring about the annihilation of the bulk of the Partisan forces. In the course of the operations Mihailović was only a few kilometres away from the sector of the front on the river Lim.

On this sector, the following Mihailović forces fought against the Partisans: the detachments of Vučko Ignjatović and Miloš Glišić from Serbia, of Petar Baćović from East Bosnia, parts of the detachment of Pavle Đurišić from one part of Montenegro and one part of Sandžak, »legalized« detachments of Captain Nikola Bojović, Vuk Kalaitović, »vojvoda« Irača and Rade Korda. Četnik detachments were helped in their operation by the artillery of the Italian units which were in Plevlje, Prijepolje, Bijelo Polje and Priboj, while the detachments of Glišić and Ignjatović were supplied with arms, ammunition, food and money by Nedić and the German invaders. At Mihailović's order all the detachments were placed under the command of Miloš Glišić, who was promoted commander of the Corps by Mihailović and commander of the Sandžak Četnik detachment by Nedić.

On the second sector of the front, on Mount Sinjajevina, Mihailović's detachments of Đorđe Lašić, Pavle Đurišić, Ivan Ružić and some Četnik forces from Serbia participated in this offensive. These forces of Mihailović were supplied with food, arms, ammunition, mortars and helped in their operations with artillery by the Italians.

On the third sector of the front in this offensive, Mihailović's detachments fought under the command of Bajo Stanišić, Jakov Jovović and Sima Mijušković (all of whom were under the command of General Đukanović, whose staff was with the Italian staff at Cetinje). On this sector of the front Mihailović's Četniks on both parts of the sector (Nikšić—Golija and Nikšić—Šavnik) were mixed with Italian forces and they received pay from the Italians amounting to 15 lire daily for each Četnik as well as special rewards in money or flour for every Partisan killed, and in addition to this, the Italians supplied them with arms, ammunition and food, and helped in operations with their artillery, and treated wounded Četniks in Italian hospitals.

All the Četnik detachments in the course of the Third Offensive were being transported from position to position on Italian lorries and the Četnik commanders travelled from town to town in Italian limousines.

In the middle of June 1942, pushing the Partisans towards Bosnia, the forces of Bajo Stanišić and the Italians met with the Četnik forces of Father Perišić from Hercegovina and with Italian forces from Gacko, and after the battle at Orlovac and at Gacko in July 1942, they succeeded in driving the bulk of the Partisan forces out of Montenegro.

In the middle of July 1942, Mihailović issued an order to Petar Baćović to attack Ćurevo (frontier of Bosnia and Sandžak) where the main Partisan hospital with a great number of wounded was situated. Baćović was instructed to do this with all the Četnik forces which he commanded, and they were supplied with Italian arms, ammunition and food. Following this order, Četnik detachments with superior forces attacked Ćurevo and after bitter fighting captured it. Thus Mihailović personally issued an order for operations against the Partisans. With this operation ended the Third Offensive of the invader and the Četniks, in the course of which the bulk of the Partisan forces, during heavy fighting against the overwhelmingly superior enemy, were forced to leave the liberated territory of Montenegro and Sandžak, where the Italian invaders reestablished their authority and gave Mihailović's Četniks full liberty of organization and action.

All the Četnik detachments which together with the Italians participated in the Third Offensive against the Partisans, collaborated with the Italian invaders in obedience to the instructions and orders of the accused Mihailović.

When towards the end of the Third Offensive the Četnik forces from the sector of the front on the Lim river broke through to the line Tara—Drina, there broke out betwen the Italians and the Četniks on the one side, and the Germans and the Ustašas on the other, a dispute as to who should hold Foča; in order that Foča might come under the Italian occupation zone, in which the Četniks enjoyed full assistance from the Italians, Mihailović ordered Pavle Đurišić to go to Cetinje and intervene with the Italians to insist that Foča come under the Italian zone of occupation and under the Četniks, and he ordered his officer Glišić to go to Belgrade and ask Nedić to persuade the Germans to cede Foča and order the Ustašas to withdraw from it.

Mihailović's officer Petar Baćović tried to take Foča by an attack against the Ustašas who were there and thus solve the dispute which had arisen. At the very beginning of the attack, however, Baćović received an order from the Commander of the Italian division »Pusteria« to retreat immediately from the line Vikoč—Hum; Baćović immediately executed this order and according to the order of the Italian commander of the division, released a certain number of captured Ustašas, after having taken written statements from them that they had been well treated and that all their arms had been returned to them; he later sent these statements to the commander of the „Pusteria" division and to Mihailović.

12. In the course of the final and fiercest battles in the Third offensive, Mihailović reached the vicinity of Šahovići in Montenegro,

and then went over to Mojkovac, and on June 10 arrived in the village Podgora under the mountain Durmitor in the vicinity of Žabljak where the Italian units were stationed.

On July 13, 1942, Mihailović went from the village Podgora to Zimonjića Kula (Avtovac) in Herzegovina and there held a meeting with the commanders and leaders of his detachments: Ilija Trifunović, called Birčanin, Petar Baćović, Dobrosav Jevđević, Pavle Đurišić, Father Perišić, Milorad Popović, Captain Ivanišević, Milan Šantić, and



Mihailović's commanders with the invader (from left to right): 1) Colonel Lučić, 2) Major Dangić, formerly of the Yugoslav Army, Četnik commander, cooperator with the Germans and Nedić men, 3) Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin, Mihailović's commander for Dalmatia, 4) Milorad Ljanovski, 5) Daka Tešanović, Četnik commander, and 6) Lieutenant Ignjatović. A German officer is shown by a cross.

Zaharije Ostojić. At this meeting Mihailović apointed Birčanin Commander of Dalmatia, Lika and West Bosnia and Captain Ivanišević Chief of Birčanin's staff, also, Petar Baćović commander of Hercegovina and East Bosnia, Pavle Đurišić commander of Montenegro up to Nikšić, Bajo Stanišić commander of Old Montenegro, and placed Đurišić and Stanišić under the command of General Blažo Đukanović, whom he had already appointed Commander of Montenegro. Mihailović knew that all these comanders of his had entered openly and pu-

blicly the service of the Italian invaders together with all the detachments which were under their command and that they had fought with the Italian invaders against the Partisans.

At the meeting Mihailović gave instructions to his commanders both regarding the organization of the further fight against the Partisans with the aim of annihilating them, and regarding coordination of their actions with the operations of the Italian invaders, ordering them, as he put it, to »exploit« the Italian invaders in the fight against the Partisans as much as possible.

On his return from Avtovac to Krš, Mihailović met Colonel Bajo Stanišić, whom he had appointed Commander of Old Montenegro, who already on March 6, 1942, concluded with »il colonello capo di stato maggiore signor Zeglioni,« a written agreement on collaboration with the object of annihilating the Partisans. On reaching Krš (about 14 km. from Žabljak), Mihailović settled down with his General Staff and radio stations not far from the village Njegobuđe (2 km. from Krš) where the Headquarters of the Italian division with units were situated. A short while after, he moved to the village of Gornje Lipovo (7 km. from Kolašin) where were the Italians and his Četniks; his Headquarters remained at this village all the time until his return to Serbia. At that time Hudson, now major of the British Army, sent a request to Mihailović to, as he put it, "meet with Captain Đurišić and Captain Stanišić and the other leaders who so successfully fought against the communists and liberated their country from them"... so that "it would be as beneficial as possible for your (i. e. Draža's — Prosecutor's note) organization"... and "in what way your cause could best be helped" (Mihailović's cause — Prosecutor's note).

At the end of the Third Offensive when the Partisans, after bitter fighting, left Sinjajevina, Mihailović began to receive through the emigrant Yugoslav government from abroad, assistance in arms, ammunition, clothing, food, as well as in gold and paper money in enormous quantities. He distributed all this material and money to the commanders of his detachments who were anyway abundantly supplied by the Italian invaders and who used the arms received from the Italian invaders, or obtained from abroad through the emigrant Yugoslav government, exclusively in the fighting against the Partisans in which they collaborated with the Italians.

13. On August 28, 1942, Mihailović ordered his commanders of East Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Lika and South West Bosnia to launch an attack on the liberated Partisan territory in West Bosnia. The plan for these operations was made by Petar Baćović and Ilija

Trifunović-Birčanin, with the assistance of Dobrosav Jevđević, (who from the beginning of 1942 till the capitulation of Italy, was the link between Mihailović and the commanders of the Italian occupation units and organizer of the collaboration between the Četniks and the Italians). After deciding upon a plan, Birčanin and Jevđević met with



Četniks handing over Mileta Okiljević, a Partisan whom they have taken prisoner, to the Germans in Montenegro.

the command of the Italian units in order to work out a joint plan for these operations; and together with the Italian officers they drew up a plan according to which the operation was to be carried out jointly by Četnik and Italian units. This plan was carried out only in October 1942. In these operations the forces of Mihailović's commanders Baćović, Trifunović, Father Đujić and others took part. The

units attacking from Hercegovina in the direction of Prozor—Bugojno, were commanded jointly by Četnik commanders and the Italian lieutenant Vidiak. In the course of the operations and at their termination Mihailović regularly received reports from Baćović, Jevđević and Birčanin and from these reports he knew of the collaboration of his units with the Italian invaders in the operations against the Partisans, and he gave his approval of such work of his commanders, since in doing so they were only carrying out his instructions.

14. In the spring of 1942, through his officer Captain Račić (who was on Mount Majevica with the Četnik commander Father Sava Božić), Mihailović placed under his command all the Četnik detachments in West Bosnia which were united under the command of Radoslav-Rade Radić. These Četnik detachments concluded written agreements with the Ustašas and Germans concerning the joint struggle against the Partisans, as early as the spring of 1942, and together with the Germans and Ustašas participated in the operations against the Partisan forces, receiving arms and ammunition from the Germans and Ustašas. Mihailović was informed of all this through Captain Račić, he approved of the action of Rade Radić and his commanders, and in August 1942 he sent one of his officers to Rade Radić's Headquarters, Major Slavoljub Vranješević. In February 1942, when this officer left the command of Nedić's Gendarmerie in Belgrade where he had been on duty up to that time, he placed himself at Mihailović's disposal and was appointed by Mihailović as Dangić's chief of staff and then as Botić's (Mihailović's commander in East Bosnia). Mihailović appointed Vranješević as chief of staff to Rade Radić and from that time he regularly received reports from Vranješević through couriers and by radiograms, and sent him orders for the operation against the Partisans, while fully aware of the fact that Vranješević and Rade Radić and all their subordinate commanders (Drenović, Tešanović, Mišić and others) had openly collaborated with the Germans and Ustašas at Banja Luka in all the operations against the Partisans.

15. With Mihailović's knowledge and approval his commander Pavle Đurišić met, in early November 1942, at Kolašin, the Italian Governor of Montenegro, Army General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli, who with several other Italian generals was visiting Montenegro so as to convince himself personally whether the Četniks were everywhere loyal to the Italian invaders. Đurišić organized a pompous reception for Pirzio Biroli and before a solemn gathering greeted him in a servile speech, and on November 7, 1942, informed Mihai-

lović about it in a letter enclosing the text of his speech. He also informed Mihailović by letter that Pirzio Biroli knew that Mihailović's Supreme Command was in the village of Gornje Lipovo and that Biroli had told him that the Italian units would hold manoeuvres around Kolašin, but that they would not go further than Donje Lipovo, and Đurišić therefore assured Mihailović that he should fear nothing, that there was no danger, that the Supreme Command could remain where it was, that all the radio stations could continue their work unhindered and that he — Đurišić — would be with the Italian units which would hold manoeuvres in the direction of Gornje Lipovo (where Mihailović and his Supreme Command were situated).

THE PERIOD FROM DECEMBER 1942 TO THE END OF 1943

16. Mihailović, as Commander in Chief, directed the operations of all Četnik units from Montenegro, Sandžak, Hercegovina, Bosnia, Dalmatia and Lika, which collaborated openly with the Italians, Germans and Ustašas in the Fourth Offensive of the invader against the forces of the Army of National Liberation, which lasted from January 15 till the middle of April 1943.

Hitler himself ordered the Fourth Offensive and also outlined the plan for the operations. By carrying out the Fourth Offensive, Hitler wanted to annihilate the forces of the National Army and in that way to consolidate Pavelić's Independent State of Croatia, and later on, after the annihilation of the National Liberation Army forces, to withdraw all the German divisions to the Eastern Front, to mobilize manpower in Croatia and send it to Germany, and also to create the possibility of sending Pavelić's troops to the Eastern Front.

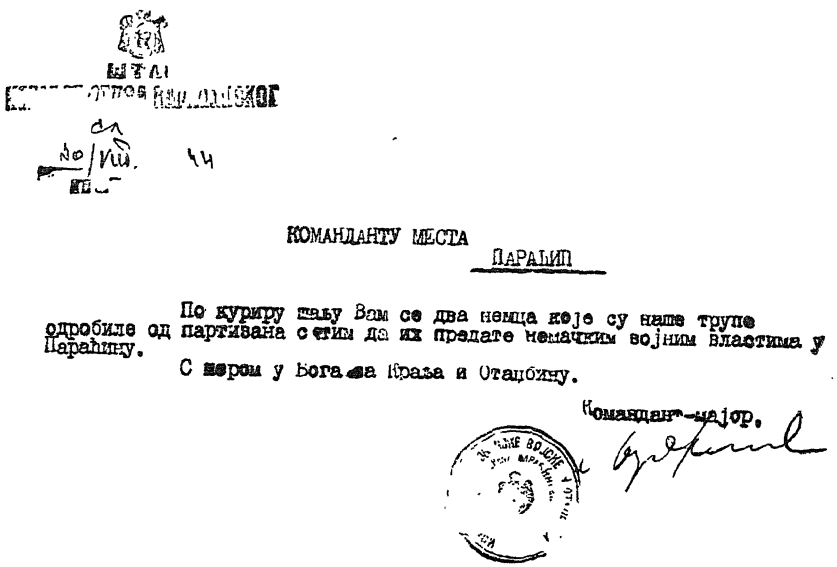
The plan of the Fourth Offensive was worked out at the meeting of Hitler, Colonel-General Löhr and Pavelić, held in November 1942 at Hitler's Headquarters at Vinitza.

In December 1942 negotiations were carried on between the Italian and German General Staff regarding the coordination of the operations of the German and Italian units in the Fourth Offensive. On January 3, 1943 a meeting was held in Rome between Colonel-General Löhr, one of Pavelić's generals, the Italian generals Roata, Robotti and Cavallero in the presence of Mussolini, and at this meeting the plan for the Fourth Offensive was definitely settled.

For the operations in the first phase of the Fourth Offensive it was decided to use the following German divisions: 7SS »Prinz Eugen«, the 369. infantry division, the 717 Jäger division, and the 718 reserve division. The Italian divisions: »Lombardia«, »Re«, and

»Sassari« were also to be used and two Ustaša brigades. The disposition of forces was: the 7SS »Pring Eugen« division on the Karlovac sector, the 369th division together with two Ustaša brigades on the Sisak—Sunja—Kostajnica sector, the 717th on the Sanski Most sector, and the 718th (in reserve) in the neighbourhood of Zagreb; the »Lombardia« division on the Ogulin sector, the »Re» division on the Vrhovine—Gospić—Lovinac sector, the »Sassari« division on the Gračac —Knin sector. According to the plan all these forces were to surround the National Liberation Army forces on the Bihać—Bosanski Petrovac line and then tighten the ring until the annihilation of the forces of the National Liberation Army was complete.

Simultaneously with the preparations made by the Germans and Italians, Mihailović was concentrating his units to attack the forces of the National Liberation Army in West Bosnia.



КОМАНДАНТУ МЕСТА

ПАРАЋИН

По куриру шаљу Вам се два немца које су наше трупе одробиле од партизана с тим да их предате немачким војним властима у Параћину.

С поздравом у Бога да браћа и Отаџбину.

Командант-мајор.

A communication from the Staff of the Paraćin Četnik detachment concerning their returning two Germans who had been taken prisoners by the Partisans.

On January 2, 1943, he issued instruction No. 1 in which he defined the positions of the units at the commencement of operations as follows: the lst Corps, 2000 strong under the comand of Major Bjelajac in the environs of Otočac, the 2nd Corps numbering 2000 under the command of Father Đujić in the locality of Gračac, the 3rd Corps under the command of Major Baćović, numbering 3000, in the locality of Knin, the 2nd Kosovo Brigade, 600 strong, under the command of Novak Mijović, in the locality of Drniš, the 4th Corps

under the command of Colonel Bajo Stanišić, 300 strong, in the area Donja Jablanica—Rama, the 5th Corps, 3000 strong, under the command of Captain Bora Mitranović, in the area Ključ and Manjača. In addition Mihailović provided a reserve numbering 4—5000 men under the command of Pavle Đurišić for this operation. To direct the operations Mihailović formed an Advance Section of his General Staff headed by Major Zaharije Ostojić, the chief of the operative, organizational and intelligence sections of his General Staff. For liaison with the command of the Italian units at Sušak, Mihailović delegated Dobrosav Jevđević, whom he sent to Sušak with the task of offering the Italians participation of Mihailović's forces in the Fourth Offensive. Mihailović sent Pavle Đurišić to Cetinje to ask arms and ammunition from the Italians and transport facilities for his troops.

Mihailović's delegate Dobrosav Jevđević, in negotiating with the Italians, succeeded in obtaining consent from the Italian General Staff and Mussolini for the participation of Mihailović's Četniks in the Fourth Offensive with the Italian forces.

When in the first phase of the Fourth Offensive heavy fighting took place between the National Liberation Army forces and the German, Italian and Ustaša units, beginning on January 15 and lasting for three weeks, Mihailović's Četniks, according to his orders, participated in the operations mixed with the Italian troops and supplied by Italians with arms, ammunition and food. In the first phase of the Fourth Offensive Mihailović's forces operated from Otočac, Gračac and Knin. The Četnik columns attacked together with the Italian columns from Ogulin in the direction of Slunj, from Vrhovine in the direction of Bihać—Slunj communications, from Perušić in the direction of Korenica, from Lovinac in the direction of Udbine and from Gračac in the direction of Donji Lapac and Srb, while the Četnik forces, under the command of Baćović, attacked from Knin in the direction of Bosansko Grahovo. Simultaneously from the other side the Partisan forces were attacked by the "Prinz Eugen" SS division from Karlovac in the direction of Slunj—Bihać, by the 369th German division with two Ustaša brigades from the Sisak — Kostajnica sector in the direction of Cazin—Bihać, and by the 717th German division from Sanski Most over Grmeč Mountain in the direction of Bosanski Petrovac, and also by the Četnik forces of Bora Mitranović.

However the plan of annihilation of the National Liberation Army forces in the first phase of the Fourth Offensive suffered complete failure, because in the heavy and sanguinary fighting against the Germans, Italians, Ustašas and Četniks the National Liberation Army succeeded in preventing the enemy columns from encircling

them, and the main bulk of the forces of the National Liberation Army retreated in good order, in the direction of Glamoč—Livno—Prozor. Having passed into counter-offensive, they captured Prozor on February 18, took Ivan Sedlo, occupied Drežnica, Jablanica and Rama, forced the Neretva river near Jablanica and Rama, and with one column attacked Konjic, while with another one they mopped up the valley of the Neretva river to within ten kilometres from Mostar, completely destroying the "Murge" division. Panic-stricken by the counter-offensive of the National Liberation Army, the Italians quickly transported to Mostar by train and lorries about 5000 Četniks under the command of Bajo Stanišić, with the knowledge and approval of Mihailović. In addition Mihailović sent about 500 Četniks to the Prenj Mountain under the command of Major Radulović, and another 5.000 of his Četniks under the command of Major Voja Lukačević (Cavalry Corps) to defend Konjic together with the Italians, Ustašas and one battalion of the German 718th division from the attacks of the units of the National Liberation Army. At the request of the Italians, although the second phase of the Fourth Offensive was due to start on February 25, the Germans began operations four days earlier, as follows: the 7SS "Prinz Eugen" division advanced towards Imotski, the 369th German division in the direction of Kupres—Zvornjača—Prozor, the 717th German division from Bugojno towards Prozor and the 718th German division from Sarajevo over Ivan Sedlo towards Konjic with the aim of encircling the forces of the National Liberation Army and of annihilating them with the assistance of the Italian and Četnik units.

In this difficult situation for the National Liberation Army units, Mihailović issued an order to Colonel Bajo Stanišić, Major Radulović and Major Lukačević to launch an offensive from Mostar, Prenj, and Konjic in order to annihilate the former in the pocket of the Neretva river. After short and bitter fighting, however, the Četnik offensive failed, in spite of the fact that the operations of the Četnik units were helped by Italian and German guns, mortars, and troops, and in spite of the fact that the Četnik units in the operations, at the request of Mihailović and Major Ostojić, were helped by German and Italian aeroplanes which bombed the positions of the Natioinal Liberation Army units, while they dropped arms, ammunition and food for Mihailović's Četniks.

However, although the Četnik offensive suffered defeat, and accordingly the forces of the National Liberation could have continued the advance towards Hercegovina and Montenegro, the units of the National Liberation Army were obliged to return to the right

bank of the Neretva river, destroying all the bridges on the Neretva, and to retreat also from Drežnica, Jablanica, Rama, Konjic and Ivan Sedlo towards Prozor, which was being attacked by the entire 717th and 369th German divisions, threatening the hospital at Prozor which contained 4.000 wounded.

Mihailović then ordered the forces of Major Lukačević, Major Radulović and Colonel Bajo Stanišić to cross the Neretva and take up positions on the banks of this river. He had reinforced them with about 3.000 Četniks under the command of Major Baćović, who had arrived in Mostar from Knin with his forces, in Italian lorries.



Italians and Četniks in Hercegovina photographed before their joint action against the Partisans.

During this time the major forces of the National Liberation Army routed the 717 German division in a fierce attack and forced them to retreat from Prozor; and immediately after, the bulk of the National Liberation Army, with the hospital and the wounded, proceeded again in forced marches towards the Neretva, where bitter fighting took place between these forces on the one side, and the combined forces of Mihailović's Četniks, Italians, Germans and Ustašas on the other. In this fighting also, at the request Mihailović and Major Ostojić, submitted to the Italians through Dobrosav Jevdević and to the Germans through Major Voja Lukačević, the Četnik units were helped during operations by German and Italian planes, artillery and

mortars while the Italians and Germans supplied the Četnik units with ammunition, arms and food.

In spite of all this, the forces of the National Liberation Army broke through the Italian, Četnik, German, Ustaša front and forced the Neretva river near Jablanica and Rama, so that the bulk of the forces of the National Liberation Army, with the hospital, crossed the river by a provisional bridge at Jablanica, and, waging fierce battles against the enemy, penetrated into Hercegovina.

Mihailović tried again to halt the break-through of the National Liberation Army units into Hercegovina, by concentrating strong forces on the positions at Čičevo and Glavatičevo. After a sanguinary battle, however, at Čičevo and Glavatičevo, the National Liberation Army units routed the Četniks and very rapidly arrived near Kalinovik where Mihailović was with the Advance Section of his Supreme Command and whence he commanded the operations. After fierce fighting on the positions in front of Kalinovik, where Mihailović threw into the battle his last reserve of about 5000 Četniks under the command of Pavle Đurišić, the Italo-Četnik forces were beaten and retreated to Foča. Mihailović also, together with the Advance Section of his Supreme Command, retreated to Foča, where he settled down under the protection of the Italian forces which held that place. Together with the Italian forces, Mihailović hastily reestablished the front on the Drina, and on that occasion he personally issued orders as to which positions were to be taken by particular Italian units together with his forces. But the forces of the National Liberation Army quickly broke the Italo-Četnik front on the Drina. After that came the complete dispersal of the Četnik units, and Mihailović, accompanied by a small party, escaped from Foča to Gornje Lipovo (near Kolašin) where his Headquarters, with the foreign missions, were situated. The forces of the National Liberation Army reached Montenegro through Hercegovina and Sandžak, in the middle of April, 1943.

Thus the joint plan of Hitler, Mussolini, Pavelić and Mihailović to destroy the forces of the National Liberation Army in the Fourth Offensive fell through.

Throughout the Fourth Offensive Mihailović commanded personally or through Major Ostojić all Četnik units which, armed with Italian and German arms, participated together with the Germans and Italians in the operations aimed at the annihilation of the forces of the National Liberation Army. At that time the British colonel Bailey, who was with Mihailović's Supreme Command at Lipovo and was fully cognizant of the plan and the development of the operations which were being carried out by Mihailović, said that the

Allies were preparing a landing on the Adriatic Coats for the Spring of 1943 and that "the communists should be liquidated" in order that he might have a clear hinterland, and thus be able to take possession of the Dalmatian Coast with his forces without hindrance.

Mihailović, in the course of the operations, was also being given moral and political support by the Yugoslav emigrant government which, although informed by sources whose information could not be doubted, that Mihailović collaborated with the invader in the struggle against the National Liberation Army, still developed a big campaign in which it denied all reports that Mihailović was collaborating with the invaders and spread false news about the struggle of Mihailović against the invaders. At the same time it gave him its consent to such collaboration by means of cipher messages transmitted through the B. B .C.

The arms, ammunition and money which he received from abroad through the medium of the Yugoslav emigrant government, Mihailović distributed to his units. Armed with Italian and German arms, equipped with Italian and German equipment, they were carrying on, together with the Germans and Italians and Ustašas, sanguinary battles against the National Liberation Army. They also made use of arms dropped by planes.

Bereft of his units, Mihailović left Montenegro, and on June 1, 1943, arrived in Serbia with his supreme command, his radio stations, and an enormous quantity of gold which he had received from abroad.

17. In Serbia in 1943, Mihailović withdrew some of his detachments from the towns, seeing that open collaboration with the invader compromised his whole movement. However all his detachments continued to collaborate with the Germans and Nedić's and Ljotić's units in the fight against the Partisan detachments and units of the National Liberation Army, and in the suppression of the National Liberation Movement thus putting into effect the directives and orders given by him. For example, Captain Raković, — commander of the 2nd Ravna Gora Corps and Lt. Vučković — commander of the 1st Ravna Gora Corps already in February 1943 met Krüger, the German commander of Gornji Milanovac, in the vicinity of Milanovac, and concluded an agreement that the Germans should give them ammunition and that the Četniks should participate in the operations against the Partisans on Rudnik. The Germans, at one time only, gave them about 5000 rounds, with which Lt. Vučković supplied his units and then immediately participated in the fighting against the Partisans near Rudnik.

Like Raković and Vučković, all Mihailović's other commanders collaborated more or less openly with the Germans, in all actions aimed at the annihilation of the National Liberation Movement in Serbia.



Mihailović's commander, Father Đujić, with an Italian officer.

18. After the capitulation of Italy, all Mihailović's detachments in Slovenia, Lika, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Hercegovina, Montenegro and Sandžak, (that is, what was till then the Italian occupation zone) carrying out his directives and orders, entered into open collaboration with the Germans. In these regions Mihailović's Četniks received arms and ammunition from the Germans and participated with them in actions against the units of the National Liberation Army.

Mihailović's detachments in Bosnia, with the knowledge and approval of Mihailović, concluded a series of agreements with the Ustašas and Germans on collaboration in the fight against the units of the National Liberation Army.

Mihailović's detachments in Serbia openly collaborated with the Germans, Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments, the Bulgarian occupation units, and units of the Russian White Guard Corps.

The arms and ammunition which Mihailović received in 1943 through the Yugoslav government abroad, were used in the fighting against the Partisans in which his units took part, together with the Germans, the Bulgarian occupation troops, Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments and the Slovene White Guards.

19. In November 1943, the Sixth German Offensive began, and on Mihailović's orders his Zlatibor, Javor and Požega Corps together with the Germans, as well as with Bulgarian units, Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments, and units of the Russian White Guard Corps fought in positions directed against the units of the Second and Fifth divisions of the National Liberation Army, which had penetrated from Sandžak into Serbia in the direction of Užice. At the same time, in the course of the Sixth Offensive, Mihailović's units in East Bosnia and Sandžak participated, together with the Germans, in operations against the forces of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments.

THE PERIOD FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1944 TO THE END OF AUGUST 1944

20. In January 1944, Mihailović issued orders to his units in the Višegrad—Priboj sector, of which Major Zaharije Ostojić was in command, to attack the 2nd Proletarian Brigade together with the Germans and Ljotić's men. From Major Ostojić he received regular reports about the operations of the units on this sector, and so he knew that his units fought shoulder to shoulder with the Germans and Ljotić's men.

21. On January 30, 1944 Mihailović issued an order to his commanders Đurišić, Drašković, Kalaitović and Cvetić to attack, together with the Germans and Ljotić's men, the units of the National Liberation Army near Priboj, Plevlje and along the Lim river. He specially advised them to attack from the rear units of the National Liberation Army at a time when they were fighting against the Germans. In March 1944, together with the Germans and Ljotić's men, his units carried out this order and participated in the fighting against the units of the National Liberation Army. The commanders

of his units gave him daily reports of the operations, and he was thus authentically informed that they were collaborating with the Germans and Ljotić's men.

22. In February 1944, Mihailović ordered Pavle Đurišić to cooperate with the Germans in the operations in Sandžak against the units of the National Liberation Army. Đurišić carried out his order and fought with his units shoulder to shoulder with the German units in Sandžak.

23. At the end of March or in the beginning of April 1944, Mihailović's commander in Serbia, General Trifunović, known as Dronja, held a meeting in the village of Vranjići (in the District of Ljubić near Čačak at the home of Čolić, with the German agent Milan Aćimović (president of the first commissary administration formed immediately after the occupation of Serbia) and the Councillor of the Administrative Staff of the German Military Commander in Serbia, the German Starker. He negotiated with Starker with the aim of making an agreement with the Germans regarding the collaboration in the fight against the National Liberation Army and regarding the supply of arms and ammunition by the Germans to the Četniks. For these negotiations Mihailović gave orders to General Trifunović, and appointed the accused Živko Topalović as negotiator (former leader of the Socialist party, who in 1943 joined Mihailović and became a member of his »Central National Committee«). However, Živko Topalović did not arrive in time and therefore the meeting was held without him.

24. At the end of April 1944, according to Mihailović's order, General Trifunović, Živko Topalović and Captain Raković met again with Aćimović and Starker, in the village of Trbušani at the home of Vladan Lukanović, and continued the negotiations from the previous meeting. Captain Raković made and submitted to Starker and Aćimović a list of arms and ammunition which he, Trifunović and Topalović requested from the Germans.

After this meeting Mihailović's Četnik detachments received large quantities of arms and ammunition from the Germans.

25. At the end of April or in the beginning of May 1944, at Mihailović's orders, General Trifunović held a meeting with Dimitrije Ljotić and Nedić's deputy Ilija Mihailović, in the village of Brđani (Ljubić District near Čačak) and concluded an agreement with them regarding the collaboration of the Četniks, Ljotić's and Nedić's men in the fights against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments. The agreement provided that Ljotić and Nedić should supply Mihailović's Četniks with war material, that Mihailović should

permit Ljotić to supplement his units by mobilizing younger men in the villages.

26. When, in April 1944, the Second Proletarian and the Fifth Shock division of the National Liberation Army penetrated from Sandžak into Serbia in the direction of Valjevo, Mnhailović gathered together the following corps: the Javor, Požega, Zlatibor, Valjevo, Cer, the First Ravna Gora corps, two corps of the »Mountain Guard« and the Second Ravna Gora Corps. Placing them under the command



The traitor, Rade Radić, Colonel of the Homeguards, Cerner, and General Stahl of the German Army, during the offensive against Partisan units in Kozara, in July, 1942.

of Mirko Lalatović a member of his Supreme Command, he threw them into the fight against the 2nd and 5th division of the National Liberation Army together with the Germans, Bulgarians, the Ljotić and Nedić men and the units of the Russian »White Guard Corps«. The task he set them was the annihilation of the 2nd and 5th division of the National Liberation Army. During the operation his units were crossing over with German lorries from position to position, and were getting arms and ammunition from the Germans from Valjevo and Užice even at the front. They were sending their wounded to German hospitals, and receiving food from the German kitchens. At that time the Četniks freely moved about in towns in which the German

garrisons were situated. In the course of the operations, his commanders Račić, Vučković, Marković, Radović, Neško Nedić, Kalabić, Tufegdžić and others constantly kept in touch with the staffs of the German, Bulgarian, Nedić, Ljotić and Russian White Guard units and several times visited the positions at the front together with German commanders.

In the course of these operations against the Second and Fifth division Mihailović was informed daily and in detail by radio and by the reports of his commanders, of the development of operations and of the close collaboration of his units with the Germans, Bulgarians, Nedić's and Ljotić's men and the Russian White Guard Corps. Through Mirko Lalatović, member of his Supreme Command, Mihailović commanded all operations and also issued personal orders for these operations.

27. In Bosnia, during the Seventh German offensive against the National Liberation Army, Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Major Slavoljub Vranješević and Rade Radić, placed themselves at the disposal of the Germans and, as they knew the terrain well, served as guides for the German units in their operations. In addition to this, they attacked and destroyed small groups of Partisans who, in the course of heavy fighting with the Germans, lost contact with their main forces. Major Vranješević informed Mihailović by radiogram of all this and Mihailović always replied to these reports: that the chief aim was to destroy the communists (as he called all the participants in the fight against the invader) and that discretion should be used towards the invader and that he should be utilized for the supply of arms and ammunition.

28. In the summer of 1944, Mihailović established permanent connection with the traitor Milan Nedić through Milan Aćimović. He appointed Captain Predrag Raković as liaison officer with Nedić, while Nedić, on his part, appointed Ilija Mihailović (former member of Parliament and member of the executive of the former »Yugoslav National party«).

In the middle of the summer of 1944, Mihailović's delegate Captain Raković came to Belgrade, where he stayed in the home of Milan Aćimović, visited Nedić daily and coordinated the work of the armed detachments of Nedić's Government and Mihailović's units in the struggle against the units of the National Liberation Army in Serbia, which grew rapidly in strength and increased in number through the influx of a large number of new fighters from the villages and towns. Through Raković, Nedić sent arms and ammunition which he got from the Germans to Mihailović's units.

Shortly after the arrival of Captain Raković in Belgrade, Nedić put him in contact with the German Commander for Serbia, General Felber, and his Chief of Staff General Geitner, and from that time Captain Raković maintained this contact between the German military commander for Serbia and Mihailović's Supreme Command, using it to get arms and ammunition from the Germans and to coordinate operations of German and Četnik units in Serbia in operations against the National Liberation Army.

Majors Baćović and Lukačević, on their return from Cairo after the King's wedding, communicated a message to Mihailović from the British General Masterson, »to liquidate the communists as soon as possible, and that afterwards more favourable conditions would arise for us (i. e. for Četniks — Prosecutor's note) and that they (the British) would change their attitude, their propaganda, and their policy towards us (towards Mihailović — Prosecutor's note).«

At that time an American colonel McDowell, Chief of the American Military Mission to Mihailović's HQ, landed at the airfield at Pranjani (near Čačak). As soon as he met Mihailović he said to him: »We Americans are not interested in your fight with Germany. They have to go out of Yugoslavia through the action of the Allies. It is up to you to keep your hold on the people... America is helping exclusively you and your movement in Yugoslavia«. (Mihailović's movement — Prosecutor's note).

29. In July 1944, on Kopaonik, near Kruševac, Mihailović gathered a number of corps under the command of Major Keserović and the Fourth Group of Storm Corps under the command of Major Račić. The Fourth Group of Storm Corps consisted of two »guard corps« under the command of Nikola Kalabić, the Second Ravna Gora Corps under the command of Captain Raković and the Cer Corps. Mihailović placed Keserović's units also under the command of Major Račić, and he gave Major Račić the order to destroy, with all these forces, in collaboration with the German punitive expedition, (this expedition consisted of German, Bulgarian, Nedić's and Ljotić's units), the units of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments which had liberated the territory at Toplica and Jablanica.

In the course of operations, which developed in July and August 1944 at Toplica and Jablanica, Mihailović's units carried out his orders and participated — together with German, Bulgarian, Nedić's and Ljotić's units — in heavy battles against the units of the National Liberation Army. A German Captain Weil was with Major Račić's Staff as liaison officer. He coordinated the Četnik operations with those of the Germans and other quisling units.

In addition to this, Major Račić and Nikola Kalabić went on several occasions to Kruševac to meet the staff of the German units, with the object of coordinating a plan of operations and obtaining arms and ammunition. Before the beginning of operations all Četnik units were supplied by the Germans with large quantities of arms and ammunition.

30. With the knowledge of, and with instructions given by Mihailović, his staff in Belgrade collaborated with the Special Police



Četnik commander Pavle Đurišić making a speech to the Četniks in the presence of General Pirzio Biroli, Italian governor of Montenegro.

and Dragi Jovanović. From April 1944, Mihailović's commander of Belgrade, Saša Mihailović, placed under his command Dragi Jovanović and the whole Belgrade Police with the Special Police and a detachment of the Serbian State Guards. Saša Mihailović informed the accused Dragoljub Mihailović of this and was given instructions by him that the followers of the National Liberation Movement in Belgrade should be destroyed. This collaboration lasted until the flight of Saša Mihailović and the Special Police from Belgrade.

31. About August 20, 1944, Mihailović met the traitor Milan Nedić in the village of Ražana near Kosjerić, at night, in the greatest secrecy. Mihailović was accompanied by Major Mirko Lala-

tović, Major Račić and Nikola Kalabić, and Nedić by General Damjanović (Nedić's Chief of Cabinet) and Dragomir Jovanović (Prefect of the Belgrade Prefecture — founder of the Special Police and of Banjica Camp). After the negotiatinos Mihailović concluded an oral agreement with Nedić, the contents of which are as follows:

a. Nedić's Government shall give Mihailović financial help to the extent of one hundred million dinars per month;

b. Nedić undertakes the obligation to obtain from the Germans and deliver to Mihailović 30.000 rifles, 3 million rifle and machine gun rounds, 500 machine guns and 500 mortars.

c. Mihailović guarantees to Nedić that these arms shall under no conditions be used against the Germans, while Nedić takes upon himself the responsibility for this before the Germans;

d. Nedić and his Government shall, in so far as the invader permits, place all their armed formations under the command of Mihailović for the purpose of coordination of action against the National Liberation Army;

e. Nedić's Government shall, in so far as it can obtain them, deliver to Mihailović an indefinite number of uniforms and footwear;

Mihailović's officer Captain Predrag Raković was, by mutual consent, appointed as liaison officer between Nedić and Mihailović. It was also settled by that agreement that Mihailović's commanders should not directly turn to Nedić for help in arms and other equipment, as they did formerly. Mihailović specially requested of Nedić that the agreement should be kept in the greatest secrecy.

Immediately after the conclusion of this agreement, Mihailović received from Nedić through the latter's »Serbian State Guards« 10.000 rifles and one million rounds of ammunition. The rifles and ammunition were given to Nedić by the Germans, after he had informed them about the agreement which he had made with Mihailović and after the Germans approved of it. In addition to this, Mihailović was given a hundred million dinars by Nedić, and about 20.000 uniforms. Everything that he received from Nedić or through Nedić from the Germans, Mihailović used for the improvement of the arms and equipment of his units, which later, together with the Germans, the Nedić and Ljotić men, fought against the units of the National Liberation Army and Partisan detachments.

32. In August 1944 in the village of Rošci (Ljubić District near Čačak), in the vicinity of the Caganj school, Mihailović held a meeting with the Chief of the Administration Staff of the German Military Commander of Serbia — Neubacher. A member of his Supreme Command, Colonel Baletić and the American colonel McDowell were also

present at this meeting, as well as Milan Aćimović, Starker and Captain Raković.

In the beginning of September 1944, Mihailović met Starker (Neubacher's deputy) in the vicinity of the village of Pranjani. The American Colonel McDowell also attended the meeting. At this meeting McDowell demanded of Starker that the Germans should surrender exclusively to Mihailović.

THE PERIOD FROM THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER 1944 TO THE MIDDLE OF MAY 1945

33. When, in September 1944, strong National Liberation Army forces penetrated into Serbia from Montenegro, Sandžak and Bosnia, Mihailović's units fought on all the sectors, together with the Germans, Nedić's and the Ljotić's men, to check further penetration of the units of the National Liberation Army into Serbia.

On October 6, 1944, Mihailović placed under his command the whole of Nedić's »Serbian State Guards« — SDS. Mihailović's Commander of Serbia, General Trifunović, formed the »Serbian Shock Corps« (SUK) from Nedić's SDS. General Trifunović appointed General Radovanović, former commander of the SDS in Belgrade, as Commander of the SUK and, as his deputy, General Borivoje Jonić, former commander of the whole SDS. Thus Mihailović also took over the command of the armed formations of the traitor Nedić, with the aim of intensifying the struggle against the units of the National Liberation Army which, in its victorious advance, was liberating the country from the invader.

34. In the course of the operations in October and November 1944, Mihailović's forces were defeated in Serbia, by the units of the National Liberation Army, and Mihailović, fleeing from Serbia, went over into Bosnia with the remainder of his forces, after crossing the Drina near the village of Badovinci (Mačva). In their flight from Serbia, his units, both those which fled with him and those which fled with Nedić's SDS (called SUK by Mihailović), and also his forces from Sandžak and Montenegro, all withdrew together with the German columns which were also fleeing from Serbia. His units, while retreating, fought together with the German units, against the units of the National Liberation Army.

In the retreat towards Bosnia, Mihailović again met with Starker and Milan Aćimović, near the village of Draginje. The American Colonel McDowell was also present at this meeting.

35. When Mihailović gathered the remnants of his units in East Bosnia, he established connection, through his officer Colonel Borota,

with the command of the German units in Sarajevo, and issued orders to Colonel Borota to negotiate with the Germans, and to conclude an agreement by which the latter would give his units arms, ammunition, medical supplies and food, while the Četniks would help the Germans in fighting against the units of the National Liberation Army which were attacking the German units and liberating the country from the invader. In carrying out Mihailović's instructions



Chief of the British Military Mission, General Armstrong, with Predrag Raković, commander of the Second Ravna Gora Corps. At the trial Mihailović admitted that Captain Raković was his link with Nedić and that through him he received for his troops ammunition from the Germans.

Colonel Borota and also Nikola Kalabić, after successful negotiations with the Germans, received ammunition, arms, food and medical supplies, which were distributed to Mihailović's men. All Mihailović's other commanders also received arms and ammunition from the Germans. In these last battles for the liberation of the country from the yoke of the invader, his units, under his leadership, openly and publicly participated in fighting against the units of the National Liberation Army, thus helping the German invaders.

36. In the winter of 1944/45, Mihailović twice met Starker in the Sarajevo region. He had also met him and negotiated with him previously.

37. In January 1945, Mihailović had a meeting with the Gestapo agent Gašparević, who was sent by the Gestapo from Vienna with a group of 60 men, trained at the Gestapo school in Austria for diversionary acts, assassinations, sabotage and espionage, with the task of crossing over into liberated Serbia to organize an espionage network, and, with the help of a radio station which he brought along with him, to send information to the Gestapo in Vienna, and in addition to this, to carry out sabotage, diversionary actions and various terrorist acts. Mihailović learnt from Gašparević the sort of task assigned to the latter by the Gestapo, and yet he agreed to transfer Gašparević's group through his channels into Serbia and to assign 30 of his men to that group. These men were trained in Mihailović's school as "commandos" (groups for espionage, diversionary actions and sabotage). Mihailović gave Gašparević the task of maintaining regular contact with him, and sending him information — and Gašparević agreed to carry out all orders which Mihailović gave him by radio. Through his own channels, Mihailović sent Gašparević's group to Serbia, together with 30 of his Četniks headed by Lieut. Nedeljković, and received from Gašparević confidential telegrams, although he knew that Gašparević sent the same telegrams to the Gestapo in Vienna. Mihailović also sent instructions by radiogram to Gašparević. Besides Gašparević's group, Mihailović also sent to Serbia and other parts of Yugoslavia more of his »commandos« who, even after the complete liberation of Yugoslavia, killed members of the peoples' committees, looted village cooperatives and warehouses, and private property.

38. Mihailović's officers Col. Pavlović, Mitić and Andrić (who were situated in his vicinity) through the Gestapo agent Schwarz, who belonged to Gašparević's group, sent a written request to the Gestapo in Vienna that, on German territory, an illegal radio station should be set up for transmitting Četnik news, that the Gestapo should send several instructors to Mihailović's school for the training of commandos, that the Gestapo should send the Četniks five small radio stations, medical supplies and arms, that the Germans should agree, when the German spring counteroffensive began in the Balkans, to allow Mihailović to occupy Serbia with his forces and that, as compensation for all this, Mihailović's units would participate with the Germans in the operations against the National Liberation Army.

39. In the winter of 1945, Mihailović established contact with Dimitrije Ljotić through the radio station of Dobrosav Jevđević, who was at that time in the Julian March, and agreed that Ljotić should send a delegation to him to negotiate about the unification of all

Ljotić, Četnik, and other quisling forces in the Julian March under the command of Mihailović. Mihailović received Ljotić's delegation, which consisted of General Parac, who, before his flight from Belgrade, belonged to Mihailović's Belgrade Staff, and Ljotić's private secretary, Boško Kostić, through whom Mihailović maintained courier connections with the emigrant government during the whole of the occupation, through Major Perić in Istanbul. After negotiating with this delegation Mihailović accepted Ljotić's plan regarding the uniting of all traitors in the Julian March under Mihailović's command, and sent his officers there, the generals Damjanović (who was Nedić's Chief of Cabinet until his flight from Belgrade), Siniša — known as Pazarac, and Ljuba Jovanović — known as Patak. For the command of the units in the Julian March, Mihailović formed the so-called Advance Section of the Supreme Command, headed by general Damjanović. On his instructions, the latter formed the so-called »Šumadija« Division out of Ljotić's »Serbian Volunteers Corps«, (SDK), the Četniks of Father Đujić and Jevđević and of quisling refugees, and informed Mihailović of this. Being in constant contact with Mihailović through radio stations, General Damjanović participated with his »Šumadija Division«, together with the Germans, in the operations against the units of the National Liberation Army in the Julian March. Mihailović was in contact with General Damjanović right up to May 1945, when the units of the National Liberation Army destroyed the remnants of his forces and he lost his radio stations.

40. In March 1945, Mihailović sent Janko Brašić to Zagreb. He was a lawyer, who was with General Trifunović's Staff, and was given the task of establishing connection with Maček's followers, Archbishop Stepinec and Pavelić. In Zagreb Brašić established connections with Pavelić, Stepinec and Maček's followers. Towards the end of March or at the beginning of April, Brašić returned from Zagreb and reported to Mihailović that Maček's followers requested Mihailović to appoint a delegation for negotiations, and that Pavelić requested Mihailović to come to Zagreb personally for consultation about the joint struggle against the National Liberation Army. Mihailović appointed a delegation for negotiations consisting of Stanković, an engineer and member of his so-called Central National Committee, and General Trifunović. Mihailović also sent Brašić two letters, one for him personally in which he told him to inform Pavelić that he could not come to negotiate because his commanders did not agree that he should leave his units, but that he was sending two delegates to negotiate with full authorization and to assure Pavelić that he and his assistants would strictly observe the proposed agree-

ment, which his delegates would conclude with Pavelić. The other letter was for Archbishop Stepinec, in which he appealed to the latter to use all his authority with the Croat people in order that the Croats should rise up together with Mihailović against the »Bolshevik danger«.

WAR CRIMES

41. Through numerous circulars, communications, radiograms, directions sent to all his commanders, as well as to some commanders in particular cases, beginning in the Autumn of 1941, Mihailović issued strict orders to annihilate mercilessly all fighters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments, captured or wounded fighters, all followers of the National Liberation Movement, and everybody who helped in any way the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments, calling all adherents of the National Liberation Army in his messages, circulars and directions: communists, Bolsheviks, Ustaša-Bolshevik bands, etc.

42. Mihailović also issued orders to his commanders to annihilate the Moslems (whom he called Turks) and the Croats (whom he identified with the Ustašas).

43. Mihailović introduced the method of killing men without trial and without any investigation of guilt. Death sentences were pronounced by him and he bestowed this right on all his commanders of corps, brigades and battalions. Those who were sentenced to death were placed under the letter »Z«.

44. For the execution of death sentences by the method of the letter »Z« (the letter »Z« is the first letter of the word »zaklati«, which means to cut the throat of, and the persons placed under this letter were to be murdered), Mihailović gave instructions that every one of his brigades should form »Black Threes« who worked as conspirators. By Mihailović's instructions the commanders of brigades chose bloodthirsty men for the »Black Threes«, who, when entering the »Black Threes«, agreed to carry out every order without mercy, while in the case of non-execution of orders they were to be shot. Mihailović, what is more, gave the »Black Threes« instructions how to cut throats. The Chief of the Četnik »Black Threes« was Mihailović himself.

45. Besides his orders to the »Black Threes«, Mihailović frequently issued orders that every commander of the Corps should organize flying brigades whose exclusive task was to clear their terrain of Partisans (or as he says communists) and their sympathisers and all other persons who did not agree with his organization — and not to enter into any conflicts with the invader.

46. In accordance with Mihailović's orders, his commanders, his corps and brigades, his »Black Threes« and flying brigades perpetrated in the course of the war and occupation numerous war crimes in all parts of Yugoslavia, in Serbia, Montenegro, Sandžak, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Croatia (especially in Dalmatia and Lika) and in Slovenia; thus:

In November 1941, the Četniks shot in the village of Brajići (Takovo District) at the place called Drenovi Vrh, some 500 captured Partisans and adherents of the Liberation struggle. The place where the Partisans were shot is not far from Ravna Gora where Mihailović's HQ were situated.

On the night of November 13—14, 1941, the Četnik commander Jovan Škava, by order of Mihailović, handed over about 365 Partisans to the Germans in the village of Slovac (near Valjevo). The Germans took them to Valjevo and shot them at a place called Krušik, near the latter town.

In the beginning of November 1941, at a place called Ridovi, in the vicinity of Kosjerić, Mihailović's commander Ajdačić slaughtered 13 Partisan followers including Jelena Subić-Gmizović and Mileva Kosovac, women teachers, whom the Četniks violated, and mutilated with red hot irons before murdering.

On November 4, 1941, near Ravna Gora, the Četniks killed about 30 Partisans, who were captured by a ruse. This number included 18 girls, who had been sent to Užice as nurses.

In December 1941, at Čačak, Mihailović's Četniks together with the Germans shot 80 adherents of the National Liberation Movement at one time.

In December 1941 in the Požega District, the mixed German-Četnik corps on one occasion sentenced to death 12 Partisan adherents.

In December 1941 and during January 1942 the Četniks slaughtered over 2000 Moslems — men, women and children from the outskirts of Foča, Čajniče and Goražde. These slaughters were perpetrated on the bridges across the Drina at Foča and Goražde.

During the month of December 1941 and in the course of the whole of 1942, Mihailović's "legalized" Četniks arrested and handed over to the Germans in various parts of Serbia thousands of Partisan followers who were shot by the Germans in the camps at Banjica, Šabac, Niš, Užice, Čačak and elsewhere, while in addition to this, the Četniks themselves killed thousands of Partisan followers, plundered many villages, flogged thousands of men, and violated a large number of women and girls from Partisan families.

On April 1, 1942, the Četniks of Rade Radić killed 20 wounded Partisans at Jošavka among whom was Dr. Mladen Stojanović, who was seriously wounded.

In April 1942, the Četniks of Lazar Tešanović and Rade Radić, (who placed themselves under the command of Mihailović's officer Captain Rašić) killed 70 wounded Partisans.

Towards the end of April 1942, Spasoje Dakić, commander of Mihailović's battalion in East Bosnia, killed the British major Terence Atherton and one of his radio telegraphists — a British sergeant.

In June 1942, Mihailović's Četniks burned down the hospital with ten seriously wounded Partisans, near Gacko in the village of Izgori.

In June 1942, Mihailović's detachment under the command of Captain Vladimir Đukić, took out of prison at Nikšić 25 followers of the National Liberation Movement and, together with the Italians, shot them.

In August 1942, Mihailović's commander Baćović killed Rade Bravica, judge, Toma Galep, Jova Ljubibratić, Budimir Ukropina and Tasa Kosović, followers of the National Liberation Movement.

In August 1942, Mihailović's Četniks under the command of Petar Baćović, during the capture of Foča, slaughtered there and in a group of villages, called Bukovica, about 100 Moslems, among whom were about 300 women, children and old men.

In August 1942, in the district of Ustikolina and Jahorina (East Bosnia) Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Zaharije Ostojić and Petar Baćović, slaughtered about 2.500 persons of Moslem faith and burned down the villages.

In September 1942, at Makarska, the Četniks of Petar Baćović killed 900 Croats, skinned alive several catholic priests, and burnt down 17 villages.

In October 1942, the Četniks of Petar Baćović, together with the Italians who were under the command of Lt. Vidiak, killed about 2.500 Moslems and Croats in the environs of Prozor. Among them were women, children and old men. They also burnt a large number of vilages.

In October 1942, in the villages of Gata, Niklica and Čislo (all villages af Dalmatia), the Četniks of Petar Baćović, together with the Italians, killed 109 Croats who were sympathizers of the National Liberation Movement.

In autumn 1942, at Drežnica (Hercegovina), the Četniks from the environs of Gacko, while moving towards Prozor, slaughtered 100 persons of the Moslem faith.

In December 1942, in the village of Brainci (Mrkaić — East Bosnia) and in the neighbouring villages, the Četniks of Mihailović's commander Rajko Čelonja, killed 160 peasants and burned down the village of Brainci and several other villages. Among the killed were women and children.

In January 1943, Mihailović's Četniks killed Father Isaković and 18 other followers of the Partisans in the village of Banja (near Aranđelovac).

In January 1943, Major Cvetić slaughtered 16 captured Partisans in the district of Užice.

In January 1943, under the command of Komarčević, Mihailović's Četniks slaughtered 72 Partisan sympathizers in the Posava District.

In January 1943, the Četniks of Pavle Đurišić killed about 400 men and about 1.000 women and childern of Moslem faith in the Bijelo Polje District.

In February 1943, the Četniks under the command of Zaharije Ostojić, Petar Baćović, Pavle Đurišić, Vojislav Lukačević, Vuk Kalaitović and others slaughtered 1.200 men, and 8.000 old men, women and children in the districts of Plevlje, Čajniče and Foča. They looted and burned down about 2.000 houses at the same time.

In the middle of July 1943, in the village of Cikoti (East Bosnia) the Četniks discovered 80 wounded men of the First Proletarian Division. They took their arms, and the following day brought the Germans who killed and then burned them.

In July 1943, at Bišina (Birač), the Četniks discovered 120 wounded men of the First and Second Proletarian Brigades and handed them over to the Germans who shot them.

In December 1943, at Kolašin, the Četnik commander Major Petričević shot 28 captured Partisans and 6 peasants, Partisan followers.

In December 1943, in the village of Selevac (Belgrade District) the Četnik commander Živan Lazović murdered 15 peasants, Partisan followers.

In December 1943, the Četniks slaughtered 137 captured Partisans in the environs of Bosansko Grahovo.

In December 1943, the Četniks slaughtered 28 captured Partisans in the village of Tičevo near Drvar .

In December 1943, at Zeta (Montenegro), the Četniks slaughtered 8 peasant-delegates at the First Antifascist Assembly of Montenegro.

In December 1943, the Četniks of Nikola Kalabić slaughtered 24 peasants, Partisan followers, in the village of Kopljari (near Aranđelovac).

In December 1943, the Četniks of Vuk Kalaitović shot 18 Partisan followers in the Sjenica District (Sandžak).

In December 1943, in the village of Vranjić (Posava District, Belgrade County), the Četniks, under the command of Lt. Colonel Miodrag Palošević and Major Sveta Trifković, slaughtered 72 persons, among whom were one child of two years, another of three months. They castrated one of the victims. Besides this they plundered large number of peasant homes.

From July 1941, to March 1943, Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Pavle Đurišić, sentenced to death and shot about a thousand Montenegrin Partisans and peasants, because they participated in the Liberation uprising in Montenegro.

On April 29, 1944, the Četnik detachments of Captain Živojin Lazović, Major Svetislav Trifković, Nikola Kalabić, Dragutin Bojović, Sveta Bogićević, Radovan Dokmanović and Sveta Radićević, in the village of Drugovac (Podunava District — Belgrade County) slaughtered 73 persons among whom were 9 women. On that occasion 37 other persons were ill-treated and 220 houses were looted and then burned down.

In April 1944, the Četniks slaughtered 8 Partisan sympathizers near Bajina Bašta.

In May 1944, the Četniks of Dragutin Keserović discovered a Partisan hospital at Jastrebac, and shot some 24 wounded men and 4 nurses there.

In May 1944, Četniks from Majevica discovered a Partisan hospital in Semberia and killed about 300 seriously wounded.

In the summer of 1944, the Četniks in the village of Balinovići burned alive Živan Đurđević, a peasant from Balinovići, in the presence of 20 men, and then killed his son.

In the beginning of August 1944, Dušan Radović, known as Kondor, commander of Mihailović's Zlatibor Corps, murdered two American airmen of French origin, who were forced to land by parachute, near the Lim river.

In August 1944, the Četnik detachment of Sveta Bogićević caught Sava Sremčević, Konstantin Vojinović, Ilija Radojević and Ilija Jakovljević, in the village of Sepci (Kragujevac District), and, after cruelly torturing them in order to force them to admit their collaboration with the Partisans, slaughtered all four of them.

47. The crimes enumerated are only a small part of the crimes which Mihailović's Četniks committed in all parts of Yugoslavia in compliance with his orders and instructions.

In addition, tens of thousands of men were tortured and flogged by Četniks, while in Montenegro a special system of flogging was introduced, utilising the »rogalj« (a kind of stake).

Mihailović's commanders sent lists of the Partisan followers to the invaders and quislings on the basis of which they were arrested and shot. Mihailović's Belgrade organization especially closely collaborated with the Special Police in the annihilation of the Partisan followers in Belgrade.

(The prosecutor then read the indictment of all the other accused persons).

On the basis of all that has been presented, I propose that the Military Council of the Supreme Court of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia appoint a public trial and bring before the Court the accused mentioned in this charge from the custody of the Military Court of the Belgrade Command, and also call upon the following to attend the public trial:

1. The Deputy Prosecutor of the Yugoslav Army.
2. Counsel for the Defence of the accused.

I also propose that all the proofs mentioned in this indictment, which are enumerated in the lists appended to the indictment as a component part of it, be set forth at this trial.

I also propose that this Court, on the basis of Article 15 item 3 of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the People and State, appoint Counsel for the Defence for the accused who are absent.

Finally, I propose that the Court, after the completion of the trial and upon the examination of all the proofs, pass sentence according to the Law.

ARGUMENTATION

All that has been stated in this indictment is supported by written documents, testimonies, complete or partial confession by the accused, or other evidence.

From the documents relating to the case the following can be seen:

First, that the accused Dragoljub Mihailović and his collaborators for a short time secretly and then openly collaborated with the German-fascist invaders in the fight against the Liberation Movement

of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Among Mihailović's collaborators are also the accused Slobodan Jovanović and others who lived abroad during the war enjoying the hospitality of the allied countries. They also helped the invader in the suppressing of the Liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, although at first sight this seems paradoxical. They helped the invaders by directing together with the accused Mihailović the traitorous Četnik organisation. Under their leadership this organisation openly collaborated with the invaders in the struggle against the Liberation Movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Second, that the accused Dragomir Jovanović, Tanasije Dinić and other collaborators of the traitor Milan Nedić from the very beginning of the occupation placed themselves openly in the service of the invader, and formed an executive apparatus through which they carried out the instructions and orders of the invader. They helped the invader with all their might in the suppression of the liberation struggle of the Serbian people.

Third, that the accused Mihailović and his collaborators and the accused Dragomir Jovanović, Tanasije Dinić and others of Nedić's collaborators, during the course of the occupation committed countless serious crimes of all kinds.

Fourth, that the accused Lazar Marković and Kosta Kumanudi, guided by the same purposes as the accused Mihailović and others, helped the traitors and war criminals Mihailović and Nedić, being at the same time exceedingly careful not to compromize themselves publicly either in their collaboration with the enemy or with Mihailović and Nedić.

The work of all these servants and assistants of the invader during the war and occupation was directed towards one and the same purpose. Their common aim was identical with the aim of the German-fascist invaders: suppression of the Liberation Movement of the peoples of Jugoslavia.

In their endeavours to achieve their common purpose, the assistants and servants of the invaders maintained mutual connection and worked in close collaboration, while in the final phase of the war and the occupation they formally and publicly united all their forces in order to suppress the Liberation Movement in Yugoslavia which was carrying on a heroic struggle against the enemy and all his servants in the country.

This is why they stand today before the just tribunal of the peoples of Yugoslavia and will have to give account of their treasonable and criminal activity.

I.

All the criminal acts of which Dragoljub Mihailović and others are accused have been proved by the mass of evidence contained in the documents relating to their case.

It can be seen from the relevant documents that the work of the accused Dragoljub Mihailović, Stevan Moljević, Živko Topalović, Slobodan Jovanović and others was intended to render impossible any liberation struggle in Yugoslavia and to annihilate in collaboration with the enemy the democratic and liberation forces, so that, with the help of the invader, a regime of open dictatorship and national oppression might be established, and even the extermination of certain nationalities in various regions accomplished.

From the very beginning the accused Mihailović, together with the emigrant government, spread the propaganda that it was not yet time for the struggle against the enemy, and that the moment for the fighting would come when the Allied forces landed in the Balkans. However, from the very beginning Mihailović started to fight against all those who arose in arms in the Liberation struggle against the invader, thus spreading fratricidal war for the benefit of the Germans, Italians, Bulgarians and Hungarians. Therefore, all the assertions which Mihailović and his clique made in this country and abroad that they looked upon the Germans as their enemies and that they were only waiting for a convenient moment to attack them, do not correspond to the facts, because Mihailović, from the very first, considered that the moment was favourable for fighting against the forces of resistance, and entered into collaboration with the invaders, remaining in collaboration with them right up to the capitulation of Germany. The slogan of Mihailović and his clique — that it was not time for the fight against the invader, meant not only a fight againts the uprising but also a direct link with the invaders and the realisation of their policy, which was to make the peoples of Yugoslavia their peaceful, obedient slaves who would not interfere in their plunder of the country and in troop movements, and whom they could mobilize as manpower and gun-fodder on the fronts against the Allies.

Mihailović and Nedić usually justified their collaboration with the enemy by pointing out the need of saving Serbian lives. The fratricidal war, started by Draža Mihailović for the benefit of the enemy, actually led to the annihilation of tens of thousands of Serbs, to mass extermination of the Serbian people both by the enemy and Mihailović's Četniks together and by the Četniks alone.

Mihailović undertook the extermination of Croats and Moslems under the pretext that this was a reprisal for the slaughter of Serbs

committed by the Ustašas, while in fact he collaborated with the Ustašas against the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

Mihailović and the emigrant government in London usually represented themselves, in their statements, as friends of the Allies, especially of England and America. In this way, Mihailović and the emigrant government desired to achieve the following: first, to conceal their collaboration with the invader from the Allied public; second, to mislead a part of the population of this country; third, to ensure the legality and continuity of the emigrant government and the monarchy in the eyes of the Allies; fourth, under the pretext that they were carrying on a struggle against Bolshevism, to create abroad a false impression that in Yugoslavia it was not a question of a struggle for liberation of the peoples against the enemy, but of a civil war, and on this basis to obtain support and justification for their collaboration with the enemy.

It is therefore clear that Mihailović, while collaborating with the enemy, weakened the general war effort of Yugoslavia in the struggle against Germany and her allies, and in this way weakened the front of the Allied nations against the common enemy.

In the course of the investigation it was established that the accused Mihailović committed, during the war and occupation, treason towards his own country and that, from 1941 up to the end of the war, he collaborated with the German-fascist invaders in the fight against the National Liberation Movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Our peoples know this, since they witnessed with their own eyes and experienced personally the traitorous work of the accused Mihailović and the Četnik bands which he commanded. However, there are people outside our country who assert that Mihailović's collaboration with the invader began only in 1944. The relevant documents, however, contain conclusive proof that Mihailović's cooperation with the invader in the fight against the National Liberation Movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia began as far back as 1941, that it began first in Serbia and then it spread to the whole of Yugoslavia. His collaboration with the invader was concealed in the beginning, but by December 1941, Mihailović had entered into open collaboration while still endeavouring to save himself and his closest circle of officers from being compromised, although he placed all his armed formations publicly and openly in the service of the invader. That this is true and undeniable, can be seen from the various quotations taken from the evidence at hand, which we shall present here.

Speaking about the delegation which he sent to Nedić, Mihailović made the following statement to the examining authorities:

"Towards the end of August or beginning of September, Živojin Đurić, ex-lieutenant-colonel of the Yugoslav army, came to see me and brought me a letter from Nedić. The letter was very short, only two lines, and in it Nedić invited me to come to Belgrade to meet him. With the letter Đurić gave me an identity card provided by Nedić for the journey".
Further:

"Aca Mišić told me: "You won't go". I had already decided not to. Then Mišić said: "I'll go".
And further:

"As far as I remember, the delegation left on August 29 or 30, and returned, I know this for certain, exactly on September 6, 1941, in the evening."

The traitor Milan Nedić made the follwing statement to the examining magistrate concerning the negotations of this delegation and their result:

"The aim of this delegation was to establish contact between myself and Draža, on the basis of the struggle against the Partisans. They showed me an authorization signed by Draža personally whereby they were empowered to negotiate with me and take any necessary decision." Further:

"I agreed to the collaboration with Draža Mihailović and promised to help him. This decision was reached during the negotiations between myself and this delegation." And further:

"A written agreement between myself and this delegation was not made in view of the fact that all three officers in the delegation were my officers and very well known to me, and I therefore considered that there was no need for a written agreement, and they did not demand it.

We agreed upon the following:

1. On collaboration between myself, i. e. my government, and Draža Mihailović in the struggle against the communists, with the aim of annihilating them.

2. To give him immediate help in money so that he might give salaries to officers and non-commissioned officers, and also to enable him to buy food for his army.

3. Immediately to appoint a liaison officer who would be constantly attached to Mihailović's Headquarters.

4. To obtain through the Germans the "legalization" of Draža Mihailović and his Četniks so that they might not be persecuted by the Germans and might move about freely.

5. That after the purging or annihilation of the communists in Serbia, my government was to extend the necessary help to Draža Mihailović in order to suppress civil war in Bosnia and Montenegro.

6. That after the formation of the government detachments, which was already in progress, an operational plan should be drawn up between myself and Draža Mihailović, for the purging of Serbia of the communists.

These were the main provisions of the agreement on collaboration between myself and Draža Mihailović".

Nedić continued:

"Of this agreement on collaboration the following points were immediately carried into effect:

1. I issued help in money — I can't remember how much — and the delegation took it with them.

2. I immediately went to the Commander for Serbia, General Dankelmann, and informed him of the arrival of the delegation of Draža Mihailović and the agreement reached. I told Dankelmann that Draža asked for the legalization of his Četniks and himself, so that they might move about undisturbed without fearing persecution, or getting shot by the Germans, in order to launch the attack against the communists. Dankelmann immediately agreed to this legalization, and gave instructions accordingly to the German units.

3. I appointed staff Major Marko Olujić to serve as liaison officer between myself and Draža Mihailović.

Here I want to mention that Marko Olujić did not immediately proceed to Mihailović's Headquarters. I cannot recall how much time elapsed before his departure to Mihailović, since he was captured en route to Suvobor by the communists, together with the operational plan for military collaboration between the government detachments and Draža Mihailović's Četniks, for the purging of Serbia."

In his testimony, Nedić further declared:

"I was informed that Draža approved of the entire agreement, i. e. the provisions of the agreement concluded between the delegation and myself."

Nevertheless, when the general people's uprising against the invaders and their servants broke out in Serbia, and when many of his units demanded to enter into the armed struggle against the enemy, Mihailović was obliged to conclude a false agreement with

the Partisans on a joint struggle against the German invaders. Regarding the reasons which induced the accused Mihailović to order his units to enter the struggle against the Germans, the witness Radoslav Đurić says:

"Draža's captain Reljić explained to me, in the village of Brajići, that Draža had actually ordered a general mobilization and attack on the Germans, together with the Partisans. Afterwards, when I asked Draža about this, he personally declared that this was true, but that he had been forced to enter the struggle against the Germans prematurely, because the Partisans had begun an uprising, which would rally all the people to them, and that he — Draža — would be left alone. Draža told me among other things that he had really sent Živojin Đurić and Aleksandar Mišić to Belgrade to talk to Nedić and seek his aid, but he asserted that he did not tell Živojin that he might remain with the Germans, nor did he tell Mišić that I would remain as liaison officer with Nedić. When I asked him why he wanted to talk with Nedić, Draža replied that he wanted to make use of him" — (record dated April 23, 1946, page 3)

However, although on October 26, 1941, Mihailović had concluded a written agreemet with Tito, the Commander in Chief of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, on a joint struggle of Četniks and Partisans againts the invader, he continued, in the greatest secrecy, to prepare for the annihilation of the Partisans in Serbia. At that time, in the middle of October 1941, Major Zaharije Ostojić and Mirko Lalatović came to his Headquarters. They were sent to him by the Command of the Yugoslav army in emigration.

Shortly afterwards, on November 1, 1941, ignoring the agreement concluded with Tito, Mihailović ordered his forces to withdraw from the front against the Germans and undertake an all-out attack against the Partisan forces with the object of annihilating them.

The witness Radoslav Đurić says in connection with this order issued by Mihailović:

"On November 2, I received a stricly confidential order, addressed to me personally by Draža Mihailović, saying that I should immediately raise the siege of Kraljevo and attack Čačak, which was in Partisan hands — (record dated April 23, 1946, page 3, written in the office of the public prosecutor of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia).

This order is mentioned in a note written by Mihailović himself in his diary:

"Only Đurić is with the Partisans. Orders for lifting blockade of Kraljevo shown to Molo; attack on Čačak postponed for three days, during which time I invited commanders to supper."

When the Partisan forces broke the attack of Mihailović's units on all sectors, and, pursuing the broken Četnik detachments, approached the immediate vicinity of Ravna Gora, Mihailović established contact with the Germans and met the German representatives on the night of November 13—14, 1941. Mihailović's account of this meeting is as follows:

"I met the Germans in the second half of November 1941, I cannot exactly remember the date, in an inn at the village of Divci".

(Mihailović could not recall the exact date of the meeting but by the testimony of witnesses it has been indisputably ascertained that this meeting took place on the night of November 13—14, 1941 — Prosecutor's note).

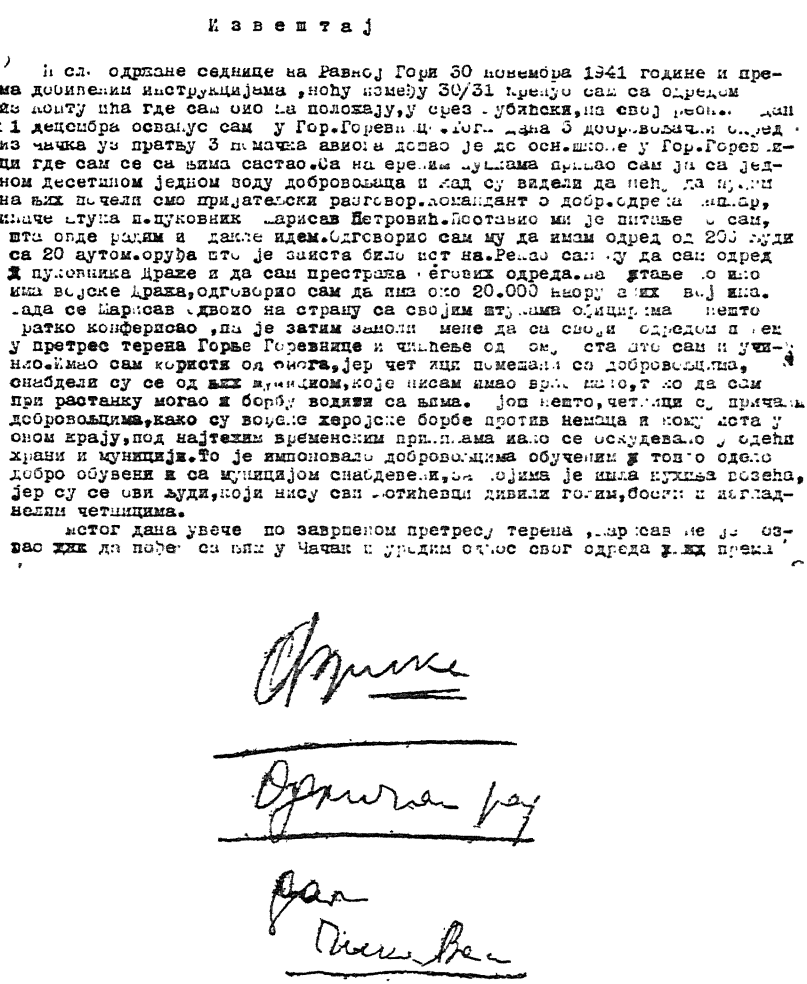
"The Germans present were: Chief of Staff of the Commander in Chief for Serbia. I cannot recall his name. The interpreter was a Volksdeutscher, a physician, who worked in the Gestapo, as I learned later, in the office of Brandt — Section for Draža Mihailović. In addition to these two, there were ten Germans altogether, all in the uniform of German officers. I don't know their ranks.

I, Draža Mihailović, Colonel Pantić, Captain Nenad Mitrović and Major Aleksandar Mišić (were present on the Četnik side — Prosecutor's note)".

"I left Struganik with my party and proceeded across Mionica, together with Aleksandar Mišić. We stopped our party before we arrived at the Kolubara River, and told them to await our return. Mišić and I walked alone up to the bridge where we were met by Brana Pantić, Nenad Mitrović and professor Mantel. We crossed over the demolished bridge to the other side, and entered an automobile, which took us to the inn at Divci. In front of the inn there were many German soldiers It was late at night. We were shown into the inn at Divci and immediately sat around a long table. I sat opposite the Chief of Staff of the Commander in Chief for Serbia. Aca Mišić was on my left, Brana Pantić on the left of Mišić, and on my right sat Nenad Mitrović. About ten Germans were also sitting around the table.

Here I'd like to mention that the Germans were guarding the road from the bridge to the inn with armoured cars and motorcycles. This greatly surprised me."

In reply to the question of the Prosecutor, as to what time of the night the meeting took place, Mihailović answered:



И з в е ш т а ј

) и сл. одржане седнице на Равној Гори 30 новембра 1941 године и према добијеним инструкцијама ,ноћу између 30/31 кренуо сам са одредом за коју ина где сам ово на положају,у срез - убићски,на свој реон.. дан 1 децембра освануо сам у Гор.Горевн ц .Гор. дана 5 добровољачки одред из чачка уз пратњу 3 немачка авиона дошао је до осн.школе у Гор.Горевици где сам се са њима састао.На ери њиховим кућама примао сам ја са једном десетином једном воду добровољаца и над су видели да нем да нађем на њих почели смо пријатељски разговор.Команданат о добр.одреда мајор, иначе ступа п.уковник Марисав Петровић.Поставио ми је питање о сам, шта овде радим и даље идем.Одговорио сам му да имам одред од 200 људи са 20 аутом.оруђа што је било исто на.Рекао сам му да сам одред пуковника Драже и да сам престрага његових одреда.На питање о ког има војске Драже,одговорио сам да има око 20.000 наоружаних војника. Када се Марисав удвојио на страну са својим старешинама официрима нешто ратко конферисао ,па је затим замолио мене да са својим одредом п ћем у претрес терена Горње Горевнице и чишћење од ост ста што сам и учинио.Имао сам користи од овога,јер чет ници помешани са добровољцима, снабдели су се од њих муницијом,које нисам имао врло мало,т ко да сам при растанку могао и борбу водити са њима. Још нешто,четници с причали добровољцима,како су водиле херојске борбе против немаца и коју ста у оном крају,под најтежим временским прилика ма ало се оскудевало у одећи храни и муницији.То је импоновало добровољцима обученим и тонто одело добро обувени и са муницијом снабдевени,за којима је имала нужна резена, јер су се ови људи,који нису сами хотимице дивили гони,босни и наг ладнелим четницима.

Истог дана увече по завршеном претресу терена ,Марисав ме је позвао њих да поре са њим у Чачак и уредим однос свог одреда њих према

Report of Predrag Raković »Frike« concerning »legalization« of Četniks by the Germans, and Mihailović's note at the foot of the report: »It is excellent work, Frike; to be given to čika Vasa« (i. e. to Dragiša Vasić).

"I think about 9 p.m." — (all excerpts from Mihailović's Record, page 45 and 46).

During the same night November 13—14, 1941, Mihailović's commander Jovan Škava handed over 365 Partisans to the Germans

at the village of Slovac, 4 to 5 kilometres from Divci. The handing over of the Partisans took place at about 11 p.m. and Škava, with his detachment, escorted them to Valjevo in German lorries together with the Germans. Jovan Škava, examined as a witness, declared to the examining magistrate that he had delivered the captured Partisans according to the instructions of Mihailović, conveyed to him through his superior commander Dača Popović.

After this, a truce was agreed on between the Četniks and Partisans and fighting was discontinued. According to this agreement Mihailović bound himself to fight against the Germans together with the Partisans.

However, when towards the end of November 1941, the German offensive against the liberated territory in West Serbia was under way, Mihailović violated the truce once more, by ordering his units to proceed each to its own terrain without fighting the German columns which were advancing towards the liberated territory. Mihailović makes the following statement about this:

»The Germans launched an offensive against Užice and Čačak. Marshal Tito telephoned me, and that was our last talk. The Marshal asked me what I was going to do in this offensive, and then explained that he was going to accept battle against the Germans. I answered that I could not engage in a frontal battle, and that I had to return my detachments to their terrain, and that I was left with about 200 men on Ravna Gora. My detachments stole through the German lines and went in the direction of their terrain, and the Partisan forces took up the battle at Bukovi, Crnokosa, Ponikovica and farther on across Zlatibor« — (Mihailović's Record page 18).

But Mihailović did not only limit himself to ordering his commanders to go each to his own terrain and avoid any action against the Germans. He even instructed his commanders to »legalize« their detachments with the Germans by placing themselves under the command of Milan Nedić and use all their means for the annihilation of the Partisan forces which remained in Serbia after the withdrawal of their main forces to Sandžak.

In connection with this the accused Miloš Glišić says:

»A conference of the detachment commanders and Draža was held on Ravna Gora. The commanders were present in person. On this occasion Draža ordered contact to be made with Nedić's detachments in order to improve the situation. He said that the detachments still remained under his command, and that this was only a temporary solution (I personally was

not present at this conference, but I was informed of it through the commanders Manojlo Korać and Ignjatović). I forgot to state that Manojlo Korać came to our detachment a few days before the attack on Užice. He came from the Višegrad region and participated in the attack on Užice. After this consultation the detachment crossed Ravna Gora, spent one day in the village of Ba, and then was received by Relja Dodor of the Ljig detachment, spent several days convalescing there, and then left for Belanovica, Manojlo Korać having contacted the detachment and agreed that it should be placed under Kalabić's command. In order to arrange this matter in the best possible way, young Nikola Kalabić went to his father. This took place at the end of November 1941. At that time the question of the »legalization« of the Četniks had not yet been discussed nor was anything done in this direction. The »legalization« of the Četnik detachments, as well as the placing of them under Nedić's command, was carried out in January 1942. The detachment was »legalized« but it still remained under Draža's command«. — (Glišić's record, page 7.).

Captain Predrag Raković, Mihailović's commander of the First Ravna Gora Corps, described in an undated report the manner in which he had carried out the instructions he had received from Mihailović at the above-mentioned conference. Raković's report is as follows:

»After the meeting held on Ravna Gora on November 30, 1941, acting according to instructions received on the night of November 30—December 1, I proceeded with my detachment from Koštunići, where I was on the terrain of the Ljubić District, which was my sector. On December 1, early in the morning, I reached Gornja Gorevnica. On that day, the 5th Ljotić's Voluntary Detachment from Čačak, accompanied by three German planes, reached the elementary school at Gornja Gorevnica, and it was there that I met them. I approached with a group of ten men armed with rifles which they aimed at a platoon of volunteers, and when they saw I did not open fire, we began a friendly conversation. The commander of the 5th Voluntary Detachment, Petrović, a corporal who was irregularly promoted colonel during the occupation, asked me who I was, what I was doing there and where I was going. I answered that I had a detachment of 200 men with 20 automatic weapons, which was the truth. I told him that my detachment belonged to Colonel Draža and that I was the vanguard of his

detachments. When he asked me how many men Draža had, I said that he had about twenty thousand armed men. Then Marisav left us and held a short consulation with his officers, after which he asked me to proceed to reconnoitre the terrain of Gornja Gorevnica and to purge it from communists. I profited from this, because the Četniks mixed with the volunteers, and supplied themselves with ammunition which was very scarce, so that on leaving I might have even fought against them...

That night, after reconnoitring the terrain, Marisav invited me to go with him to Čačak and regulate the relations of my detachment with the Germans... and on December 1, I proceded with him to Čačak... In short, that evening we agreed that I would remain with my detachment on the terrain in order to purge it from communists, which was in fact my duty when I left Ravna Gora for my terrain.

At the beginning, as early as December, I clearly saw the following: the aim of the Ljotić troops, supported by the Germans, was first to collaborate with us until the destruction of the communists, and then, with the aid of the Germans, to liquidate our organization and our detachments. The annihilation of the communists was necessary to me, to the Germans and to the Ljotić troops, and so we united in this business and became »allies«. At that time I used to go to the commander near Gornji Milanovac to submit reports to him. He permitted me even to »legalize« my detachment. Through Marisav I even succeeded in meeting the German commander Fricke.Marisav, on his departure from Čačak, recommended me to Fricke, saying that it was best that I should take Čačak over from him. On May 1, I took over the command of the town of Čačak with my detachment, though I had not been legalized. At the beginning Fricke could not tolerate me. I assured him that I was legalized and under the command of Nedić, which satisfied him... Naturally, in such circumstances I was obliged to go to Belgrade, and in the course of seven days I was daily received by Ceka Đorđević, and three times by Masalović and Nedić. Even today I cannot but wonder how I fooled them all and succeeded in legalizing a detachment of 150 men under my command. I was allotted the territory of Ljubić District with its headquarters at Čačak«...

On the back of Capt. Predrag Raković's report Mihailović personally wrote the following remarks: »Frike (pseudonym of Rako-

vić — Prosecutor's note) excellent work — to be given to Čika Vasa — (nickname for Dragiša Vasić — Prosecutor's note).«

Thus in December 1941 Mihailović »legalized« his detachments in Serbia. The »legalization« of Mihailović's detachments was only the formal aspect of his open collaboration with the enemy in the struggle against the Partisans and the whole National Liberation Movement in Serbia.

It is evident that, at the end of 1941, Mihailović had already passed from secret collaboration with the invader and the quisling Nedić, to open collaboration in the struggle against the Partisans and the whole National Liberation Movement. From that time onwards, till the fall and destruction of his organization, in 1942, 1943, 1944 and the first half of 1945, the collaboration between Mihailović and the German fascist invaders, as well as the Serbian, Croat and Slovene quislings, namely Nedić, Pavelić's Ustašas and Rupnik's »White Guards«, deepened and became ever-increasingly overt, until by the end of the second half of 1944 and the first half of 1945, complete unification of all the quisling forces in Serbia under the command of Mihailović (Nedić's and Ljotić's detachments) took place, and Mihailović's connection and collaboration with the Gestapo and Pavelić was carried out.

That this is true, is proved by numerous written documents from different sources, mostly Četnik, with the addition of those of German, Italian, Ustaša and Nedić men, which are attached to the indictment, as well as by a certain number of witnesses whom it is proposed to examine at the public trial. We shall quote only a few short excerpts from the relevant documents for the confirmation of the statement on his open collaboration with the hirelings, from December 1941, up to the collapse and destruction of his organization.

The accused Miloš Glišić, speaking about the collaboration of Mihailović's Četniks in the Third Enemy Offensive against the Partisan forces in Sandžak and Montenegro, described it as follows:

> »*We received food from the Italians through Pavle's man* (Đurišić — Prosecutor's note), *and munition as well. Ammunition was transported from Berane.*« *(Glišić's record page 10.).* Further on he says: »*We travelled on Italian lorries, all men and commanders,* (they travelled to Bijelo Polje — Prosecutor's note), *with Italian drivers and on these lorries we were transported from Prijepolje to Bijelo Polje*«. — (Record as above). He continues: »*I know it was the Plevlje garrison* (Italian — Prosecutor's note) *that participated with its forces in the struggle against the Partisans in the course of these operations. I don't know their strength*« — *(same record).*

Speaking about the collaboration between the Četniks and Italians, in the Third Offensive, Major Baćović writes in an undated letter »To the Minister of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland — General Draža Mihailović«:

»The Četnik detachments of Captain Pavle Đurišić have been engaged for the last fifteen days in fierce battles with the Partisans on the front around Mojkovac and Kolašin... Captain Pavle Đurišić now disposes of 2000 active Četniks and twice as many reserve troops. His active Četniks are well armed and well supplied. In addition to a great number of automatic weapons, they have a large number of mortars and mountain guns. Đurišić has received arms from the Italian military authorities. His active Četnik detachments receive part of their arms from the Italian authorities, as well as food and regular pay...«

To the same Pavle Đurišić, Mihailović announces in a radiogram:

»Number 21 for Pavle Đurišić. »Mandušić« key 6, 7, 3, 8,... April 18, 1942. I have heard of your work and am very glad you are so brave. My aim is to help you as soon as possible. This is debendent on a reliable link. I am sending you a radio station through Lazarević with directions and wavelength... If contact is established I shall be able to inform you immediately by plane, and drop all necessary arms and other material. Therefore find out and secure the necessary terrain for the reception of material, which will be parachuted.

I hope I shall soon send you one of my officers for the solution of all questions in connection with the action in Montenegro. It is essential that you continue on the same national line. Purge communists wherever you can... It is necessary that our right wing Mojkovac — Kolašin is secured. We intend to send you aid in the direction of Brodarevo—Barica. The first object of the action in Montenegro is to free the region Šavnik—Sinjajevina of communists and render it safe, and secure supplies for our army in Montenegro.

Plan your present work according to this. Greetings. General Mihailović«.

Speaking on the situation in Hercegovina, Major Baćović in his letter dated July 16, 1942, writes to Mihailović:

»All the Četnik detachments on the territory of Hercegovina are legalized by the Italians, and receive food, arms

and ammunition. They receive no salary, but they are sometimes allotted small sums of money«.

On the collaboration of the Četniks with the Germans in 1942 there exist numerous documents. Here are some excerpts from these documents:

»No. 3434 from Ištvan, 5, XII, 42; 211 (Baćović). According to the report of the commander of the Kladanj Brigade dated November 26, bitter fighting has been raging for five days between the Četniks and the Partisans on Majevica. The Četniks are supported by the Germans, the Croat Home-Guards and the Ustašas. One section of the Četniks has joined the Partisans. Račić has deserted Majevica and crossed to Serbia. Numerical strength of the Partisans 8 to 10 thousand. The Partisans have seized Bijeljina, Lopari and broken through to Gornja Tuzla«. — (Telegram from Major Baćović to Mihailović).

Major Ostojić reports to Mihailović:

»No. 3972 from 222, (Ostojić) 23. XII, No. 49: The situation in East Bosnia, sections Zvornik—Kladanj. Mitranović and Momčilović report: Third and Sixth communist brigades on Majevica have been defeated. They were attacked by the Germans and the Četniks from Majevica, Trebava and Ozren.«

The Četniks concluded a series of agreements with the Ustašas in 1942. Their collaboration with Nedić's and Ljotić's men has already been mentioned.

There exist not only numerous documents from 1942 concerning the open collaboration of Mihailović and his Četnik organization with the invaders, but also a huge number of documents proving the fact that the collaboration of Mihailović with the enemy and his servants in the country, in the struggle against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, was continued and strengthened in the course of 1943 and 1944 and in the first half of 1945.

In spite of all this, there are some people abroad who, in defending Mihailović, are really trying to defend themselves, — for they extended moral, political and material help to Mihailović in the course of the war. They admit that »certain of Mihailović's commanders« collaborated with the invaders, but assert that Mihailović himself did not approve of such action on the part of his commanders and that he personally never collaborated either with the invader or the quislings. The documents attached to this indictment, however, when presented at the public trial, will convince these people that facts

are »stubborn things« and that they cannot be refuted by any campaign, no matter how skilfully organized. They will show them that every person who helped Mihailović, in any way or for any reasons, helped the German-fascist invaders at the time of their war against the great Allied forces and all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, who fought together for the annihilation of fascist Germany and her allies. And here are some excerpts from documents which prove beyond question that Mihailović personally not only approved of the collaboration of his commanders and troops with the invader and other hirelings of the enemy, but even gave instructions to his commanders and units to collaborate with the invaders with the aim of annihilating the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia.

In the course of the preparations which Mihailović made for the operations of the Četniks during the Fourth enemy Offensive, in one of his telegrams despatched to Major Ostojić, he issued the following order:

> *»2428—222 (Ostojić) December 31, 1942: Bajo has already gathered 1200 men. Pavle has already gathered 3000 men. Bajo's men are at Ostrog, and Pavle's at Kolašin. Tetkići* (The Četniks' nickname for the Italians — Prosecutor's note) *say that the decision falls on January 2. So far they allow movement to Nikšić only. Pavle would not bother about what movement they allow if the question of food, one million and a half rounds, footwear and arms, was not still under discussion. There is a particularly great shortage of footwear. Pavle, Ivanišević and Rakočević spent the whole night with me, working. Today Rakočević guaranteed that he will get food and shoes. He is convinced that he will get these. Whether he gets them or not, Pavle will set out, but it is better to be shod than to go barefoot. Arrange contacts and all the rest in order to complete the preparations. What about Plećaš? Did you establish contact with Bjelajac and Mitrović?*
>
> *Mitranović with the Dinara men could tear the Soviet republic in two. Therefore Mitranović should have the strongest forces in the action. If Pavle goes by land, he should go across Šćepan Polje. It is very likely that he will ride . . .«*

In this telegram Mihailović, among other things, mentions that the Italians announced that on »January 2 the decision will be taken«. This was the decision of the representatives of the German and Italian General Staff made on January 3, 1943, at the meeting in Rome, on the launching of the Fourth Offensive.

As evidence of the attitude of Mihailović's Četniks and Mihailović himself in the Fourth Offensive of the invaders against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, we quote several extracts from the investigation material.

Jevđević informs Major Ostojić:

»№ 423 from Ištvan (Baćović), № 40. 18. I. 1943 —; Today permission arrived from Rome for the Montenegrins to go across Hercegovina. Our troops will be allowed to move when the Montenegrins start from Prozor. Our direction is Grahovo —Glamoč. The Italians give food, staff for the radio-station, supplies and medical staff. They are keeping Bjelajac for a special action they are carrying out with him in order to purge Lika. The Germans and the Italians are cutting off the retreat. To our men they give 100 rounds per soldier and one thousand machinegun rounds to every machine gunner, as well as ten heavy mortars with three thousand grenades. The commander of the army declared that he admired our army and would supply it with everything. The organization of the liberated zone was left to us. Today I leave for Hercegovina. My passport is in order, and I am taking with me a radio-telegraphist from the submarine. — Jevđević.«

Major Ostojić writes to Jevđević:

»To Jevđević: I beg you to obtain most urgently an order through the Sixth Corps to the effect that the Taurinense division from Plevlje across Foča should supply 5800 Četniks from the territory of the Governor of Montenegro who have arrived at Kalinovik. These include the forces of: Đurišić, Vesković, Ružić and Glumac. Branko.«

Major Ostojić writes to Dobrosav Jevđević:

»Lukačević only had on the left bank 700 orthodox Christians and 400 Moslems. The Moslems scattered after the first encounter, so that only our men remained.

Demand that the Italians hold out at all costs only until tomorrow noon, because by noon tomorrow Vojo will receive reinforcements, 1500 Montenegrins, and will then undoubtedly check the communists.

Let the Italians bomb the communists ceaselessly and ask for help from the German column from Bradina. Tell Lukačević, who has introduced himself as Capt. Nikola Đujić, deputy for Jovanović, that he must at all costs hold the line: Zlatar—Konjic—Paklena—Gođevac—Borašnica—Osobac, for which he will receive a reinforcement of 1500 men tomorrow noon.

If by chance Konjic shoud fall, organize a supply of food and ammunition to be dropped to our men, 500 of them, in the hamlet of Borčevina near the village of Borci, near the church, and later, at Čičevo. The sign will be two sheets folded into a rectangle in the direction of the wind. This is indispensable, for men without food and ammunition cannot fight, and this would be terrible. I hope that Voja will hold out until the arrival of reinforcements, because he is a first-class officer and fighter, but has worked with strangers.

Our troops march daily in the direction: Miljevina—Kalinovik—Glavatičevo—Borci; see to it that they are not bombed. Reply immediately. Branko.«

Captain Lukačević in a letter to Major Ostojić (»Čika Branko«) writes in his report of February 23, 1943, from Konjic:

»Dear Čika Branko,

Just as I had finished writing yesterday's report in the village of Džep, I received an urgent call from Vukčević and the Italian command in Konjic to come to their aid, because on February 22, during the day, the Partisans broke through the defence line of Vukčević, captured both Gornja and Donja Bjela and severed communication between Glavatičevo and Konjic.

I left Džep speedily with the Zagora battalion and my suite, got to the road and followed it into Konjic, where I encountered real panic.

After the soldiers had rested a bit, I went and carried out a short-distance bombing attack against the Partisans, who were located between Bijela and Ljubinja... The battle lasted continously from 1 a. m. to 4 p. m. I believe that by nightfall we will hold out in our original positions...

The Italian command last night showed me a radiogram sent by Jevđević, in which he asks that I leave as soon as possible in the direcion of Jablanica, because the situation of the Italian garrison there is critical...

Because of the situation in Bijela and environs of Konjic, I was unable to carry out any movement whatever in the direction of Jablanica.

To make up for this I reported that the Italian garrison should hold out, and that I was coming...

Yesterday about 10 a. m., 22. II, a Germano-Croat (i. e. Ustaša — Prosecutor's note) *column arrived at Konjic. It started out in the direction of Pazarić—Tarčin—Sedlo—Bradina—Brđani—Podorašac—Konjic.*

I saw the commander of this German column on the eve of its departure for a night attack, and got the following information from him.

The direction of his column from Konjic is to be Rama — Jablanica—Mostar. In addition to this column, another German column is advancing from the direction Pazarić—Tarčin. The direction of this second column is approximately parallel to the direction of the first column. One strong German column is advancing in the direction of Donji Vakuf—Prozor—Mostar.

Both the first and second German columns suffered serious losses in the battles on Ivan mountain and Bradina. The second German column seems to have been held up somewhere along the line Lepovci—Bale.

Have received your orders this moment. I see that we agree in general and that you are informed of the movement of the Germans, but as I have already written to you, with these small forces and by desperate efforts I have repulsed the first onrush of the communists against Konjic and Bijela.

Since Jablanica has already fallen, there is no need for me to hurry, and I am changing my decision in so far af I shall spend tomorrow in collecting my forces, particularly since I am now receiving so many reinforcements, so that, perhaps the day after tomorrow, 25. II., I shall launch a general counter-attack.

According to reports which are coming in, we inflicted serious losses upon the Partisans last night and today. My work is hampered because every now and then I must rush to Konjic and bolster up the morale of the Italian command, who shamefully lose it when I am not present.

With faith in God — for King and Fatherland!

Draža leads us to glory and freedom! Konjic, 23 II 43, at 4.45 p. m., Commander Capt. Voj. S. Lukačević. (signed).

Make Jevđević insist upon the dropping of arms and ammunition by plane since this garrison is lacking in them.«

This was the attitude of Mihailović's Četniks during the Fourth Offensive of the enemy against the Army of National Liberation and Partisan Detachments. As proof of this there are also several of Mihailović's letters. 28/III/43 Čika Đoka (Mihailović — Prosecutor's note) writes to Branko (Major Ostojić) in his own hand:

»*Dear Branko,*

We can have no better line than the Drina—Piva as a defence line. We must defend it with strong forces who have

a high morale. Although not abandoning flying brigades, we will content ourselves with a reduced number of them. In addition to those of Momčilović, which have crossed over, I think that at present one unit of at most 300 well-chosen men, should be sent from Mratinja to Đurevo, but these should not be Mratinja men as they are to remain at their positions, and only furnish the former with guides.

The communists by now must be preparing something, after the blow they received; the following are the possibilities:

1) They might prepare plans for crossing over; in this case they would be out of reach of artillery fire. This means from Brod, and Brod itself, and then to the south and from midway between Foča—Ustikolina and thence northwards. As new 22 (Italian — Prosecutor's note) *troops have not yet arrived, take care that from Ustikolina downstream they do not bypass us and compromise such a good line of defence.*

2) They may content themselves with the success achieved up to now and carry out forcible mobilization on the territory won. In this case Četnik warfare should prevent this.

3) They might attempt to cross over into East Bosnia — this is most probable, but this possibility requires further reflection.

It is necessary as soon as possible to transport peasant men and women to the other side and offer them good rewards to find out what is happening there, and inform us as soon as possible on all these matters.

It is urgently necessary to make fortifications along the banks and continue them all along the line. Care should be taken to defend the river itself.

To undertake the most active propaganda among the men, particularly emphasizing that the communists are connected with the Turks and that there are few Serbs among them, the rest being Turks and Ustašas. To point out their connection with the Germans.

On the first communication line form a new supply column with at least 150 pack-horses. Two groups of pack-horses could be organized at Ipsar and at the mouth of the Slatina river, so that unloading may be carried out and the horses changed. For this, very efficient and particularly energetic officers should be appointed, so that the supply service runs smoothly.

You said that you had two reserve brigades for the whole sector from Ustikolina to Šćepan Polje. Are there no more of them?

It is well that you ordered a resolute defence on the present positions. The morale should be high now.

If they appear on the cliffs, they should be strongly engaged by the 22 (Italians — Prosecutor's note) — *yesterday they helped well.*

The evacuation of the population, if it wants to be evacuated, should be carried out via Čajniče, Plevlje and further to Kolašin, and we can later take it over to Hercegovina.

You can remain there. Arrange everything that is necessary for the best defence and reconnaissance on the other side. Telegrams are just being received. As soon as we de-code them we shall send them to you.

28. III, at 9.10 hours. Greeting. Čika (Uncle) Đoka«.

In another letter dated 11. p. m., April 7, 1943, in Mihailović's handwriting, Mihailović told Major Ostojić in which position he should place an Italian company. Here is an extract from this letter:

»*Dear Čika Branko,*

Quiet down Voja and tell him who was in that »column«, but see to it at any rate that № 22 (Italians — Prosecutor's note) *send as quickly as possible to the right bank of the Dragačevo river, at least one company, which should be placed above the saw-mills. It is not necessary to cross it for the moment. The terrain is suitable for the closing up of that line. During last night I noticed the fires lit by the refugees. Some of our forces should also be sent there. It would be best to find about 50 men and send Lazarević there.*

Report what measures you have taken.

7. IV. 23 hours, Čika Đoka«.

Ostojić answered this letter from Mihailović, on April 8 at 0.5 a. m. Here is Ostojić's answer:

»*Dear Čika Đoka,*

I have already sent a report to Voja about the fugitives whom you noticed today and explained it to him.

№ 22 (Italians — Prosecutor's note) *reports that a battalion was sent towards the Dragačevo river. He reports that at twilight this battalion went behind the patrols. During the night I shall send 50 men in the direction of the saw-mills.*

Momčilović reports that the Bolsheviks again tried to cross the Ustikolina, but they were repelled and the crossing

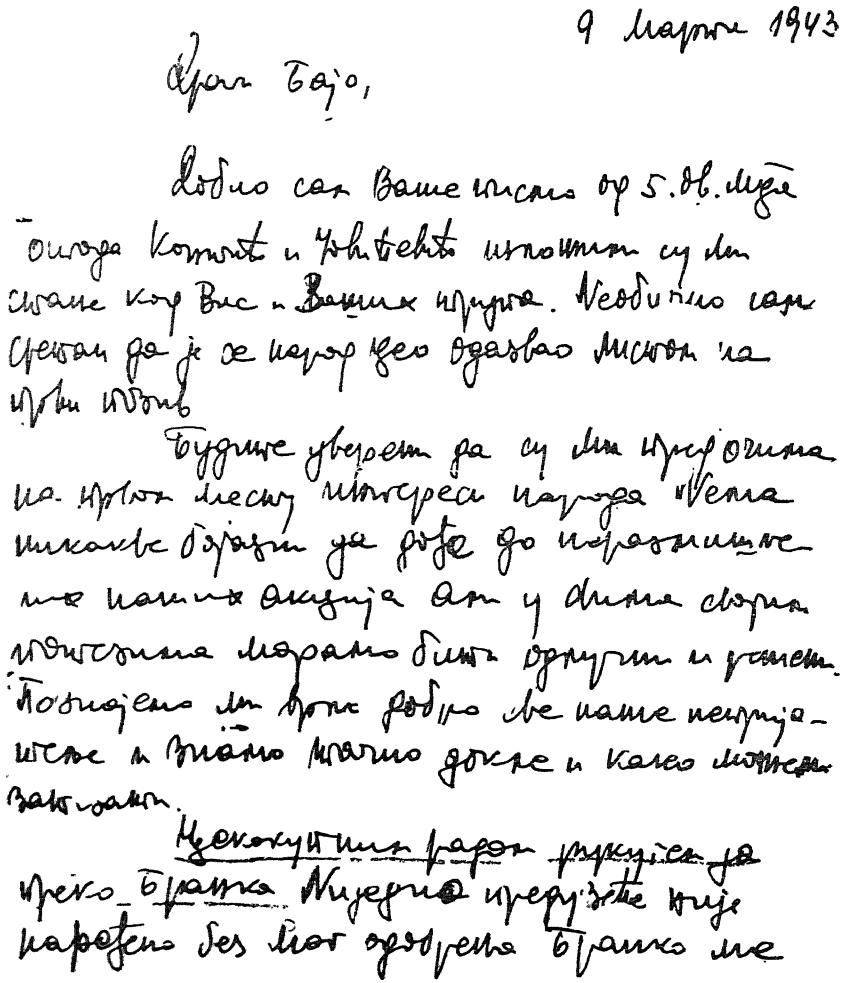
prevented. The battle began at 8.45 p. m. I ordered him to report to me through 22 (Italians — Prosecutor's note).

April 7 at 11.40 a. m. Greetings, Branko«.

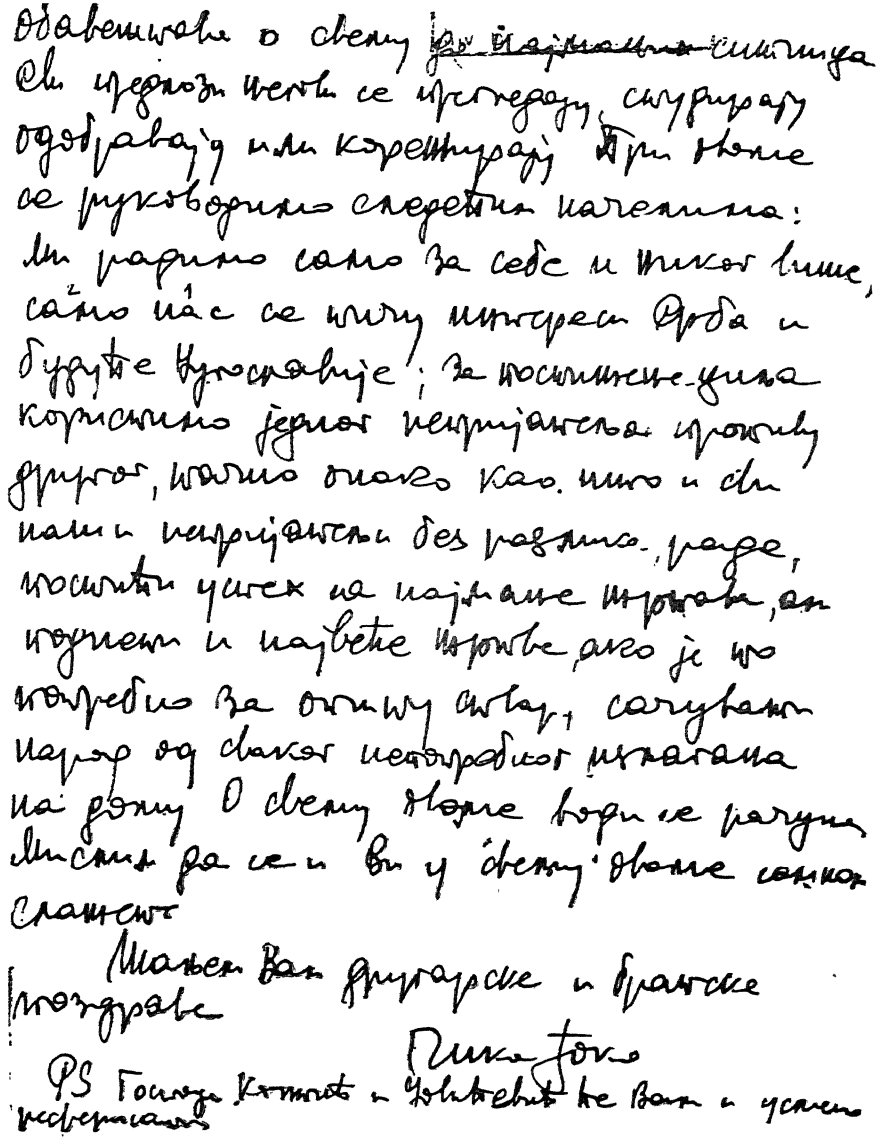
At the bottom of the letter was written in Draža's handwriting, in red pencil:

»*I understand. Thanks. It should however be ascertained whether battalion 22* (Italians — Prosecutor's note) *actually went to the Dragačevo river.*

8. IV. 0.5 Čika Đoka.«



Facsimile of the first part of the letter of Mihailović to Colonel Bajo Stanišić during the Fourth offensive in which the Četniks fought jointly with the Germans, Italians and Ustašas against the Army of National Liberation. Mihailović confirms that he personally directed the operations of the Četniks through Branko (Zaharije Ostojić) and that no order was issued without his permission.



Facsmile of the second part of the letter to Bajo Stanišić containing instructions that he should utilize the invader in the struggle against the Army of National Liberation. Mihailović signed the letter »čika Đoka«; this pseudonym is found in many of his letters; he used it in order to hide his treacherous work.

As can be seen from the above telegrams, Mihailović's commanders did not collaborate with the Germans on their own. They received instructions and orders for such collaboration from Mihailović. In the investigation material there is a great number of telegrams which Mihailović sent to his commanders and in which he continuously repeats the same thing: our chief enemies are the communists (as he called all the members of the National Liberation Movement), we cannot fight simultaneously against all enemies; the Germans, the invaders and Nedić's Serbian State Guards should be utilized, we must only be careful to do it secretly as far as possible, because the people condemn open collaboration with the invader. »Try to get arms discreetly, use careful tactics, etc.«

In an undated letter Mihailović writes in his own hand to Dobrosav Jevđević:

> »*Take full initiative in developing the organization and armed forces, but always keep in mind that the people will not stand any »legal« work.* (Answer to Aera — Jevđević with signature »your 1001», i. e., Draža).

As can be seen from the above passage from Mihailović's letter, he himself draws Jevđević's attention to the fact that »legal«, i. e., public and open collaboration is harmful and compromising. He gained this experience in the course of his collaboration with the invader. Therefore, when he gives instructions for collaboration he tries to disguise them.

In a circular to all the commanders Mihailović gives the following instructions:

> »... *It is necessary to do it in this way, as whoever attacks the Germans is directly helping the communists, and thus making the situation more difficult for our forces. Therefore, all armed action against the occupation forces should be discontinued until I give further orders. We must remember that we have a great number of enemies. We cannot fight against all of them simultaneously. Our chief enemies now are the communists...*« (Mihailović's telegram № 708 to all his commanders dated May 7, 1944).

Then there is Mihailović's telegram to Major Ostojić (№ 600 dated 1. V. 1944):

> »...*Utilize No. 11* (Germans — Prosecutor's note) *as much as possible in order to succeed more easily...*«

Then Mihailović's telegram to Jevđević № 611, dated May 2, 1944:

»... *Utilize the German offensive in Gorski Kotar*«.

In the material collected for the inquiry there are many similar telegrams from Mihailović. Such were his disguised instructions for collaboration with the invader against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments, which he sent to his commanders. And here are examples of the way in which Mihailović's commanders »utilized« the invader.

One of Mihailović's commanders reports to him:

»*No. 786 from Ras-Ras* (pseudonym of Kalabić — Prosecutor's note) *No. 711, dated 16. I. 1944. On Javor at Kušić and Katić fighting continues between the communists on the one side, and Četniks, field guards, Germans and Bulgarians on the other. There are about 3.500 communists. They are encircled and should now be finally defeated.*«

Here is another example. Mihailović's commander for Serbia, General Trifunović, reports to him:

»*Telegrams 468 and 369 received. Details on the situation, from the intelligence service, received at 4 in the evening: communists are at Divčibare. They captured the village of Mionica on Subjel mountain. Communist attacks repelled in direction of Bukovo. Kalabić and Ajdačić fought at Bukovo. There was fighting on the front from Bukovo to Povlen and from Bukovo to Ražana. Also on Subjel and Previja. Disposition of forces: Field Guard at Mravinjci. Kalabić at Bukovo. From Bukovo to Ražana, Ajdačić. At Ražana one battalion of Germans and Kalabić's men. At Kosjerić our forces and one battalion of volunteers* (Ljotić's — Prosecutors's note). *At Seča Reka one brigade of Raković's and Germans. At Varda one battalion of Russian White Guards and one battalion of volunteers. At Dub, one battalion of Germans and one battalion of volunteers. In the area: Ražana—Subjel—Kosjerić several wounded Partisans captured. Ajdačić's losses: one wounded, one killed and 10 captured. Raković and Janković: one killed and one wounded each. In order to avoid confusion, I did not give any orders concerning this since you are giving instructions...*« (telegram from Hans No. 648 and 649 of May 5, 1944).

Neško Nedić reports to Mihailović:

»*From Gar-Gara* (Captain Neško Nedić) *No. 85 dated May 5, 1944: Forces under my command took the defensive on the line Bačevci and Kosjerić, i. e., — Valjevo corps with some Germans hold the left bank of Grac in the heights of Lipa—Ravan. At this place all communist attacks were repulsed*

yesterday. Ajdačić, with some Germans, is closing up Bukovik Ražana postitions. In the Ražana—Kosjerić area there is a battalion of Germans. Njegovan's brigade, as reserve, holds Divčibare. Raković's corps is at Kosjerić to carry out offensive. №86. — Continuation. My idea is to create, with support of Germans, strong protection of Bačevci—Kosjerić line, until the forces are rallied, and conditions for an annihilating blow created, then to destroy the First, Second, and finally Third division. With this object in view, the front against the second division is today on the defensive, while a new division from the west is being attacked by a battalion of Germans, and by three battalions of Ljotić's men, and we are waiting for it. An attack with engagements is being launched today against the Fifth division.

Continuation, No. 98 of May 6: I am proceeding today towards the west with an offensive group, while our right wing still remains on the defensive at its position at Teskovice. A volunteer regiment with a battalion of Germans is pushing the Partisans from Mravinjci towards Radanovci. It seems that the Second and Fifth division must proceed to the south in the area of Tara, and perhaps even towards Bosnia, to be reinforced and to rest, for they are badly beaten and have little ammunition. Two German motorized battalions stand on the road to the north of Kosjerić ready to cross over to the area of Jelova Gora if the Partisans start penetrating towards the south. The Germans look upon us with suspicion and I am on the watch.«

In the beginning of 1945, when Mihailović found himself in a difficult situation, he openly demanded arms and ammunition from the Germans — just as, in the beginning of April 1943, he had asked for them from the Italians — obliging himself to participate with the Germans in the operations against the National liberation Army. Here is one of his telegrams sent to his officer, Colonel Borota:

»*№ 645 dated 7. II. 1945, from General Headquarters; urgent and personal: Through Doder inform № 11 of the following:* (№ 11 are Germans — Prosecutor's note) *All promises concerning ammunition are not yet fulfilled. For this reason forces from Serbia cannot participate in the action against Tuzla and in general cannot take part in any action. The forces from Serbia have the impression that delivery is being intentionally held up, and that in this way № 11 is deliberately helping the communists. All successful work regarding the communists depends exclusively on ammunition which № 11 should give us.*

We should not like to spoil our relations. Inform us urgently of the results and the date of delivery. Consignment to be handed over to us at Rudanka railway station... — Čiča.«

From one of the telegrams it can be seen that Mihailović warmly received a diversionary-terrorist-espinage group, which the Gestapo sent from Vienna, after it had finished its training, with the task of crossing over into Serbia to carry out diversionary, terrorist and espionage acts. Mihailović reports to Colonel Borota:

»№ *8 from General Headquarters, January 14, 1945: Call Colonel Pavlović* (commander of all Mihailović's diversionary-espionage-terrorist groups called »commandos« Prosecutor's note) *and with him establish contact with Gara* (Gašparević — leader of the group sent by Vienna Gestapo — (Prosecutor's note), *I repeat with Gara; inform Pavlović that I have nothing against receiving the men under the command of Gara at our headquarters. Colonel Pavlović should take special instructors from Gara in order to utilize their experience. Hold a meeting with Gara, but it would be useful if Colonel Pavlović were also present... — Čiča.«*

These few excerpts are sufficient to prove the seriousness of the treason committed by Mihailović in the most critical days of war and occupation, when our peoples were carrying on a life and death struggle against the German-fascist invaders and their servants and helpers. And when, at the public trial, the whole of the investigation material is discussed, then the really treacherous character of one of the most perfidious traitors known in the history of the peoples of Yugoslavia will appear in its true light. It will then be clearly seen that Mihailović and the whole of his organization were nothing but a kind of »fifth column« of the German fascist invaders and that fundamentally there was no essential difference between Mihailović and the quislings Nedić and Pavelić.

All during the war and occupation, Mihailović, constantly inspired and helped by reactionary circles abroad, especially in England and America, fought exclusively with the aim of suppressing the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In this struggle he continuously collaborated with the quislings and the invaders.

Further, Mihailović is not only a wicked traitor to our peoples, but also an especially wicked war criminal. In the investigation material, attached to the indictment, there is a large file with numerous documents of horrible war crimes committed by Mihailović's military

ДРАГИ ЧИКА ЂОКО !

Од нашег последњег растанка, код нас су стално неке трзавице. По Вољи сам Вам послао опширан извештај. Јевђевић је коначно ослобођен испод полицијског надзора. Бирчанин са својим Штабом отпутовао за Сплит. Јевђевић путује у друштву са неким италијанским ђенералом који је дошао из Рима, по свему изгледа да је италијански обавештајни официр. Јевђевић ме је известио да овај италијански ђенерал тражи да се састане самном ради преговора. Састанак сам одбио из простог разлога што све преговоре који се односе са талијанима то може Јевђевић свршити. Јевђевић ми је саопштио да му је овај исти ђенерал рекао да Павле Ђуришић и ја намеравамо извршити револуцију у Црној Гори и Херцеговини. Италијани су лукави и желе да у дефаћима уђу у нашу организацију, зато је овај ђенерал обишао све наше трупе које су се налазиле у близини путева. Јевђевић Вам је опширно писао о његовом и Војводином случају као и то да италијани желе да разговарају са Вама. Ни у ком случају неби требало нико да разговара у име Ваше са талијанима, сви други могу да разговарају и преговарају а не Ви. Скренуо сам пажњу Јевђевићу да скрене и Војводи пажњу да нико Ваше име не разговара са талијанима јер на то нема право. Ви знате да сте идеал нашега народа и то наш народ неби примио добро. Немојте мислити да је ово неки савет са моје стране, само знам расположење народа који жели да Ви и Ваши сарадници остану у слободним Српским планинама без икакове интимне сарадње са окупатором. Ова тројица који су се спустили близу Невесиња турци су их приметили и неки хрвати који ту близу станују

Чим примите овај мој извештај по свим питањима и тражењима одмах ме известите путем курира. Преко капетана Ружића капетана Пејовића поручника Поповића Гацко који ће бити обавештен где се ја налазим. Са капетаном Салатићем и капетаном Ковачевићем крећем на пут у обилазак срезова и давања детаљног упутсрва.

С ВЕРОМ У БОГА ЗА КРАЉА И ОТАЏБИНУ

3. августа 1942 године
Слободне Српске планине.

Report of Ištvan (Petar Baćović) to Čika Đoka (Draža Mihailović) concerning the cooperation of Birčanin and Jevđević with the Italians.

formations and terrorist bands, who acted according to instructions and orders issued by Mihailović.

In the course of the occupation, Mihailović created a system for the committing of war crimes, a system of militarized banditry, which differed from ordinary banditry only in the fact that the crimes were committed by organizations formed as military bodies which were linked and centralized, and subordinated to the will of the supreme leader, the supreme commander. We shall quote a few typical circulars, instructions and orders of Mihailović from numerous similar documents contained in the investigation material, from which it will be seen what a system of militarized banditry the accused Mihailović had created.

Mihailović gives instructions in a telegram to Majors Račić and Baćović:

»№ *276 dated August 18, 1942, to Đorđe* (Račić — Prosecutor's note) *and Ištvan* (Baćović — Prosecutor's note):

It is very important and absolutely necessary to defeat the communists so that no trace of them is left. They have undertaken a campaign against us, because they are furious at being almost completely wiped out in the country . . . «

Further, Mihailović issues orders in a circular to all the commanders in Serbia:

»№ *921 dated March 2, 1943. Circular to everybody in Serbia.*

There are only few communists left in Serbia. In West Bosnia we are annihilating them daily. In bitter despair Comrade Tito calls upon the people to join the uprising, and for that reason individual small groups have re-appeared. I, therefore, most energetically demand and order that everybody on his own territory annihilates the very last remnants of the communists, and informs me about it by March 25. Let us prove to these blackguards that they have nobody among the people, and that their only weapon is their lying propaganda. I emphasize that there are areas where there is not a single communist, and where the commanders are worthy of their duty. For this annihilation use the Serbian State Guard to the utmost. For the execution of this task make contact with the neighbours.«

In a telegram Mihailović sends an order to Pavle Đurišić (Đuzepe):

»№ *2033 dated May 9, 1943, to Đuzepe:*

Send your demand for Ružić through Radulović. My opinion is that the communists should be annihilated by attack-

ing on all fronts. Baćović is advancing from Ravni towards Piva and through Sutjeska towards Ščepan Polje. He has captured Kalinovik, Major Keserović has taken over the whole area on the right bank of the Lim river and in a few days he will purge it from all sympathizers. We shall liquidate what is not good and shall do it at once.«

He further gives orders to his commander He-He:

»№ *171 dated 25. IX. 1943, for He-He:*

Your number 966—969 link. Continue purging your areas of communists. Through propaganda win over the Toplica people to our cause. Purge the area of sympathizers by means of the Black Threes...«

And further, Mihailović in a telegram sends an order to his commander Emil:

»№ *511 dated Nov. 18, 1943, to Emil: — I received all your telegrams regarding the carrying out of actions against the communists (№ 193 to 205). I agree with the suspension of the commander of the second flying brigade, as the sole obstacle to a definite liquidation of the communists. I am very satisfied that you have broken through to Jastrebac and that you have established contact with Keserović. Very energetic work on purging the area not only of communists but also of their helpers is very necessary now...«*

While reading these telegrams one should bear in mind firstly, that Mihailović always refers to all the members of the National Liberation Movement as »communists«, and especially the fighters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia.

Secondly, from the telegrams quoted it can be seen that Mihailović explicitly orders the execution of sympathizers and helpers of communists, i. e. the civilian population, who followed with sympathy and helped as far as it could the heroic struggle of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments against the fascist invaders and their servants in the country.

And thirdly, it should not be forgotten that the investigating material contains hundreds of similar documents.

For the execution of such instructions Mihailović formed within his organization special instruments: the »Black Threes«, and the »Flying brigades«. The chief of the »Black Threes« in Yugoslavia was Mihailović himself. Here is what he says about the »Black Threes«.

»*Threes for the application of the letter Z* (first letter of the word »zaklati« — to cut the throat of — Prosecutor's

note) *carry with them as an identification sign a clover leaf with four petals made of grey cardboard. Inform the neighbours. Čiča.*

№ 640 dated Sept. 21, 1942, Draža's telegram:

...»*Once a man is marked with the letter Z it is never removed... Greetings, Čiča*«.

Draža's telegram № 646 dated Sept. 22, 1942:

»... *Chief of the Threes in Yugoslavia warns the Threes that they are too bold and open in their approach and that they should, on the contrary, attack from the rear...*« (Mihailović's telegram to the president of the Yugoslav government Slobodan Jovanović in which he explains what the »Black Threes« are.« — № 116, 321 of July 27, 1942.).

There was not a single Četnik brigade which did not contain several »Black Threes« who worked exclusively according to orders given by commanders of brigades. According to the structure of his organization, Mihailović had brigades in almost all the districts of Serbia, Montonegro, Sandžak, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Lika, etc. In each district several »Black Threes« functioned. In many towns Mihailović's »Black Threes« also functioned with the full support of the quisling police and the condescending tolerance of the invader. The »Black Threes« were composed of specially chosen sadistic and bloodthirsty types. Thus Mihailović established a special mechanism for slaughtering all the adherents of the National Liberation Movement.

Mihailović's »Flying brigades« had the same tasks as the »Black Threes« and, in addition, they had to purge the terrain of small Partisan groups. Here is what Mihailović's telegrams say about this:

»... *The task of the »Flying brigades« is to definitely purge their terrain of communists and their sympathizers and other elements destructive to our organization, in so far as this has not already been done. To avoid conflicts with the invader, brigades should live outside of inhabited places, in huts, and should frequently change their quarters*«. (Mihailović's general instructions — telegrams № 2293 of May 29, 1943).

Mihailović's orders for the killing of »communists and their helpers« were executed not only by the »Black Threes« and »Flying brigades«, but also by all his corps, brigades, battalions and companies.

From beginning to end, having set up his organization as a Pan-Serbian organization — as an armed force of the Pan-Serbian reaction, Mihailović inspired his organization with chauvinistic hatred

Р Е Ф Е Р А Т

НАЧЕЛНИКУ ШТАБА ВРХОВНЕ КОМАНДЕ И МИНИСТРУ ВОЈСКЕ МОРНАРИЦЕ И ВАЗДУХОПЛОВСТВА

У вези раније понуде Мађарске Владе за успостављање везе са Вама и Вашим унутстиво.по овоме, изаслаником Вас у следећем:

Крајем јануара 1944 год.(око 28 јануара) мађарски функционер преко кога Арсеи одржава везу, био је у Будим Пешти позван од стране пуковника Ујсаска који му је саопштио следеће:

„одмах по пријему Вашег извештаја о успостављању канала са ДМ известио сам претседника владе Калајма који се живо интересовао за ову меру". Даље је пуковн к Ујсаси рекао да само чека писмен позив од ДМ на да дође на састанак кој им му ДМ закаже. Том приликом му је поновио НУЖУ ГОТОВОСТ МАЂАРСКЕ ВЛАДЕ ДА СА ДМ УСПОСТАВИ СТАЛНУ ВЕЗУ И ДА ЈУ У НАЈШИРЕМ ГРАНИЦАМА МОГУЋНОСТИ, У СВЕМУ ИЗАЂЕ У СУСРЕТ, као и да покуша да у најдоследнијим разговорима са њим (са ДМ) нађе предуслове за решење мађарско-српских односа после рата.

Овај функционер замолио је Арсеа следеће: потресу за апсолутном дискрецијом по целој овој ствари и молбу,да се све што се односи на ову везу пред преко њега, којем је приликом открио бојазан да се ова веза не би мимо њега извршила.

Обзиром на услове под којима се овај канал успоставља потписати је мишљења да је ово за нас најповољнији канал, пошто долази директно из Будим Пеште до Београда њиховим старањем, а тек од Београда се преноси на ову команду. Затим по мишљењу је Београдска личност Господина ман отри лако је могла доћи до овог датума до контакта, може се сматрати да је ово погодији канал од онога којег би та личност успоставила.

Како Мађари све енергичније траже конкретан одговор, у име пуковн ка Ујсаска, молим Господина Министра за мерење шта могу одговорити на њихово питање:

"Какав конкретан одговор имате по предлогу којим сам учинио по овлашћењу пуковника Ујсаска и зашто се још није искористила већ успостављена веза."

9 фебруара 1944 године
Београд.



Report of the Vojvodina Četnik Staff to Mihailović, and his note.

against the Croatian people and the Moslem population, and against the other peoples of Yugoslavia. Among the Serbian people, he and his helpers, both those in the country and those in emigration, especially the Pan-Serbian reactionaries in the emigrant government,

constantly instigated chauvinistic hatred against the Croats and Moslems, accusing the whole Croatian people and the Moslems of the horrible massacres of the Serbian population, which were really carried out by the fascist servants — Pavelić's Ustašas.

We quote only a few excerpts from the documents contained in the investigation material, in order to demonstrate how Mihailović's »Black Threes«, »Flying brigades«, corps, brigades, etc, executed his instructions.

Major Zaharije Ostojić reports to Mihailović:

»*Yesterday I completed the action as far as Ustikolina and Jahorina ridge. Ustašas well beaten. According to details obtained, about 500 dead and about 1000—2000 Moslems slaughtered. All the troops good fighters, but much better plunderers, except Pavle. The fall of Foča had a good effect, Moslems fleeing in masses to Sarajevo. Ordered troops to return home and am since yesterday at Kalinovik solving other questions with Ištvan and Jevđević. Now they are satisfied. 1002*«. (Telegram № 466 of August 23, 1942).

Baćović informs Mihailović.

»*I have returned from my trip through Hercegovina. Four of our battalions, about 900 men, set off on August 30 via Ljubuško, Imotsko, Podgora, and reached the sea at Makarska. 17 Ustaša villages burnt. 900 Ustašas killed. Several catholic priests skinned alive. For the first time after the downfall, our flag hoisted by the sea, and Draža Mihailović cheered. Our losses very small.*« (Telegram № 544 of September 4, 1942). Ješa Simić sends a telegram to Mihailović:

»*Ras' units in fights with the Reds had no losses, while they had four dead. Karađorđe in the village Banja slaughtered eighteen outstanding and hardened Reds. Purging still continues in the direction of Darosava. Dom is ill, he is receiving injections; units on terrain are energetically pursuing the Reds. Greetings. Drška*« — (Telegram № 804 of January 15, 1943).

Mihailović's commander Dal-Dal reports to him:

»*We caught fourteen alive and slaughtered them. Reinforcements reached our men later, 150 men from Grahovo and 200 from the Strmnica Brigade. The battle continued day and night in storm and snow. And while I am writing this to you, our men are driving the communists over Stožište and Grahovo towards the village of Tičevo in the direction of Glamoč. In this battle so far we have killed 93 communists,*

while 28 were caught alive and slaughtered.« — (Telegram № 12692 of Dec. 17, 1943).

And further:

»We lost there three fighters and 2 rifles, and captured 4 machine guns, 11 rifles and 140 communists, among whom were 7 Serbs and all the rest were Croats. Our fighters let 3 Serbs go home and all the rest they slaughtered and threw into a pit. Our fighters say that they are incorrigible and completely corrupt, and that they died unrepentant.« — (Telegram № 12627 of December 17, 1943).

Lieutenant-Colonel Radojević informs Mihailović:

»Since the Serbian outcasts helped the proletarian scum in certain villages, I ordered the liquidation of entire families, the burning of homes and whole villages in which the Partisans find shelter. This I have ordered because we have lost the best of our nationalists on account of the outcasts of our people«. — (Telegram № 13007 of December 28, 1943 from Georgije).

In his report marked strictly confidential, № 23 dated January I, 1943, Mihailović's commander Pavle Đurišić informs him:

»To the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command — at the front. The action on the right bank of the Lim river in Bjelo Polje district is finished. It was executed exactly according to plan. The result of this battle is:

1) The following Moslem villages entirely destroyed: (Sector: Plevlje, Sjenica, Peć and Kolašin):

Voljavac, Gubavača, Radijelja, Usakovići, Presečenik, Baturići, Donji Vlah, (Plevlje region), Murovići, Šolja, Radojeva Glava, Pobratići, Mediše, Donja Kostenica, Stublo, Vrh, Zmijinac, Šipovice, Negobratina, Osmanbegovo Selo, Dupljaci, Jasen, Kostići, Kaševar, Ivanje, Godijevo, Žilica, Gornja Crnča, Gornji Radulići, Vrba, Crkalj, Kradenik, Sipanje, Ličani, (Sjenica — Peć sector). In all 33 villages.

2)Losses of Moslem fighters about 400, women and children about 1000.

The commander of the Kladanj Brigade, Second-Lieutenant Stevo Vojnović informs the commander of the Ozren military Četnik corps:

»... The battalions have been sent back to pursue the criminals and to catch them. We killed everyone we laid our hands on. In the place where the crime took place, killed about 10 persons and burned the villages. In the reprisals the Vlasenica Brigade took a particularly prominent part, especially

Rajko Čelonja with his battalion. According to him and his men, about 150 were killed, both men and women, while on all sides the flames of the burned villages rose to the sky . . .«

Pavle Đurišić in his report of February 13, 1943 informs Mihailović:

»To the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command: The action in Plevlje, Čajniče and Foča districts against the Moslems has been carried out. The operations were executed exactly according to orders. The attack began at the appointed time.



Mihailović's commander, Colonel Bajo Stanišić (left), Italian Governor of Montenegro, Pirzio Biroli, and Bishop Joanikije arriving at a ceremony.

All the commanders and units carried out their tasks satisfactorily. On the night of the 7th of this month our detachments had already reached the Drina river, so that the battles were mostly finished on that day, and then followed the purging of the liberated territory. All Moslem villages in the three above mentioned districts are entirely burnt, so that not one of their houses has remained undamaged. All property has been destroyed except the cattle, wheat and hay. In certain places the collection of fodder and food has been ordered so that we can set up warehouses for reserve food for the units which

have remained on the terrain in order to purge it and to search the wooded areas, as well as to establish and strengthen the organization on the liberated territory. During operations, complete annihilation of the Moslem population was undertaken, regardless of sex and age.

Victims... among the Moslems, about 1200 fighters and up to 8 thousand other victims: women, old men and children...«

Baćović informs Mihailović in a telegram:

»I have burned entire villages, I have 170 prisoners. I am executing the people by shooting every day...« (Telegram № 2960 from Ištvan for 570, №215, April 2, 1943).

Mihailović trained this savage band of robbers, who did not shrink from any crime. In addition to massacre, burning of villages and plundering, Mihailović's Četniks committed acts of violation. His commander Luj informs him:

»It was daylight and my eyes are to be trusted, for my pride as a man and as an officer in the Guards does not permit me to fall so low in these difficult days. Miloš violated a communist girl and then killed her. I did not report him, because I considered it was not the time to make reports about such things and that this was no reason to remove him as detrimental. A detailed report follows«. (Telegram № 10,460 of November 1943).

The following note was written by Mihailović's »legalized« corps commander Miloš Glišić:

»Imprisoned communist women are used...«, and on the other side of the notebook is the phrase: *»Communist women are used for sexual purposes...«* (This is Glišić's notebook for 1941).

Mihailović did not shrink from liquidating parachutists who were forced to land from damaged Allied planes. Nerre is an example. In telegram № 467 dated December 10, 1943, Mihailović issued an order to Hugo (Bora Mitranović):

»In connection with your number 137, we inform you that both parachutists are spies of the worst kind... Court-martial them immediately. They came to work against us. This is the charge against them«.

Following the line given by Mihailović, his commanders committed espionage for the benefit of the invader, collected details on the attitude and opinion of patriots and reported regularly to the quisling police or to the invader, and often asked the invader to shoot

a certain number of the followers of the National Liberation Movement. Here are several examples:

Capt. Vignjević (Azed) in telegram № 314, dated January 4, 1944, informs Mihailović:

»*Today I received from Diša Jovanović a list of communists in Požega, which was composed at your orders. I immediately forwarded it through the proper channels to the right quarters*«.

Capt. Raković (Frike) in telegram 2550. № 110 dated March 23, 1943 informs Mihailović:

»*.. If a soldier of the invader should be killed in this area the houses are not all to be burned, but only those belonging to Partisans, who are listed, and only Partisans should be killed*«. (Raković concluded these terms with the German commander of Gornji Milanovac — Prosecutor's note).

Sava Vukadinović (Dra-Dra) in telegram № 9861 dated April 22, 1943 reports to Mihailović:

»*...For the murder of Bajo* (Stanišić — Prosecutor's note) and Blažo (Đukanović — Prosecutor's note) *I have asked our men in Podgorica to appeal to the Germans, through Arsa Petrović, to shoot 300 communists released from the prison at Bar, who were again arrested in Podgorica*«.

The Četniks in the Italian zone of occupation received considerable sums of money from the Italians for each Partisan killed. Here is an example:

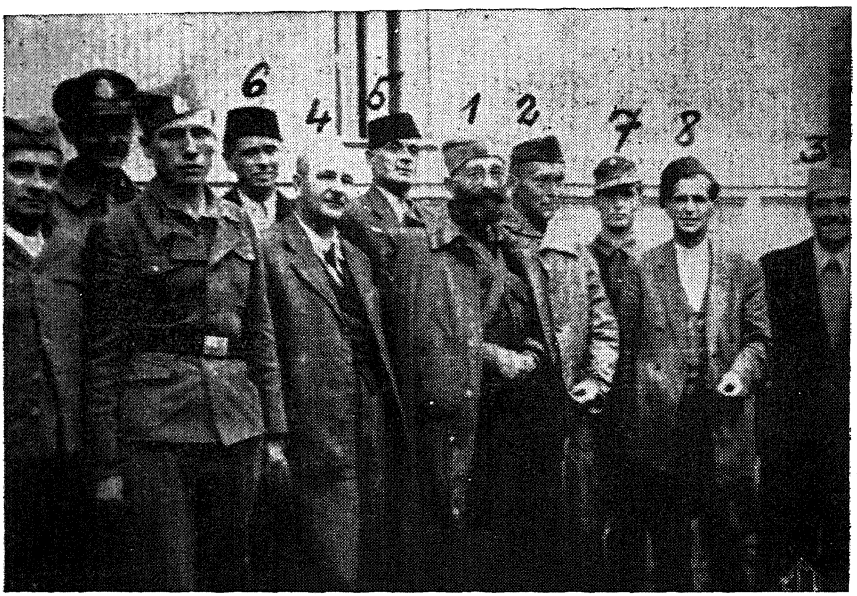
»*The Headquarters of the Zeta Flying Detachment № 321, May 13, 1943, Danilov Grad. To the commander of the 4th Četnik battalion Capt. Špiro Stojanović — Danilov Grad. For the killed deserter and rebel, the communist Jagoš Kontić. the sum of 30.000 (thirty thousand) lire has been paid out as a reward by the treasurer of the »Ferrara« division.*

As the killing of the above mentioned man on January 14, 1943, was carried out by the men of the 4th Četnik Battalion with gendarmes attached, and by some peasants- send me immediately a list of persons who participated in his capture and killing, including gendarmes and militiamen, in order that the allotted rewards may be distributed to them. Commander Col. Bajo Stanišić, signed«.

From these various short excerpts, taken from the detailed investigation material regarding the war crimes committed by Draža Mihailović and his organization, it can be stated without exaggeration that, in view of the brutality and gravity of the crimes com-

mitted, and in view of the enormous number of victims, Mihailović may be classed among the most notorious criminals of this war; undoubtedly he is not far behind either the quisling Nedić or Pavelić.

As leader of the Četnik organization which committed these countless grave crimes, Mihailović bears criminal responsibility for each particular crime committed by each and every adherent of his organization, even if many of the perpetrators of these crimes who belonged to his organization, were unknown to him. This principle has also been adopted by the International Court in Nürnberg which is trying the German-fascist war criminals.



Photograph taken at Dvori, near Bjeljina, on September 28, 1944; 1) Mihailović, 2) Colonel McDowell of the American Army, 3) Mustafa Mulalić, and a group of Ustašas.

Mihailović is responsible for all these actual crimes, and for each individual crime, as an accessory, because they were committed by organizations which were subordinate to him (Black Threes, Flying brigades, etc.) and which only carried out his directions and orders. Therefore Mihailović in reality committed all these crimes indirectly through his organizations, through men who comprised those organizations. Between him and the perpetrators of the crimes there existed a relationship of the absolute subordination of the perpetrators of the crimes towards him, which relationship made possible the application of severe measures on the part of Draža Mihailović

against any member of his organization who dared to refuse to carry out an order issued by him. Of course, this does not mean that perpetrators of specific crimes are not criminally responsible, for only feeble-minded persons and children are not held responsible before the law. And the Četnik criminals do not belong to this category. On the contrary they were fully aware of the nature of the crimes they were comitting, but they committed them nevertheless, for they were imbued with furious hatred against the adherents of the National Liberation Movement, with inflamed chauvinistic hatred against the Croats and Moslems, instilled in them by Mihailović and his helpers in directing the Četnik organization.

Moreover, Mihailović is criminally responsible as the creator of the criminal system of militarized banditry, which after the liberation of our country, became just common banditry. Mihailović is the direct perpetrator of this crime. It is graver than any specific crime, however serious, because all specific war crimes are only the result of the putting into practice and consistent application of militarized banditry.

Together with Mihailović his collaborators are also held responsible, both for treason and for war crimes, namely: the accused Stevan Moljević, Mladen Žujović and Živko Topalović, because, as leaders of Mihailović's so-called Central National Committee, they collaborated most closely with Mihailović in directing the Četnik organization. This can best be seen from excerpts taken from the evidence given by Mihailović to the examining magistrate. This read as follows:

> »*Telegrams from abroad were typed in one copy, each of which we read together* (this refers to Moljević, Dragiša Vasić, and Mladen Žujović — Prosecutor's note) *and they also received copies of all telegrams from the interior. After studying the telegrams, they would return them to me for destruction. In this way, they were informed of the contents of all telegrams from the interior of the country and abroad, regardless of their military or political nature.*
>
> *Written reports which were sent from the terrain were submitted to them for consideration if they were of a political character; they retained reports of a purely political nature, but if they contained any military matter they would return them to me.*
>
> *I had no secrets from these three men, nor did I hide anything from them. We worked together on the telegrams, in the same room and as far as other written work was concerned, everyone worked according to his own branch in his*

own room. Before or after work, we would discuss matters together and all work was the result of our common effort.« *(Page 131 and 137 Mihailović's record).*

To the question asked by the examining magistrate as to whether Moljević and Žujović were kept informed of military operations, and whether he asked them for their approval on these questions also, Mihailović answered: —

»I have said that I never hid anything from them. As far as I know they never disagreed with me in military questions either«. Page 132 Mihailović's record).

In answer to the question of the examining magistrate as to who decided general lines of the policy towards the Partisan Movement, Mihailović replied:

»Up to the time of the congress at Ba, this policy was laid down by Vasić, Moljević and Žujović«. (Page 133 — Mihailović's record).

In connection with the proclamations which were published in the press, Mihailović said: —

»They were the result of common efforts.«

Finally, speaking about relations of the Executive Committee of the so-called Central National Committee, and the Supreme Command, Mihailović says:

»These were two parallel institutions. The Executive Committee was the supreme political body, and the Supreme Command was the supreme military staff. Both institutions were united in my person. Both these institutions, under the conditions of war, coordinated in the fullest sense of the word, and such was the situation in my organization that the activities of the Supreme Command and of the Executive Committee supplemented and helped each other.

The Supreme Command could take action, for it had at its disposal military power, but, in this case the Supreme Command bore full responsibility, and the Executive Committee could threaten to resign, which exerted pressure on the Commander, so that he had to take into account the attitude of the Executive Committee.« (Page 135 Mihailović's record).

I answer to the question as to whether opposing viewpoints, in connection with military actions of the Četnik organizations, occurred between him and his supreme command and the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee, Mihailović replied:

»No. Unanimity existed in our work«. —

Preuzvišenosti,

Preplavivši Srbiju i druge srpske pokrajine, komunistički val od nekoga vremena zapljuskuje i one pokrajine, koje nastanjuje hrvatski narod. On se sve više širi i, naročito poslednjih dana, preti da preplavi i te krajeve, onako isto kako je to bio slučaj u minuloj godini sa srpskim krajevima. Prilikom prve audijencije, kojom ste donosiocu ovoga pisma učinili čast, imao je on prilike da obavesti Vašu Preuzvišenost o svima nevoljama i patnjama, što ih je komunizam prouzrokovao srpskome narodu u toku nekoliko minulih meseci.

Osećajući u ovim časovima potrebu da, pored ostalih, i Vašoj Preuzvišenosti, kao duhovnome vođji hrvatskoga naroda, skrenem pažnju na sve strahote eventualnog komunističkog osvajanja hrvatskoga prostora, meni je čast da u prilogu dostavim Vašoj Preuzvišenosti jedan memoar u kome su izložena moja gledišta na sadašnji vojni i politički položaj. Donosilac ovoga pisma biće Vašoj Ekselenciji na raspoloženju za eventualna dalja obaveštenja.

Bez obzira na sve one momente i okolnosti, koji su nas ili koji bi nas mogli deliti, ja smatram za svoju dužnost, da zamolim i Vašu Preuzvišenost, da uloži sav svoj uticaj i sve svoje napore u cilju aktiviranja svih nacionalnih snaga hrvatskoga naroda u borbi protivu boljševizma. Upućujući Vam ovu molbu, ja želim da verujem, da će Vaša Preuzvišenost, idući stopama svojih velikih prethodnika, odgovoriti svim onim istorijskim dužnostima i zadatcima, koji se pred Vašu Preuzvišenost postavljaju u današnjim teškim vremenima. Jer, od pravilnoga shvatanja tih dužnosti i zadataka sa strane Vaše Preuzvišenosti zavisiće i mesto, što će ga istorija hrišćanstva, a napose hrvatskoga naroda, Vašoj Preuzvišenosti dodeliti.

U tom verovanju i nadi ja preporučujem Vašoj blagonaklonoj pažnji donosioca ovoga pisma i molim Vašu Preuzvišenost, da i ovom prilikom primi izraze moga osobitoga poštovanja.

Vrhovna Komanda, 15 aprila 1945.

armijski general

Draž. M. Mihailović

Njegovoj Preuzvišenosti

d-ru ALOJZIJU S T E P I N C U,
nadbiskupu zagrebačkom i metropoliti hrvatskom

Z a g r e b

Facsimile of Mihailović's letter to Archbishop Stepinec concerning the question of cooperation against the forces of the National Liberation Movement.

In answer to the question put by the examining magistrate as to whether the members of the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee were acquainted with the work of Mihailović's commanders and his representatives in various staffs, Mihailović replied:

»*I have already declared that I hid nothing from them*«.

From these extracts, taken from Mihailović's testimony, it can best be seen that the accused Moljević and Žujović were Mihailović's closest collaborators in directing the Četnik organization in what was fundamental and essential, that is, in deciding the general line of policy of Mihailović's Četnik organization which is expounded in detail in the indictment, and which, in practical application, was essentially the policy of multilateral collaboration with the invader, both military and political, in the struggle against the National Liberation Movement. This is obvious, despite the efforts of the Četnik propaganda, at home and abroad, to cloak their treason with empty slogans.

Towards the end of 1943, the accused Živko Topalović entered the circle of Mihailović's closest associates in the administration of the Četnik organization. He made every effort, to a great extent successfully, to entice a certain number of promiment members from almost all the former political parties (Democrat, Radical, Yugoslav National Party and others) to collaborate with Mihailović. Topalović thought that he would save Mihailović — who was compromised as a collaborator with the enemy, both at home and abroad — by engaging politicans who considered that they still had a certain authority among the people and abroad, although they had not contributed anything to the National Liberation Struggle against the enemy.

After the congress of the representatives of the Četnik organization and a considerable number of leading figures from former political parties, held in the village of Ba at the end of January 1944, Topalović remained at Mihailović's Headquarters as a member of the »Committee of Three« chosen at the congress in Ba, and, like Moljević, he collaborated most intimately with Mihailović in leading the Četnik organization during the period of its open collaboration with the invader in the struggle against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments, up to his departure abroad.

After their departure abroad, Žujović and Topalović continued their collaboration with Mihailović, maintaining it throughout by means of radio communication. In agreement with Mihailović they formed the so-called Central National Committee abroad. This continued to collaborate with Mihailović and various Yugoslav emigrants on all

questions connected with the development of the political situation in Yugoslavia.

During the war and occupation the accused Slobodan Jovanović, Božidar Purić, Momčilo Ninčić, Petar Živković, Radoje Knežević, Milan Gavrilović and Živan Knežević, although abroad, also collaborated with Mihailović and his other intimate associates in the country in leading the Četnik organization. Most aspects of this collaboration are set down in the indictment.

It may be asked, why are only the above mentined persons in the emigrant Government accused as collaborators of Mihailović in administering the Četnik organization, when the emigrant Government included other persons who held cabinet positions. To this question we can only answer that during the course of the present inquiry, documents were found which incriminate them, and which confirm that they collaborated with the enemy, through Mihailović.

Therefore they, together with Mihailović, must bear their share of legal responsibility for treason against our peoples during the war and occupation and for the grave war crimes committed by the Četnik organization, led by Mihailović, Slobodan Jovanović and other intimate associates of Mihailović in the leadership of the organization. Their criminal responsibility is that of abettors and accomplices in the act of collaboration with the enemy against the peoples of Yugoslavia, and in the war crimes committed by the Četnik organization and by Mihailović as Supreme Commander of this organization.

In the evidence, there is sufficient proof to establish that the accused Slobodan Jovanović and others, including Fotić, represented a close clique among the Yugoslav emigrants, and that this clique kept in contact with the accused Mihailović, and exercized such influence in official circles of the Yugoslav emigrants, that it dictated to them its general attitude in relation to the accused Mihailović and his activity in the occupied homeland. The attitude of this clique, according to the evidence at the disposal of the inquiry, coincided at all points with the attitude of the accused Mihailović: even more, this clique gave Mihailović instructions for his work on matters pertaining to his general line of activity, and various political, military and other matters.

Thanks to the influence of this clique, whose core was represented by the accused Slobodan Jovanović and others, including Fotić, the accused Mihailović was given the rank of Minister of War in the emigrant government at the beginning of 1943, when he had already entered into open collaboration with the invaders and other hire-

lings of the enemy, along the entire line. In June 1942, when Mihailović was already completely compromised through his collaboration with the Italians in the Third Offensive of the invaders against the Partisans, through the influence of this clique, Mihailović's staff was, by a decree of King Peter P. V. K. N. 662, dated June 10, 1942, transformed into the »Staff of the Supreme Command with all rights and duties according to the Law concerning the Composition of Army and Navy in War Time« and by decree V. K. N. 662 of June 10, 1942, Mihailović was appointed »Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command in the occupied fatherland«, »so that everything was now centered in him«. Thus relations of the closest collaboration were created between Mihailović and the official circles of the Yugoslav emigration, both regarding the activity of the Četnik organization in this country and the activity of the former official organs of the Yugoslav state abroad, relations which obliged Mihailović to follow the instructions and orders of the Yugoslav emigrant government.

This collaboration was in no way fictitious, despite the fact that Mihailović was in an occupied country and the Yugoslav emigrant government was abroad, the chief connection being between Mihailović and the accused Slobodan Jovanović, and others who maintained exclusive contact with Mihailović. This link was maintained by radio and by various other channels, through couriers. In this way Mihailović sent reports on his activity to the Yugoslav emigrant government and received instructions from it, primarily from the clique whose most influential members were the accused Slobodan Jovanović, Purić, Ninčić, Živković, Radoje Knežević, Gavrilović and Živan Knežević. This clique entirely approved of Mihailović's activity, commended him and did all it could to extend full help to him, although it knew that he was collaborating with the enemy and had committed serious war crimes against the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The general line of Mihailović's activity and that of his organization was the result of the common consultations and decisions of Mihailović and his supreme political organ at his Headquarters on the one hand, and the accused Slobodan Jovanović and his companions on the other. Here are several illustrations of this from the evidence:

Slobodan Jovanović in his letter, marked »strictly confidential« V. K. № 409, and dated May 7, 1942, writes to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, inter alia:

»... *We are doing everything secretly and over the radio so that premature actions on a large scale should not be*

undertaken because of the futile and disproportionate number of victims and horrible reprisals...«

As can be seen it is the same policy that was advocated by Mihailović from the first days of the formation of the Četnik organization.

Further, Slobodan Jovanović in his letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, marked »strictly confidential« V. K. № 646, and dated July 14, 1942, writes:

»... General Mihailović has been given instructions to begin an insurrection only in case of the landing of strong allied forces in Yugoslavia, or in the case of the collapse of Germany. In no other case and at no invitation of any radio station at all...«

From this excerpt it can be seen that Mihailović's policy — »it is not yet time for the struggle against the invaders... a favourable moment should be awaited... it is not yet time... we shall start an uprising when the proper moment comes...« — was not determined by him alone, but was the result of the joint decision arrived at by Mihailović and the accused Slobodan Jovanović and others.

As can be seen from these excerpts, Mihailović did not decide alone upon his course of action, but in consultation with the deciding factors of the Yugoslav emigrant government. Against whom he was to fight, whether to struggle against the invader or wait for the »proper time«, or annihilate the Partisans — Mihailović decided all these questions in consultation with the accused Slobodan Jovanović and others.

The accused Slobodan Jovanović, Purić, Ninčić and others praised and fully approved of Mihailović's work, although they knew well that he was collaborating with the enemy. Thus, for instance, the accused Slobodan Jovanović, in a telegram D. K. V. B. № 75 dated August 6, 1942 says:

»To General Mihailović... I approve of your work, as well as that of your collaborators, for the good of our people and the resurrection of our fatherland, and I commend you. Establish similar organizations in all regions of Yugoslavia. Supreme Commander Petar. — Jovanović«.

And Mihailović informs his commander Đujić in a telegram № 194 dated January 16, 1943, to Bernard through Ištvan:

»I am doing all in my power to prevent propaganda... for the Partisans. The president of the government, Slobodan Jovanović, is undertaking the most energetic

measures to prevent this. Rest assured of this. For this reason we should annihilate as soon as possible these hyenas among our people... Have confidence in Slobodan Jovanović and the Supreme Command. Čiča.«

However, the accused Slobodan Jovanović and the others did not satisfy themselves only with words of praise sent to Mihailović. They distributed the highest military order (the Karađorđe Star) to Mihailović's comanders: Pavle Đurišić, Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin, Jezdimir Dangić, Petar Baćović, Vojislav Lukačević, Major Ostojić, Nikola Kalabić, Predrag Raković, Zvonimir Vučković, Dobrosav Jevđević, Father Đujić, Rade Radić, Slavoljub Vranješević, Dragutin Keserović, Capt. Račić and others, who openly collaborated with the Germans, Italians, Ustašas, Nedić's and Ljotić's men, the Bulgarian invaders, the Russian »White Guards«, and other sworn enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In this way they helped them in all their measures and outrages aimed at suppressing the heroic National Liberation Struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, they discharged active officers of the former Yugoslav army, who, having entered the ranks of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments, participated in the fierce fighting against the enemy and their hirelings, fighting for the liberation of their fatherland. Here is one such decree:

»The Presidency of the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia V. K.... № 809, dated July 3, 1942, London.

At the proposal of the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command № 231, dated June 9 and № 246, dated June 17, 1942; for having violated the military oath — for treason against King and country, according to item b, Article 120, paragraphs I and II of the Law concerning the Constitution of the Army and Navy, —

I order that the following persons be declared deserters and their rank suspended:

1. Infantry Col. Savo Orović; 2. Reserve Lt.-Col. Veljko Bulatović; 3. Major of Engineers Branko Poljanac; 4. Infantry Capt. first class Arsa Jovanović; 5. Infantry Capt. first class Velimir Terzić; 6. Infantry Capt. first class Petar Ćetković; 7. Infantry Capt. first class Rudolf P. Sremček; 8. Infantry Lieut. Mileta Đukić; 9. Infantry Lieut. Ratko Martinović; 10. Infantry Lieut. Nikola Šekularac; 11. Cavalry Col. Rade Avšić.

The President of the Ministerial Council and Assistant Minister for the Army, Navy and Air force, Slobodan Jovanović. — (signed). (The Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. — Wartime edition № 9. — London, Sept. 6. 1942).

In addition to this, as has been stated in the indictment, Slobodan Jovanović, Purić and the other accused sent Mihailović enormous sums of money from the state treazury for the needs of his organization. They also worked actively in supplying Mihailović with war material, in bribing foreign newspapers and radio stations to popularize him as a hero fighting against the German-fascist aggressors. They attacked the Partisans with lies and slander, as being »an international band of criminals«. In short, everything that has been said in the indictment concerning the accused Slobodan Jovanović, Purić and others is proved by a large number of documents.

As can be seen from all that has been so far revealed concerning the accused, they are all criminally responsible, together with Mihailović, as aiders and abettors of criminal acts of treason against their fatherland and of war crimes.

*

* *

The course of the trial will be followed with the greatest attention by the broad masses of the people throughout our country. The proceedings will be followed attentively by mothers and fathers whose sons and daughters have been killed by the invaders' hirelings in collaboration with the German-fascist criminals. The course of the trial will be followed attentively by the surviving fighters who shed their blood in the battles against the German-fascist invaders and armed bands organised and led by the renegade hirelings of the invader. It will be attentively followed by the surviving men and women, boys and girls who have passed through the torture chambers of the Special Police, through the Banjica prison camps and other places of torture throughout our country. It will also be attentively followed by the men of the plundered villages and towns, out of whose houses the invaders and their renegade hirelings took everything that could be carried away, leaving the owners and their families to starve.

And they will all expect the Court to mete out severe and just punishment to these traitors and criminals.

In conclusion, I propose that the Court, after a thorough examination of the accused and of all the evidence, should award to each of the accused the punishment he deserves according to the gravity of his criminal deeds, punishment severe and merciless for those who have committed merciless and cruel crimes. In proposing this I am only interpreting the thoughts and feelings of our peoples.

DEATH TO FASCISM — LIBERTY TO THE PEOPLE

EXAMINATION OF MIHAILOVIĆ

FACE TO FACE WITH PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

A DELEGATION FROM THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ VISITED MILAN NEDIĆ IN BELGRADE IN AUGUST 1941, AT THE TIME OF THE FORMATION OF NEDIĆ'S GOVERNMENT

President: Accused Mihailović, you heard the indictment, read by the public prosecutor yesterday. You and your counsel had received it previously. Have you understood the indictment?

Defendant (Draža Mihailović): I have studied the indictment which was handed to me a week ago, but the material contained in my captured files is enormous.

President: Now, answer briefly the question of the Court. You have received the indictment. Have you understood it or not? If you have not understood certain passages, the Court will explain them to you.

Defendant: I have understood the act of indictment.

President: Do you plead guilty?

Defendant: I cannot plead guity.

President: Do you plead guilty or not? It is a different question, whether you can or cannot plead guilty.

Defendant: I do not plead guilty.

President: You don't plead guilty? The indictment accuses you of treason and war crimes, of actions specifically mentioned in the indictment. The indictment accuses you of forming the Četnik organization in occupied Yugoslavia, and of giving it the title: »Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland.« Is that true or not? Or, to put it more clearly, did you found the Četnik organization which you named »Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland«?

Defendant: The name Četnik came from the people, not from me. At the very beginning I had Četnik units in the Yu-

goslav army. It is true. It is in line with our war service regulations that an army that is left without a front has to organize Četnik units.

President: Therefore you founded the Četnik organization which you named "Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland"?

Defendant: It is a Četnik type of warfare until masses and larger units can be used frontally.

President: The indictment says: "... that in August, after the agreement with the representatives of the Valjevo Partisan detachment, etc." When did you first come into contact with the Partisans?

Defendant: The first contact with the Partisans took place after the Soviet Union had entered the war. It might have been some time after June 22, 1941.

President: Had you, at that time, talks with the Partisans or their representatives?

Defendant: I had, and they were very long. We talked for days. Dr. Jovanović, a Valjevo dentist, first came to see me.

President: The details are not important.

Defendant: We had long talks on all kinds of subjects.

President: Did you agree not to attack each other?

Defendant: No. I never even thought of that.

President: What was the final result of your talks regarding your mutual relations?

Defendant: To support each other. But I considered them mere amateurs in military science, and that they were often apt to be too hasty, which might have provoked serious reprisals.

President: That is quite possible in the first phase of organization. The Court would like to know whether you came to an agreement with the Partisan representatives not to attack each other?

Defendant: It is absolutely true. Yes.

President: Was there any talk during these meetings about the necessity of starting the struggle against the invader?

Defendant: I could not do anything with 26 men. At the time of their arrival I was only beginning to organize, and I had to get forces and arms. What I needed was time and I did not have it.

President: Did you consider it necessary to fight against the invader?

Defendant: I was preparing for it. I was preparing to fight.

President: All right, you were preparing. But at that time both you and the Partisans were in that area. You negotiated with the Partisans, came into contact with them, and agreed not to attack

each other. It is natural that in such a situation the question of the attitude towards the invader should arise. I shall be more explicit. Did you consider that you could fight the invader or not?

Defendant: At that time I was not able to fight. I had not sufficient forces.

President: Did you consider it necessary to fight or not?

Defendant: I thought it was necessary.

President: Was it possible to fight?

Defendant: Well, it is possible to fight even with five men.

President: So you considered that it was necessary to fight?

Defendant: It was possible to fight. It was possible. But I needed some more time to strengthen my detachments.

President: Did you consider that you could fight the invader with your forces or not?

The defendant avoids a direct answer.

President: When did you first have contact with the Partisans?

Defendant: After June 22.

President: You negotiated with them then and agreed not to attack each other?

Defendant: There was no talk about it.

President: There was no talk about it?

Defendant: Why should we attack each other? I received them warmly.

President: I am going to remind you of what you said at the examination.

Defendant: Excuse me, but I don't know what I said during the examination, although I answered as best I could.

President: Well. Let me ask you, how were you treated during the examination?

Defendant: The treatment was very good.

President: Were you ill-treated — Yes or no?

Defendant: No, not at all.

President: Were you forced to give any statements?

Defendant: No.

President: Speaking of the examination, let me ask you a question. Did the examining magistrate inform you of the offer of certain American lawyers who wished to put themselves at your disposal for your defence?

Defendant: He did.

President: Did you accept their offer?

Defendant: I refused it.

President: Did you refuse voluntarily or under duress?

Defendant: Voluntarily. I didn't wish to seek defence outside my country.

President: So, quite voluntarily, you rejected the defence offered from abroad by lawyers of the United States of America...

Accused Mihailović, I shall take the liberty of reminding you of a fact in which the Court is interested, and concerning which you have been asked a concrete question: Did you think, was it your opinion, that it was time for the uprising, or that it was inopportune to attack the German forces?

Defendant: August might have been the time for the uprising, but only in one part of the organized territory.

President: Did you consider the uprising premature or not?

Defendant: I did not consider it premature.

President: I am going to remind you. You said: "I considered the uprising premature, I thought that the time had not come to fight the invader. I had already said earlier that I intended to complete the organization of my forces and attack the enemy at an opportune moment... «

Defendant: I agree with that now, too.

President: Is your statement recorded exactly?

Defendant: It is.

President: It is true that you thought that the uprising was premature, and that you considered it necessary to complete the organization of your forces and attack the enemy at an opportune moment. Did you give orders to your detachments, in so far as you had them, to fight the invader?

Defendant: I did.

President: I am going to remind you of your statements in this connection. You answered: "I gave no orders to my detachments to fight the enemy. I was waiting for an opportune moment to begin the uprising with all my forces". Did the examining magistrate record this correctly or not?

Defendant: He recorded it correctly. But later I gave orders to attack Gornji Milanovac, Stragari, Požega and Čačak.

President: We shall come to that later.

Defendant: These were orders for attack.

President: The indictment accuses you of these attacks, because they were directed against the Partisans.

Defendant: They were attacks against the Germans.

President: It is well-known that Požega was captured by the Partisans.

Defendant: Opinions differ on this.

President: There is no doubt about it, it is a fact. I am going to remind you, if you have forgotten it. Is it recorded correctly, that you never gave orders to your detachments to do anything against the enemy, and that you considered the time for the uprising would come only when the situation became favourable?

Defendant: It's recorded correctly.

President: When did you think this favourable situation would arrive?

Defendant: It might arrive even before I expected it.

President: When did you think it would come?

Defendant: When the Germans started to evacuate our territories.

President: How?

Defendant: When they started to evacuate some of their forces.

President: And when would the situation be favourable, according to you?

Defendant: When I, as a soldier, considered it favourable. It would be favourable when I had sufficient forces, but the moment might also come, when there were no sufficient forces available.

President: When did you think that you would have sufficient forces to fight against the divisions of the invader.

Defendant: At the beginning I could not even think of it, but when the Germans started evacuating the territories of Western Serbia, we all jumped to arms.

President: When did the Germans begin this?

Defendant: I don't know the exact date. For instance, I remember the fall of Loznica. My units attacked Loznica at that time, under the command of Major Mišić, without my order.

President: (Reading from Mihailović's statement): "I was agreeably surprised when I heard that my men had attacked Loznica in 1941, without my order." Well, when did the opportune moment appear?

Defendant: The opportune moment appeared when we fought together, the Partisans taking Užice and I Čačak and Požega. The moment arrived when the Germans started to evacuate some of their forces.

President: You said that you would begin the struggle against the invader when the moment was opportune. When was that opportune moment?

Defendant: The opportuneness depended on the strength of my forces or the enemy forces.

President: You, therefore, said that you considered the time was not ripe for the uprising?

Defendant: It could not be considered as an uprising in the whole country.

President: According to your statement it was not premature. When was that?

Defendant: I think that Loznica was attacked and taken about August 1st.

President: Was it about August the 1 st?

Defendant: I do not know exactly.

President: Did you attack in August a company of the Valjevo Partisan Detachment in the village of Planinica? And did you personally lead the attack against the Slavkovica Partisan Company?

Defendant: I did.

President: Tell us how it happened? At that time you were negotiating with the Partisans and you agreed not to attack each other. You considered that the time for the uprising was premature; you were organizing your forces for the opportune moment, and at the same time you attacked a Partisan company, although the Partisans were your allies?

Defendant: I did not consider them as my allies. I would have then attacked even my own men.

President: Tell us why you attacked the Partisans?

Defendant: I was defending the villages from plunder, and this enabled me to have a stronghold on Ravna Gora.

President: You said yourself that the company you attacked was the Slavkovica Company.

Defendant: I attacked another company before, one belonging to Pećanac (a Četnik commander — Translator's note).

President: Why?

Defendant: It was looting.

President: Is Pećanac a plunderer?

Defendant: He is not, but his company is.

President: According to you, was Pećanac with his companies a plunderer?

Defendant: Certainly.

President: Had the uprising begun in Serbia at that time?

Defendant: Not at that time.

President: I mean the end of August and the beginning of September?

Defendant: I am not able to remember dates and connect events without concrete particulars.

President: What do you mean by concrete particulars? Did you, at the time when you were negotiating with the Partisans, protect former Yugoslav gendarmes?

Defendant: Yes... My idea was to try to win over all those who carried arms, to penetrate into their ranks and try to bring them to the forests. I succeeded in winning over Jovan Trišić and in making a plan with him. He was captured, with that plan on him and interned.

President: What was he?

Defendant: He was a gendarme commander, under the Germans. I managed to win him over, and persuaded him to cooperate with me in building up my organization and getting a great number of men.

President: You made connections with the gendarmerie who were then in the service of the invader?

Defendant: Exactly.

President: Did you have any contact with Nedić at that time?

Defendant: On Ravna Gora I received a letter from, I believe, Živojin Đurić, in which he invited me in two or three words: "Please come to Belgrade for" — I think — "talks". I can only reproduce the meaning of the letter. I did not go, and could not have gone to Nedić, because in the course of the two years I was with him he had twice punished me with thirty days of imprisonment. I had no respect for him and would not have gone. It happened that Aleksandar Mišić wanted to go to Belgrade, and so he went. It was a decisive moment. He said: »Since you don't want to go, I will.«

President: Did you send a delegation?

Defendant: Aleksandar Mišić went, and from the indictment I see that Živojin Đurić did not go. I think that Colonel Pavlović went, together with Aleksandar Mišić.

Prosecutor (Colonel Minić): Please put it in the record.

President: It is in the record. What was the subject of the talks of the delegation you sent to Nedić and what were the results of the negotiations?

Defendant: There were no results, because Mišić spent three days drinking in Barajevo café with Jovan Nenadović. He was late coming back and I was anxious. It was not a delegation, but two men sent to find out what Nedić wanted.

President: It is a delegation.

Defendant: Call it what you like, I never attached any importance to it.

President: You were invited, but did not want to go, and sent Mišić and Pavlović. Did they meet Nedić?

Defendant: They did. I received a report from Mišić.

President: Did they come into contact with Nedić?

Defendant: They did.

President: Have you seen what the indictment accuses you of?

Defendant: I have seen it. But there was no agreement.

President: I am obliged, in your interest and in the interest of actual truth, to draw your attention to the fact that the prosecution puts forward as proof the reading of Milan Nedić's statement at the examination, in which he enumerates — word for word — the points of the agreement reached between the delegation you had sent, on the one hand, and Nedić on the other. And, as you have seen, this statement speaks of an agreement to carry on a joint struggle against the Partisans. Further, it provides for the giving of financial help, the appointment of liaison officers between you and Nedić, and that later a joint plan of operation should be drawn up ...

Defendant: Never.

President: I want to point out to you, that there is such a statement made by Nedić.

Defendant: No; in spite of his statement.

President: I must remind you that the indictment states that after those negotiations Marko Olujić was appointed liaison officer at your Headquarters. Did Olujić come?

Defendant: He did not.

President: Did he start on his journey to you?

Defendant: Pipan was my Intelligence officer in Belgrade, and he was to bring Olujić. Both he and Olujić were captured by the Partisans at Ljig, and Olujić was shot.

President: What did Olujić have on him when caught by the Partisans?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: The indictment states that they had a plan.

Prosecutor: I beg you to read page 35 of Milan Nedić's statement at the examination.

President: Just to remind you. (Reads Milan Nedić's statement about the connection established with Draža Mihailović immediately after the forming of Nedić's government, how Draža Mihajlović's delegation came to talk about collaboration, and how an agreement for collaboration was reached. Nedić said that Mihailović's delegates were his (Nedić's) officers).

Defendant: I don't know why they should be his officers. I believe he knew Mišić, but he did not know Pavlović.

President: Let us clear up one more point. You thought that the time for the uprising was not ripe.

Defendant: I do not know why you insist on this. Premature may have different meanings. It may apply to enemy forces. If small enemy forces remain, then it is not premature. When the enemy withdrew some of his forces, I personally attacked Gornji Milanovac, Stragari and Rudnik.

President: In what month?

Defendant: I destroyed the bridge over the Kolubara.

Prosecutor: It is well known when the attack on Milanovac took place.

President: Think. You should remember the year and the month.

Defendant: I can't remember. There were too many events so that I was physically exhausted and I can't remember.

President: Was it in April 1941?

Defendant: I don't remember.

President: Did the Partisans fight?

Defendant: They were mostly doing sabotage work, and the fighting was in Mačva and Podrinje.

President: Were your attacks before that or after?

Defendant: The main fighting was in Mačva and Podrinje, and there was lesser fighting round Valjevo. Attacks were made on Šabac, Loznica, Banja Koviljača and Krupanj.

President: Did your Četniks begin to fight against the invader before the Partisans?

Defendant: I believe the Partisans first started the fight against the invader.

President (dictates): The accused states: »I believe the Partisans first started the fight against the invader.«

Defendant: I think it started at Krupanj, I think it began in Mačva. At Krupanj there were Father Vlado Zečević and Martinović; they were Partisans.

President: Do you know what the Court is interested in? As a soldier you perhaps consider that military operations should commence when you have prepared your troops and have sufficient forces from your point of view, to begin the battle. The Court is interested in the following question: Who attacked the invaders first: the Partisans or the Četniks?

Defendant: It was in Western Serbia. The Partisans attacked there first.

President: Please, defendant, now you have had time to remember better the first moments. You said that the first attacks against the invader were carried out by the Partisans in Posavina, didn't you?

Defendant: Not in Posavina but in Mačva. After that came actions on a larger scale.

President: Then you consider that the beginning of the action was the attack on the towns.

Defendant: Yes, that's right.

President: Well, did the Partisan guerilla warfare begin before that of the Četniks, did the Partisans first attack the invader?

Defendant: I have just said so, the Partisans were the first to attack the towns.

President: What was the difference at that time? You have just said that the Partisans were the first to start the struggle against the invader, and that then came your action.

Defendant: I cannot say anything precise, one is connected with the other.

President: Was it a difference of three, four, five or more days?

Defendant: No, no it was a matter of a very short time, but I cannot say anything precise.

President: (Requests this to be put in the minutes) The struggle against the invader was first started by the Partisans. It consisted of guerilla warfare as well as of attacks on the towns.

Defendant: Yes.

President: It means that before the beginning of the Partisan attacks on the towns, guerilla attacks by the Partisans had taken place against the invader. Is that correct? Then comes the period of your attacks on the towns. Is that right? The accused considers that the attacks on the towns were of great importance. These attacks were first started by the Partisans, who first began fighting the invader. After a short time his detachments began fighting too. Before the beginning of the attacks on the towns, guerilla attacks had been carried out, that is to say, at the time when the Partisans were carrying out attacks against the invader through guerilla warfare. As the accused said: At the beginning, the Partisans first fought against the invader. *(The president then read the minutes of the examination*

of Milan Nedić, which showed that Marko Olujić went to Draža Mihailović's Headquarters.)

Did you receive under your command at that time, certain commanders of Kosta Pećanac, whom you called a plunderer? Did you know that Kosta Pećanac had put himself completely at the service of the invader?

Defendant: I knew it after his meeting with the Germans at Rudnik, in which General Ljuba Novaković acted as mediator. Before then I had endeavoured to get into contact with him.

President: Did you receive any of his commanders?

Defendant: Yes, Keserović and Nikola Kalabić came.

President: And Budimir Cerski and Jovan Škava?

Defendant: Never. Škava was in our rear. When Pećanac joined the Germans, we tolerated him in our area, but did not establish contact with him. He was farther away, in the direction of Kolubara.

President: Were you in touch with Boža Javorac?

Defendant: I tried three times. He would not put himself under my command. Three times I sent a courier to Ivanjica, but they tried to kill him. Boža Javorac put himself under my command only for a short time, when we were in Montenegro, but when I returned from Montenegro to Serbia he tried to sell me to the Germans for 700.000 dinars. It was then that he was shot.

President: Then it was only for a certain time. Did you order your commanders Miloš Glišić and Vučko Ignjatović in September 1941, to attack the Partisans at Užička Požega and to take Požega from the Partisans.

Defendant: In September 1941?

President: Yes, in September 1941. The indictment charges you with ordering your commanders Glišić and Ignjatović to attack the Partisans at Požega and to take it from them.

Defendant: No. I was certain that we had captured Požega and that a dispute had arisen. I was informed that we had captured Požega and that a new quarrel had broken out. Miloš Glišić had been caught and was going to be shot. I sent a motorcyclist to Užice to ask for information. I received a desperate letter from him saying that he was going to be shot. After that Glišić was released.

President: Did you order Glišić to attack the Partisans at Požega? I must remind you that Glišić is alive and his statements differ from yours.

Defendant: That is his affair.

President: But we shall confront you with him.

Defendant: It will be a pleasure.

President: According to the indictment, you let Glišić and Ignjatović disarm the Partisan couriers at Požega, take away from the Partisans machine guns and rifles, transports with food for the civilian population, transports of arms and ammunition which were sent to the front for the struggle against the invader; and on one occasion your commanders even took off the train the well known commander of the 1st Šumadija Partisan Detachment Milan Blagojević, and, after brutally torturing him, killed him.

Defendant: No, never.

President: How, never?

Defendant: Such permission or orders I never gave.

President: But is it not a fact that your commanders Glišić and Ignjatović disarmed the couriers, took off the trains food and ammunition intended for the front, for the fighters against the invader?

Defendant: I do not know.

President: Where were you actually, at that time?

Defendant: I was on Ravna Gora.

President: Were you connected by telephone with Užička Požega?

Defendant: Yes, connection had been established.

President: Did Glišić submit reports to you?

Defendant: He could do so whenever and as often as he wanted to.

President: Did he do it regularly?

Defendant: I cannot answer either yes or no.

President: Did you make inquiries about it?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Well, when you tried to find out something about Požega, what was the result?

Defendant: I did not go to the town.

President: But you should have known of these things as the commander...

Defendant: I was not only interested in Požega...

President: What actually was the situation at Požega?

Defendant: I was not very much interested in it. I used to inspect the fronts. I went several times to Milanovac and ordered what was to be done from the point of view of operations. I also endeavoured to do away with the friction which had arisen.

President: What do you know about the murder of the Partisan detachment commander, Milan Blagojević?

Defendant: Now I do not know anything about it. I probably knew of it at the time.

President: And can you by any chance remember who murdered Milan Blagojević?

Defendant: I know that Vučko Ignjatović was accused of it. He was accused of it, but whether he did it should have been established by inquiry.

President: And who accused Vučko Ignjatović?

Defendant: The Partisans did.

President: And did you take any steps against Ignjatović?

Defendant: Certainly. I ordered an inquiry into what had happened?

President: And what were the results?

Defendant: I do not know.

President: I must remind you that you said something different at the examination.

Defendant: I have no intention of changing my statements but I am saying what I can remember.

MESSAGE BROUGHT BY THE BRITISH OFFICER, CAPTAIN HUDSON

President: You said this *(reads):* »It is a fact that I heard that the murder was carried out by Ignjatović. Capt...« After this murder did you come into contact with Marshal Tito?

Defendant: Mitić came into contact. Capt...

President: Who is this Mitić?

Defendant: He was a captain who was appointed as liaison officer.

President: It means that Captain Mitić was the person who maintained contact with the Partisan Headquarters at Užice! Do you know that your Četniks in the neighbourhood of Kosjerić attacked some lorries which were carrying 150.000 rounds to the front.

Defendant: I know it now from the indicment.

President: Did you ever conclude an agreement on collaboration with the Partisans?

Defendant: Yes, it was a written agreement.

President: With whom and where did you conclude such an agreement. Did you ever conclude an agreement with the Partisans?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

Поштовани господине Министре,

Стало ми је до тога да Вас још једном известим да Вам се стављам потпуно на Ваше расположење.ако сматрате да могу користити вашој организацији.

Желео бих се састати са капетаном Ђуришићем и пук. Станишићем и осталим вођама који су се тако успешно борили против комуниста и ослободили своје крајеве од њих.

Ја мислим да би можда помогло,кад бих њима лично саопштио,да је Велика Британија решена да стопроцентно помаже Вас за уједињење свих националних снага у земљи и спремање за предузимање акције против окупатора онога дана кад ваше шансе буду имале изгледа на успех.Ја сматрам да је то један више израз и настојање Британске владе да подупре вашу националну акцију,што сам добио унапређење.

Желео бих да саопштити својој команди да сам се лично видео са вођама из ових крајева и да сам био на територији коју су они сада очистили од комуниста и да им потврдим њихово национално гледиште као и да раде само по Вашим налозима

Сматрам као важно да се претходно посаветујем са Вама о свему ономе што треба да им саопштим,да би то било што ефикасније за вашу организацију и да немате ни мало сумње у оно што ћу им рећи.

С друге стране можда Ви мислите да ја хоћу да се мешам у чисто југословенске ствари.Али будите уверени,ако сматрате,да је боље за ваше интересе,ја ћу остати у једној усамљеној колиби до краја рата и да не видим,не чујем и не говорим ништа.Само наредите и ја ћу то извршити.

Прошло је време за примитивно драматизирање моје улоге.Пре су ваши официри замишљали моју улогу,изгледа као улогу једног Лауренса и то је јако сметало моме раду и изазвало сумњу.Сад они гласно,и случајно у мом присуству, говоре о мени као баксузу за Српско наоружање.Дакле,моја је улога официра за везу и посматрање прилика под којима би Велика Британија могла дати већу помоћ у погледу материјала или евентуалне акције.

Ако могу да потпомогнем вашу ствар у свим могућим начинима,зато сам ту и стављам се на расположење за Ваш национални покрет.Могуће Ви ћете ми саопштити једнога дана на којиби се начин најбоље могла помоћи ваша ствар,ако сматрате да је то корисно.

11 јуна 1942 г
Положај

С одличним поштовањем,

Hudson

Letter from Captain Hudson of the British Army to Mihailović, in which he asks for a meeting with the Četnik commanders and states that Great Britain is resolved to give »100 per cent assistance« to the treachorous Četnik organizations.

President: But what sort of agreement, and when?

Defendant: I met Marshal Tito three times. The first time it was in the house of comander Mišić, and twice in the village of Brajići.

President: Did you, on October 26, 1941, conclude an agreement with Marshal Tito on the joint struggle of the Četniks and the Partisans against the invader?

Defendant: I cannot remember the date, but I know I did.

Prosecutor: Can you remember the month?

Defendant: I cannot. That was most probably our last personal meeting.

President: Was it in October?

Defendant: Let us say October 26. It can be proved, it was a visit. It was shown at the Belgrade Exhibition, in the papers. As far as I am concerned, if I say the 26th, I can assume that it is correct.

President: The Court does not ask you all that. Just say: yes or no. Is it a fact that you concluded a written agreement with Marshal Tito on joint collaboration against the invader? Do you remember the date?

Defendant: I cannot remember the date.

President: Was it at the beginning, the end or in the middle of October?

Defendant: It might have been towards the end of October.

President: Were you visited by anybody at that time after the conclusion of the agreement with Marshal Tito? In fact did Zarija Ostojić visit you?

Defendant: Yes, he came. I thought it over. They came to me — Zarija Ostojić, Lalatović and Hudson.

President: Who is Hudson?

Defendant: A captain in the British Army.

Prosecutor: Please speak louder, I have not heard half of it.

Defendant: They came to me in the second half of October, Major Ostojić, Marko Lalatović, also a General Staff officer, and an officer of the British Army, Captain Hudson. They landed near Petrovac, and came to me through Montenegro, Sandžak and Užice, to Ravna Gora. They had been sent from Cairo.

President: Did any of them bring you a message, and from whom?

Defendant: They brought me first of all a message from the Minister of War, Bogoljub Ilić. In general, the messages which were brought to me were rather obscure. In fact, they made fun of General Ilić himself, who scarcely gave them any messages. I got a message

from Hudson. It is the message found in my files. It was a message to the effect that in Yugoslavia a rebellion would not be tolerated, but that the struggle should be waged for Yugoslavia and not become a struggle of the communists for the Soviet Union.

President: Who said that?

Defendant: I got it from Hudson and through the wireless.

President: And did Minister Ilić give this message to Hudson?

Defendant: No. He got it from his authorities, the Near East Command.

President: Was that an unofficial statement?

Defendant: I do not think so.

President: Why did Hudson come to you?

Defendant: He came as liaison officer.

President: Between whom?

Defendant: Between the Near East Command and myself.

President: It means that he was officially sent to you?

Defendant: He maintained that Ostojić and Lalatović had been lent to him — that is how he put it.

THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ, IN NOVEMBER, 1941, ORDERED THE ČETNIKS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE FRONTS AGAINST THE GERMANS AND TO ATTACK THE PARTSANS

President: After the arrival of Lalatović, Ostojić and Capt. Hudson, did you order your commanders to withdraw from the fronts against the Germans and to start a general attack against the Partisans? Do you know that on the night between November 1 and 2 the Četniks, under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović, attacked Užice?

Defendant: I do.

President: How did this attack of the Četniks, under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović, occur when Užice was held by the Partisans?

Defendant: I think that Glišić and Ignjatović did it on their own.

President. Therefore, it is correct that Glišić and Ignjatović attacked Užice, which was then held by the Partisans, but you consider that they did it on their own.

Defendant: That is right.

President: Were you in touch with Glišić and Ignjatović at that time?

Defendant: We had telephone communication.

President: Did they inform you of these events?

Defendant: He did not inform me of all these events until he was chased out of Požega. He meant to capture Užice by surprise.

President: How did Vučko Ignjatović fare in this battle, and what was the result of the battle?

Defendant: He did not report to me until he had lost Požega.

President: He informed you that he had lost Požega, and what steps did you take?

Defendant: I think I then asked to be connected with Užice, or Užice asked to be connected with me. I talked to Marshal Tito.

President: What did you talk about?

Defendant: He requested me to stop the fight. I said I would if Požega was returned to me. Then came a negative answer, so I said that in that case I would raise the siege of Kraljevo.

Prosecutor: I ask the President to put that on record.

President: I have already ordered this to be put on record: "Order to raise the siege of Kraljevo."

Defendant: But Kraljevo could not be taken in any case.

President: Do you know that during the same night, namely between November 1 and 2, while Ignjatović and Glišić were attacking Užice, an attack on Ivanjica was being carried out by Boža Javorac?

Defendant: I know it from the indictment, but I can say that Boža Javorac was not under my command. Even when he came under my command and when he was ordered to come to Montenegro, he never carried out the orders. He was not even with Pećanac, he was independent.

President: You said that you issued the order for raising the siege of Kraljevo. Do you know that at that time your units attacked Partisan tank units and artillery and killed the crews.

Defendant: Killed the crews? I never heard of it.

President: And did they attack the artillery?

Defendant: I had two guns, and I think there were two Partisan guns too. They were commanded by an officer of mine. His name was Deroko. He did not take away the guns, but his guns were taken away from him on Ljubić, and he was killed.

President: In what direction did you send those units which had participated in the siege of Kraljevo?

Defendant: They were directed towards Čačak in order to capture it. I needed it.

President: The indictment states that your units, after abandoning the siege of Kraljevo, attacked Čačak.

Defendant: Well, yes; the fight developed and naturally...

President: It means that your units attacked Čačak, doesn't it?

Defendant: Đurić did not carry out the attack. I know that for certain. That is true.

President: And did the units attack?

Defendant: After a few days, after some delay.

President: And did this attack on Čačak succeed?

Defendant: No, it did not.

President: It means that it was repelled by the Partisans?

Defendant: The attack was repelled, because the Partisans had enough time to muster their forces. That is what Đurić told me when he came to see me at my Headquarters.

President: Do you know that Captain Račić's detachment carried out the second attack on Užice?

Defendant: I was against the attack on Užice. Capt. Račić was not in the vicinity of Užice. I ordered him to set out northwards, towards Valjevo, and when the fight began, I ordered him to go southwards towards Užice.

President: Why was Račić ordered to move southwards?

Defendant: For the purpose of moving southwards.

President: Did you know about the fight of Neško Nedić and Lt. Voja Popović against the Partisan Kolubara Detachment?

Defendant: They took part in it. I do not know the details.

President: At that time, in the other part of Serbia, did the Četnik detachments carry out attacks against the Partisan detachments?

Defendant: I think at Gornji Milanovac. I remember that there was a battle for the hospital, on the lower and upper floor.

President: Could you remember about what time you issued the order to raise the siege of Kraljevo.

Defendant: It was in November, that is quite clear, only I do not remember the date.

President: I do not insist upon it, I am only asking you whether it was in the first or second half of November?

Defendant: In the second half, for the withdrawal. After I had spoken to Marshal Tito; on which occasion I asked that Požega should be returned to me and that hostilities should then stop. As he did not agree to it I threatened to raise the siege of Kraljevo. Kraljevo anyway could not be captured.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ WITH THE GERMANS, IN NOVEMBER 1941

President: When and where did you meet the Germans in the month of November?

Defendant: I met them in the second half of November, after the truce which had been concluded between myself and the Partisans. Then I consented because the punitive expeditions began destroying and burning. The people had become afraid even before that. I had no idea of doing this, but Branislav Pantić, who was supposed to go to Homolje, arrived. He spent more of his time in Belgrade than in Homolje, carrying out intelligence service. Nenad Mitrović and Matel, University professor, arrived with him. When they arrived in Ravna Gora they insisted, in the presence of Vasić, Ostojić and, perhaps, Branislav Pantić, that I should make a sacrifice, because the people were afraid of being taken away and having their houses burned down, and in order to prevent the further annihilation of the people, who were innocent and had suffered because of us. In the end I gave my consent. Shortly after, I had that meeting.

President: Where was this meeting held?

Defendant: At the village of Divci.

President: Where exactly at Divci?

Defendant: At an inn.

President: How did you come to this inn?

Defendant: I came from Struganik. I started at about 4 p. m. It was just on dusk when we approached the bridge. I left my men about 3 kms. from the bridge, Branislav Pantić, Nenad Mitrović and Matel, the go-between. I crossed the bridge which we had destroyed. There I saw the German soldiers and a motor car. I got into the car and went to the inn. Alexander Mišić was with me.

President: Had you any protection?

Defendant: Yes, I thought they were the troops which had been prepared for an attack against me.

President: Were they only infantry?

Defendant: There were also tanks. They must have been there for our protection.

President: Did the action of the invader against the territory liberated by the Partisans begin after your meeting at Divci?

Defendant: Did it begin at that time? I don't properly understand the question.

President: Had you any contact with the Partisans and actually with which of them in the time between your meeting and the German attack?

Defendant: The last talk with Marshal Tito might have been shortly after that, one or two days. The indictment says it was on the 23rd. I think it may have been so because it was the last day the



Assistant to the Četnik commander Sava Drenović in company with members of the Kulturbund in Jajce.

Partisans were at Užice. On that day Marshal Tito rang me up and asked me: »What are you going to do?«

President: Did you ring him up, or did he telephone to you?

Defendant: I do not remember. He asked me: »What are you going to do?« I answered I was sending the detachments to their areas, because the German troops were ready.

President: It means, after this written agreement about the collaboration concluded in October there came a period of struggle...

Defendant: Then again an agreement...

President: And after that agreement the German attack followed.

Defendant: Yes, but all that happened very quickly.

President: You said, when the offensive began Tito rang you up and you had a talk with him.

Defedant: Yes, I thought that Tito might adopt the same method of fighting.

President: What order did you issue to your units when the offensive began?

Defendant: I issued orders seperately to the detachments. I saw the detachments and their commanders off, one after another.

President: On the occasion of the return of these detachments to their areas, did you issue them orders to enter or not to enter the fight against the units of the invader?

Defendant: I could not do that while they were withdrawing.

President: When Marshal Tito told you he would accept the fight against the Germans did you tell him you could not engage in a frontal battle?

Defendant: I was of the opinion he could not do so either.

President: Tell us whether you concluded the second agreement with the Partisans in November, after your meeting with the Germans at Divci?

Defendant: I think it was concluded on the 23rd, and the meeting with the Germans took place later.

THE ČETNIKS HAND OVER CAPTURED PARTISANS TO THE GERMANS. THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ NOTIFIES THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT OF HIS ATTACKS ON THE PARTISANS

President: Is it true that on the night of your meeting at Divci, 365 captured Partisans were handed over to the Germans at the village of Slovac and from there driven to Valjevo?

Defendant: It happened long before the meeting at Divci, and it was like this. A number of Partisans were captured when the battle began in the Mijonica area. Mišić visited them and had a friendly talk with them. I do not know exactly whether they were at Planinica. At that time I had about 150 German prisoners, and I could not keep them in Ravna Gora because of food. But I sent them to Požega.

President: Were these Partisans taken to you?

Defendant: The indictment says so, but I did not see them.

President: And did you know they came to Ravna Gora to be taken farther?

Defendant: I know, Mišić told me he had visited them, and that later on they were sent to Struganik where there were more stores, and where they could have food. Bogdan Brajević sent them to Mijonica later.

President: What did Bogdan do with them?

Defendant: He sold them, he did not hand them over.

President: Whom did he sell them to?

Defendant: He sold them to the Germans, at so much per head.

President: Were they shot?

Defendant: I only heard there was some shooting, but nothing else.

President: Was Škava one of your commanders at that time?

Defendant: He never was my commander.

President: I ought to warn you that there is a statement by Jovan Škava, who was ordered to hand them over. Had you any contact with the emigrant government in the period before the First Offensive of the Germans on that territory?

Defendant: I had. I established contact on September 26, but this first link was not good until Ostojić and Lalatović arrived, because we had no code by which we could communicate. But after their arrival we had a link, but it was controlled by the British who had the same code. That code was according to the book system; when they came they took a book and tore it into two parts, one part they kept for themselves and the other one they gave to me. I used this code, but the command in Cairo had the same book. May be Hudson himself did not know my code, but he might have had another copy of the book he gave me.

President: Does it mean the link with the emigrant government was carried out through the British Command?

Defendant: The British Command must have been informed of everything I passed on.

President: Did you inform the emigrant government of events and attacks?

Defendant: I did.

President: Did the emigrant government know about the attacks and negotiations?

Defendant: Yes, it did. He informed it too because he always lived near the radio station.

President: Did you inform the government about the conflict with the Partisans, and the situation generally?

Defendant: Yes, I informed them of the conflict with the Partisans, the liberated territory, and that the Germans had invited me to meet them . . .

President: What was the attitude of the emigrant government towards these matters?

Defendant: I am a soldier. Each word has its own full meaning for me. Politics never intersested me. The first word I got from the government concerning politics was what Hudson brought to me, and that was, that Yugoslavia should fight for herself and not for the Soviet Union.

President: Was the emigrant government in agreement with you, with your attacks on the Partisans.

Defendant: Perhaps. I did not inform it. These events were insignificant.

President: Were you in contact with the emigrant government?

Accused: Yes, I was.

President: Did the government forbid you to attack the Partisans?

Defendant: No, it did not.

Presdent: Did it order you to begin immediately to fight the Germans.

Defendant: No, it did not.

Prosecutor: Please, put it on record.

THE LEGALIZATION OF THE ČETNIK DETACHMENTS UNDER THE GERMANS

President: After this period and after the German offensive, at the time when the Partisan forces, under the pressure of the German forces helped by Nedić's detachments, were forced to withdraw to Sandžak, did you hold a conference with the detachment commanders at which you gave all the commanders the task of legalizing their detachments?

Defendant: My men may have been at this conference, but it was impossible for all of them to be there. I myself visited certain detachments, and did not ask them to come to me.

President: Well, were certain detachments legalized? These legalized detachments placed themselves under Nedić's command?

Defendant: Yes. They were.

President: It means they were fed and supplied by Nedić.

Defendant: Yes.

President: Did they, at the same time, maintain contact with you?

Defendant: I tried to use them for intelligence, and endeavoured to get them out of the detachments to the forest, on the first favourable occasion.

President: Here in the indictment Raković's letter is mentioned.

Defendant: I have read it, but in this letter there is nothing to prove that I had asked them to legalize themselves.

President: Where were your Headquarters after the First Offensive? Where was Raković's Staff?

Defendant: In the Ljubić area.

President: Was it at Čačak?

Defendant: I think it was near Čačak. Not in Čačak itself.

President: Do you know this letter, sent in 1941?

Prosecutor: Do you want the original?

President: Well, this is the original. Let me remind you. This is a report, the original report, which begins as follows: »After the meeting held on Ravna Gora on November 30, 1941, he started out with a detachment, after being given instructions...« You are acquainted with the statement in the indictment, that is, that he said he became the commander of Čačak and togeher with 150 Četniks legalized himself., i. e. that 150 Četniks under Raković's command lived at Čačak. Was Raković under your command?

Defendant: Yes, he was.

President: All the time?

Defendant: Once he and Voja Čvrkić were called to account for preparing an attempt on my life.

President: And later on?

Defendant: He was legalized at Čačak for some time.

President: And how long did he remain under your command?

Defendant: As long as he wanted to.

President: There is your own handwriting.

Defendant: I do not remember that matter.

President: Have a look. Is it your handwriting?

Defendant: Yes, it is.

President: Here is one of your messages of August 21, 1942, sent as a circular to everyone which reads: »Inform all the legalized detachments of the following...«

Defendant: I had to put it so. I endeavoured to get some of them back to the forests again. Some of them remained and some returned.

President: Had you such legalized detachments in other regions?

Defendant: I found a different situation in Montenegro.

President: And in Hercegovina?

Defendant: I said that I found a different situation along the Coast.

President: Did you issue Nedić's officers orders and instructions, did you approve of their work, were there their commanders who placed themselves under your command, or yours who put themselves under their command?

Defendant: There were my commanders who put themselves under their command.

President: And were there any of their commanders under your command?

Defendant: There were. For instance Radovan Stojanović, who put himself under the command of Kalabić, then Ignjatović.

President: Did you know that in Montenegro, at that time, Đukanović, Lašić and Đurišić collaborated with the invader?

Defendant: I did not know it until I came to Montenegro.

President: Did you have detachments in Sandžak?

Defendant: From Ravna Gora I sent Lieut. Jovan Jelovac to Sandžak, but I had no detachments there. The whole organization was formed there.

President: Did you succeed, at the end of 1941, in putting all the Četnik detachments in Sandžak under your command?

Defendant: No, I remember I sent Jovan Jelovac there. Afterwards I heard about Vuk Kalaitović.

President: Did you know Dragiša Jovanović?

Defendant: No.

President: He wrote a letter to you.

Defendant: I sent only Jelovac there from Ravna Gora.

President: I am asking that, because the indictment states it, and is supported by an original document proving that at the end of 1941, in November, you had the command there.

Defendant: It could hardly be called a command.

President: Well, did you issue orders to the Četnik commanders in Montenegro in the spring od 1942 in which you approved of their work, and gave them instructions about the struggle against the Partisans and the tactics towards the Italians.

Defendant: I could not have issued them, I do not remember.

President: I shall remind you of your message No. 21 sent to Pavle Đurišić.

Defendant: I have read this message.

President: It ends: »Greetings — General Mihailović«.

Defendant: Even Ostojić might have written the message.

President: What was Ostojić with you?

Defendant: He was the chief of the operative section.

President: In the autumm 1941, did you send your officers Boško Todorović, Mutimir Petković, Sergije Mihailović, Jezdimir Dangić to Bosnia and Hercegovina to work in that field?

Defendant: Yes, Jezdimir Dangić went there on his own. At first he was in Nedić's service and was transferred to the frontier on the Drina river as a gendarme officer, and he crossed over to Bratunac during the uprising. I sent Lieut. Martinović there, and when he was at Bratunac, it was reported to me that he had crossed over to Bosnia. He joined me in this way. Boško Todorović came to me from Belgrade and put himself and his brother Žarko Todorović at my disposal. Boško proposed that he should create a detachment on Kosmaj, but I had no money. When Boško came to me I sent him towards the Drina river. He was courier for the Užice direction and once he entered Užice itself. He went as far as the Drina, Višegrad, and even further.

President: Did you send Boško Todorović, Mutimir Petković, Jezdimir Dangić, and Lieut. Momčilović to Bosnia and Hercegovina?

Defendant: I do not remember anything about Lieut. Momčilović...

President: Do you know that Boško Todorović entered into negotiations with the Italian invaders in Hercegovina through Mutimir Petković, the journalist Milan Šantić and Dobrosav Jevđević, and that in January 1942 he met Mutimir Petković and a Captain of OVRA, (Organizzazione volontaria repressione antifascista) and concluded an agreement with him?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Do you know that your commanders collaborated with the invader at that time?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Do you know that in January 1942 your commander Jezdimir Dangić went to Belgrade?

Defendant: This is what happened to Dangić: He sent a letter to me and asked me to allow him to go to Belgrade. On account of this he came to Ravna Gora.

President: And why did he go to Belgrade?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Do you remember the contents of this letter?

Defendant: No, I don't remember.

President: Did you know that the Četnik commanders in East Bosnia, Father Savo Božić, Cvijetin Todić, Rade Radić and others, concluded agreements with the Ustašas in December 1941 in order to

fight for the annihilation of the forces of the National Liberation Movement in this region?

Defendant: I didn't know that. I didn't even know that there were any detachments under Father Savo Božić, Rade Radić and Cvijetin Todić.

President: Would you like me to remind you of one thing, of one of your telegrams, sent to »Johan«, in which you announced that the Partisans had deserted the Srebrnica and Vlasenica District, and that the Ustašas had entered Vlasenica on April 1. This telegram also says: »Dangić is working in Belgrade. He is preparing help in everything and will arrive soon. Laza left yesterday and will explain to him orally. Čiča«. Who is this Laza?

Defendant: Please, what is the date of this telegram?

President: April 3, 1942.

Defendant: That might be Laza Trklja, peasant.

President: And whose is this signature? — Čiča?

Defendant: It must be mine.

President: Then, it means that the telegram is yours, and you say in it that: »Dangić is working in Belgrade, help is being prepared and Laza has left«.

Defendant: (Remains silent).

President: Did Boško Todorović in the winter of 1942 establish contact through Grdić with southwest Bosnia and Lika, and link himself with the Italian invader there?

Defendant: I received one or two letters from Boško. He sent them from nearer Bosnia, from the Drina, and informed me in these letters about some laws, which was quite amateurish on his part. I sent him some kind of answer. After that I lost sight of him till his death. The radio connection was poor and I had no other connection.

President: Whom did you send to Slovenia for the setting up of your organization?

Defendant: Karlo Novak, Staff Major, went to Slovenia.

President: Do you know that Karlo Novak openly collaborated with the invader and the White Guard?

Defendant: His task was to »undermine« the White Guard, to pass through the units and by his propaganda win over the men and induce them to go to the forest. This was the idea, and we did this with Nedić's detachments, and with the Home Guards.

President: Where did you go after the end of the First German Offensive in Serbia in December, after having sent your commanders to different areas?

Defendant: I was in a very difficult position. I went to Rajac and then in the direction of Gornji Milanovac. This was in January. I was in the villages around Rudnik and Bukovik, and later I went towards Kragujevac and passed through Gruža.

President: When did you arrive in Sandžak?

Defendant: I arrived in Sandžak in the spring of 1942. I went over Čemerno and then to Golija. My assistants Lalatović and Ostojić asked me to go to Dragačevo, to make their situation easier. I went to Dragačevo. I arrived in Sandžak, having crossed Zlatar.

President: Where were Lalatović and Ostojić when you arrived in Zlatar?

Defendant: Lalatović came from Golija that morning. When I left for Dragačevo, Ostojić went to the region of Nova Varoš to establish contact with Hasan Zvizdić, leader of the Moslems in the Sjenica area. Ostojić went to the Nova Varoš region to carry out this task.

THE COLLABORATION OF THE ČETNIKS OF DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ WITH THE INVADER AND USTAŠAS IN THE COURSE OF THE THIRD OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

President: Did you know that Rade Korda, Petar Baćović, and Pavle Đurišić took part in the Third Offensive?

Defendant: I know now, but I did not know of it at that time. I learnt the real state of affairs when I arrived in Montenegro.

President: Is it true that your units participated in the Third Offensive together with the Italian invader against the National Liberation Army?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Did Pavle Đurišić take part in it?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: And Petar Baćović?

Defendant: I gave him the task of going from Zlatar to Hercegovina.

President: Did he go directly there?

Defendant: Yes, he did, but he had skirmishes with the Partisans on the way.

President: Had you known, before you read the indictment, that Pavle Đurišić collaborated with the Italian invader?

Defendant: After I arrived in Montenegro I found the situation such as it was.

President: Who directed the operations in the Third Offensive?
Defendant: Ostojić.
President: Was he at that time still your chief of operations?
Defendant: Yes, he was.

КОМАНДАНТ
ГРУПЕ КОРПУСА ГОРСКЕ ГАРДЕ
Њ. В. КРАЉА ПЕТРА II
У ОТАЏБИНИ
Пов. Бр.
_____ 1944 год
Слободне српске планине

КОМАНДАНТУ ОДСЕКА НЕМАЧКО - ВОЈСКЕ РОГАТИЦА-САРАЈЕВО.

Горска Гарда Њ.В.Краља Петра II у борбама са комунистима од Ивањице па закључно са северним падинама пл.Деветака,утрошила је скоро сву муницију тако,да је обичан стрелац остао са по 10 метака а на аутомат просечно 100-150 метака.

Услед оваквог стања у муницији немогуће је предузети веће акције против комуниста,а новим противнападом комунисти би могли повратити изгубљене положаје и тиме угрозити комуникације које ми сада користимо.

Како Горска Гарда Њ.В.Краља Петра II ми једном приликом нисмо нападала немачку војску нити бусије и заседа,него се увек само борила против највећих злотвора целог овога-комуниста,то би у наш и заједничком интересу било добро да нас помогнете у муницији,митраљеској и бацачкој муницији,те како би могли продужити нашу борбу до коначног уништења комунизма.

У овом циљу шаљем Вам мога официра за везу поручника г.Ар-

Ковића који ће вам усмено изложити наше данашње најхитније потребе.

Сматрим,да нете ме као војник и националиста потпуно разумети и схватити ситуацију у којој се данас заједно налазимо,те ћете нас у горњим нуждама помоћи.

Командант Горске Гарде Њ.В.Краља
пуковник,
Никола Калабић

N. K. (Nikola Kalabić), commander of »the Mountain Guards of His Majesty«, asks the Germans for ammunition for the struggle against the forces of National Liberation.

President: After you met him on Zlatar Mountain, how far away were you from Ostojić?

Defendant: Ostojić came to me, and after a certain time I went to Montenegro, and he came after me.

President: Which operations did Ostojić direct at that time?

Defendant: I think Ostojić did everything on his own. He was absolutely acquainted with the situation and the way the work was done.

President: Well, you still maintain that Ostojić directed the operations.

Defendant: I think that he planned the whole affair in his head. How and why I do not know.

President: Do you know that Pavle Đurišić received food and ammuniton, clothing and so on from the invader?

Defendant: I did not know anything about it.

President: Now, please, answer this question directly.

Defendant: In the indictment it is said that it was so, but I think that the arms were in the hands of the people.

President: All right. Did you appoint commanders for directing the sectors in different operations of the Third Offensive?

Defendant: I did not.

President: I warn you that the accused Glišić, who is held responsible in the same indictment, says that you appointed him Commander of the sector and subordinated him to Commander Lukačević.

Defendant: I began to work only when I arrived in Montenegro.

Prosecutor: He said so in his former records.

President: I shall read Glišić's deposition.

Prosecutor: Comrade President, I notice that the present answers of the accused disagree with the answers he gave to the examining magistrate.

Defendant: There are many things which I did not know then. Now I have learned certain things.

President: I am only telling you what Glišić said at his examination.

Defendant: Perhaps he had some interest in saying so.

President: I only remind you that you appointed him commander.

Defendant: I did not even see him.

President: Do you know that in the Third Offensive, the Četnik troops, commanders, and higher officers were transported from position to position in Italian lorries.

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Do you know that after you went to Montenegro, the chief of your operational department went by car to the south?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: How did you go? Did you go by lorry?

Defendant: No, I did not. The other part of the Staff, including Vučko, Ostojić, Lalatović, Hudson and another Englishman, went by lorry.

President: Which way did Hudson and Lalatović go?

Defendant: From the region of Nova Varoš through Prijepolje, Bijelopolje to Šahovići.

President: Whose territory was it?

Defendant: It was Italian territory. They passed through it disguised as Nedić's troops.

President: You went on foot?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: You know that then, at the time when you left Montenegro, a part of your Staff, Lalatović...

Defendant: No, I went before them.

President: You know that Lalatović and Hudson went by car?

Defendant: The car arrived at the house at Šahovići. They passed through the Italian garrison as Nedić's troops.

Prosecutor: What had Nedić got to do with Sandžak?

Defendant: Glišić and Vučko had detachments. I did not see Glišić then at all. Vučko came and wounded me. I was wounded in 24 places.

Prosecutor: You did not shoot him?

Defendant: Ostojić wanted to do so, but I said »no«.

President: You say that Glišić and Vučko passed through the Italian troops as »Nedić's men«. How was it possible?

Defendant: They were Nedić's men.

President: Did you know that at this period, during the Third Offensive, the Četniks on this territory received clothing and food from the Italians?

Defendant: No.

President: And when did you learn about this?

Defendant: I can't remember. I saw it only in Baćović's telegrams.

President: Did you issue an order to Petar Baćović in July 1942 to attack the Partisan forces at Ćurevo, where the Partisan hospital was?

Defendant: This order was certainly issued by the Headquarters. I issued the order that the last remnants which were near the Drina, should be thrown back.

President: You just said that you did not take any part in the Third Offensive, that Ostojić did everything.

Defendant: Till my arrival in Montenegro I had nothing to do with it, but after I arrived in Montenegro I had.

President: When did you arrive?

Defendant: I arrived in Montenegro on June 1st.

President: From June 1st onwards, did you lead the operations in the Third Offensive?

Defendant: I cannot say. The connections with the troops were neither strong nor stable. Ostojić was the man who directed all these matters. As a matter of fact, I do not remember all these things.

President: Did you issue the order that the struggle should be continued?

Defendant: Of course, that it should be continued.

President: Well, you issued the order to Petar Baćović to attack the Partisan hospital?

Defendant: Not the hospital. The brigade was there.

President: Well, the brigade, with the hospital. At the end of the operations of the Third Offensive did any dispute arise concerning Foča?

Defendant: As far as I remember, after what I have read in this material, Baćović had a meeting with a certain Jakovljević of the former Austro-Hungarian Army, who asked what would happen to us; should we be killed? I know that the detachments were approaching Foča in order to attack it at a convenient moment. I was never in favour of keeping the towns in our hands, because I knew that they were difficult to defend.

President: Did Baćović carry out the order of the Italian command at that time?

Defendant: I know he did from the fact that he let the Ustašas in.

President: On whose order did Baćović let the Ustašas in?

Defendant: The Italians must have given him the order, he did not do it at my order.

Prosecutor: That means that he carried out the Italian order.

MIHAILOVIĆ'S COMMANDER OF DALMATIA, HERCEGOVINA, LIKA AND WEST BOSNIA, BIRČANIN, RESIDES AT SPLIT UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ITALIANS

President: When you went to Šahovići, you crossed Mojkovac?

Defendant: I came to Šahovići, and went further up, to the village of Krstac, where I spent about ten days. Then I went to Lever Mountain to the village of Podgora.

President: Were there Italian forces at Podgora?

Defendant: No, they passed through later. Some of the Staff were at Negobudja village, and their forces passed through there.

Prosecutor: Negobuđa is only two kilometres from Krstac.

Defendant: Yes, but on the rocky terrain it is at least half an hour's walk.

President: Did you go from Podgora to Hercegovina?

Defendant: Yes, I went to a meeting with Birčanin.

President: Who was that?

Defendant: Ilija Trifunović Birčanin. He was the president of the National Defence Society.

President: Where was he then?

Defendant: He was in Split.

President: Did he belong to your organization?

Defendant: From the moment we met, he belonged to my organization.

President: Who else attended this meeting?

Defendant: Baćović, Dobrosav Jevđević, Father Perišić, Milorad Popović, Captain Ivanišević and two others, peasants, one of whom was nicknamed »Kutlača«.

President: What was settled at this conference? Did you appoint commanders?

Defendant: Yes, I appointed Birčanin Commander of Dalmatia, Lika and West Bosnia.

President: Where did Birčanin go from there?

Defendant: He went straight to Split, he was then seriously ill.

President: In whose hands was Split at that time?

Defendant: In the hands of the Italians.

President: Did you know that at that time, July—August 1942, the Četnik commanders in Dalmatia, Hercegovina, Bosnia and Lika were collaborating with the invader?

Defendant: I don't understand.

President: Did your commanders, say, Jevđević and others, collaborate with the Italians at that time?

Defendant: That is the situation I found. I tried to alter it.

President: Did you do anything to change the situation?

Defendant: I asked, both through Hudson, and in my telegrams, that 5000 meals should be provided for me, because in Montenegro and also in Hercegovina the people were starving. The moment I arrived I disliked the situation and I asked for comments on this work over the radio.

President: Whom did you ask?

Defendant: I applied through the government, but I know that it went to all the Allies and to our government.

President: Did you inform the government about this?

Defendant: I was not there. Hudson, however, who had a separate cypher, was able to do so.

President: Did the emigrant government make any remarks about your work?

Defendant: I did not get any answer.

President: Did the government approve of this work?

Defendant: I did not get any answer.

President: And how did you get food?

Defendant: I bought it.

President: How did you buy it?

Defendant: I bought it from the people.

President: Did you at that time, towards the end of the Third Offensive, and later on, receive help from the emigrant government?

Defendant: Yes, I did. I dont know who sent it to me, whether it was the emigrant government or England. I received plenty of money. First, I received a 100 sovereigns, and later, large sums of money.

President: How large?

Defendant: I have already said. It is difficult for me to say it now. 20.000 pounds in gold...

President: Was it in gold?

Defendant: In pure gold coins. Then I received at least 30 million liras. All I received is noted in my books and as they have been seized, you can best see it there.

President: Did the king send you any money?

Defendant: Yes, he sent me 9000 pounds in gold to be given to the Četniks.

President: Did you receive help in arms, ammunition and food?

Defendant: Almost all the arms which arrived were damaged because the parachute strings were not strong, so they broke, and often the consignment was destroyed.

President: Did you allocate these supplies to your commanders?

Defendant: Of course I did.

President: How long did you remain at Lipovo village?

Defendant: I cannot tell now exactly, but I went down from Sinjaja to Polje and Lipovo where I remained for a long time.

President: At Gornje Lipovo?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Who held Kolašin then?

Defendant: Pavle Đurišić held Kolašin.

President: Were any Italians there?

Defendant: No, there were not.

President: Did he hold it by agreement with the Italians, or had he captured it from them?

Defendant: His garrison was there.

President: Did he occupy it in the course of the fighting, or by agreement with them?

Defendant: By agreement with the Italians.

President: What kind of Četnik tribunal was there at Kolašin?

Defendant: I did not have anything to do with it in Montenegro, but I know that Dragiša Vasić and Moljević went there. Some people were tried, but I don't know who.

President: Did anybody else go from your Headquarters or from the people around you?

Defendant: Hudson went.

Prosecutor: And what cases were tried?

Defendant: I think every tribunal tries whatever comes up before it.

Prosecutor: Did they try cases of debt?

Defendant: No, criminal cases.

President: Whom did they try?

Defendant: They tried the communists.

President: Was it a court martial?

Defendant: Our court martial had to do its work in two days time, 48 hours maximum, and this court, since it lasted longer was not a court martial, according to the law. I wanted to issue regulations concerning this, but I knew that I had no right to alter laws.

President: But you said that you knew about this. *(He reads a passage from the indictment about the Četnik tribunal at Kolašin).*

Defendant: If I had more time to think it over I could give you exact answers.

President: Did you know about the collaboration of Bajo Stanišić with the invader when you were at Lipovo?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Was it a mass collaboration and an open one?

Defendant: Pavle himself was not sure if the invader meant to attack them.

President: Do you know that he received Biroli?

Defendant: I told you that I did not interfere in political matters, because the situation there was so bad that it could not be improved.

President: What do you know about this reception, did Pavle Đurišić report to you?

Defendant: Certainly.

President: Were you told that you could remain undisturbed and so on?

Defendant: We heard that the Italians were manoeuvering and I ordered Lalatović and the others to go to Gornja Morača with the other part of the operational Staff, without horses, along the path.

President: Did Pavle Đurišić, report anything to you about his meeting with Biroli? Did he tell you that there were conversations about how to carry on this collaboration secretly?

Defendant: I think that it was in the interest of the Italians to catch me, because they were frightened of me.

Prosecutor: I ask the accused whether Djurišić was his commander?

Defendant: Đurišić and Stanišić recognized my command. For me, as a soldier, the difficulty was that I began with 26 men and they soon became commanders. Consequently, I was satisfied if they recognized me.

Prosecutor: In the evidence it looks otherwise.

President: Do you know about Baćović's action in August 1942? About the link in the vicinity of Prozor—Bugojno, concerning the preparations for the attack against the Partisan territory?

Defendant: The Četnik units were not in the vicinity od Prozor, those were the free Ustaša units.

President: Do you know that in October 1942 the forces of Father Đujić fought side by side with the Italians?

Defendant: I know from the report they submitted that they passed through the region of Imotsko on the way to Makarska, and that they attacked the Ustašas at Prozor; I again say the Ustašas. The idea was, as I stated in my plan, that Pavelić's State of Croatia should be attacked, as one of the aims was to destroy it.

President: What do you mean that Pavelić's State should be attacked? The Italian invaders cooperated with you on the battlefield.

Defendant: I did not know that they were co-operating with our detachments; neither was I told that this co-operation with the Italian units was agreed upon.

President: At the inquiry, you stated, just on this point, that you remember that Ivanišević, who was Chief of Staff with Trifunović—Birčanin, informed you of the significance of the conversations between the commanders of the Bosnian, Lika-Dalmatian, and Hercegovinian detachments of the Yugoslav Army of Commander Trifunović-Birčanin and the commanders of the 18th Italian Army Corps.

Defendant: But I did not know the contents.

President: Perhaps you did not know the contents, but were you informed about the matter?

Defendant: That is right, I didn't know whether this work of theirs was in connection with this letter, I didnt know.

President: Did you inform Birčanin that the bulk of the Partisan forces was in the area Jajce—Glamoč—Donji Vakuf; that the Headquarters of Marshal Tito was at Livno and that it should be destroyed by a large-scale operation, with the approval and co-operation of the Italian forces?

Defendant: I don't know. From the documents which were read to me, in which Birčanin speaks of a letter he received from me, it is evident that I wrote something like this. If I saw this document now, I could say, otherwise I do not know. I remember that this document was shown to me, but I could not remember it now again.

President: Are you tired? If so, tell the Court.

Defendant: Yes, I am tired.

President: 15 minutes intermission.

President (after the intermission): The trial is resumed. Accused Mihailović, in the period from December 1941 till the end of November 1942, which we were discussing, did you maintain contact with the emigrant government?

Defendant: Yes, all the time.

President: Continuous contact?

Defendant: Communication by radio; parachutists arrived...

President: They brought help — material — money?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Did they approve of your work at that time?

Defendant: They entirely approved of it. It was announced over the radio, through the B.B.C.

President: Over the radio?

Defendant: Though the B.B.C. We maintained contact. I believe they approved. I asked them to comment on my work.

President: The contact was continuous. There were no comments. You say, you asked whether the Government had any comments to make on your work.

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: And what did they answer?

Defendant: I did not receive any answer to this question.

President: During this time, did you obtain approval for your work from Slobodan Jovanović?

Defendant: The telegram which was shown is correct.

President: Did you receive any praise for your work?

Defendant: The evidence will show which work it concerns.

President: All right.

Judge Laković: Did you know that the Četniks were collaborating with the Italians?

Defendant: When I was in Montenegro, I witnessed this.

Judge Laković: Did you, as their commander, do anything to terminate this collaboration or did you let it go on?

Defendant: I can't remember what I did. When I came to Montenegro I saw that they had a certain policy. I let them go on.

Judge Laković: Did Pavle Đurišić and Bajo Stanišić live permanently in towns?

Defendant: Stanišić lived at Ostrovo and Đurišić at Kolašin.

Judge Laković: Did he go to Cetinje, and when?

Defendant: He did; he went to the governor.

Judge Laković: Was general Đukanović under your command?

Defendant: Yes, for special reasons.

Judge Laković: Where did he live?

Defendant: At Cetinje. I had reasons for that.

Judge Laković: And Governor Biroli was also living at Cetinje. Against whom did your detachments fight?

Defendant: Against the Partisans.

Judge Laković: Were you aware that Rade Radić, your commander for Western Bosnia, who had under his command eight Četnik detachments, fought side by side with the Germans and the Ustašas against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I didn't know that.

Judge Laković: Did Rade Radić come to you?

Defendant: He used to come.

Judge Laković. Did he report to you about his collaboration with the Germans and the Ustašas?

Defendant: I don't know.

Judge Laković: He says that he reported to you about his battles in Western Bosnia.

Defendant: I don't believe that he reported to me about that.

MIHAILOVIĆ APPROVES THE COLLABORATION OF HIS COMMANDERS WITH THE INVADER

President: In consideration of the fact that the indictment is very extensive and that the discussion of the periods of the struggle may be useful for the conclusions to be drawn, the Court has decided to pass on immediately to questions concerning certain definite periods. Comrade Prosecutor, you may ask questions, if you have any, with reference to the first or the second period of the indictment.

Prosecutor: You declared before the Court that you had issued no orders to your detachments to legalize themselves with the invaders, i. e., to put themselves openly in the service of the invader. I would like to show you a short authorization of yours, No. 113a, and I ask you whether this is your handwriting and your signature? *(The document is shown to the accused Mihailović).*

Defendant (Looks for a long time at the document): This is my handwriting and my authorization.

Prosecutor (Takes the authorization): In this authorization Draža Mihailović allows Đura Ivotić to work at the Supreme Headquarters of the invader on condition that he keeps to the national line. The authorization is dated October 12, 1942, and issued in the »Free Serbian Mountains«. Accordingly, did you order your commanders to get themselves legalized or not?

Defendant: No. This could have been only a special task. I mixed my men into their ranks.

Prosecutor: Well. But you wrote on the back of this act, speaking of the collaboration of Raković, »Frike works excellently«. What does that mean?

Defendant: This is a specific matter.

Prosecutor: Did Glišić and Ignjatović have special tasks?

Defendant: I don't think so.

Prosecutor: Did you appoint Glišić and Ignjatović as corps commanders?

Defendant: I learnt later that they were corps commanders.

Prosecutor: I shall produce documents and you will find yourself later in an awkward situation.

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: I have listened attentively to the questions of Comrade President, and you declared that Jovan Škava was not your commander.

Defendant: He was not.

Prosecutor: I have documents to show that he was, and I am going to prove to you that he was. You had placed him under the letter »Z«. This is written in an original document of the emigrant government in London. You had placed him under the letter »Z« because he had betrayed Vojvoda Mišić's son.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: So you had not placed him under the letter »Z« because of the 360 partisans?

Defendant: I did not want to say so because this went through the British service. I didn't want that anything like this be known.

Prosecutor: Here, I shall show you this document in order to convince you.

President: I beg Comrade Prosecutor to show the document to the Court and the Counsel.

Prosecutor: Did Jovan Škava make daggers for your Četniks?

Defendant: I saw this telegram in the evidence, but I don't remember having received it. Let him work, I said, there will be time to capture him. Later he fled, I don't know exactly where.

Prosecutor: How could you say, that there would be time to capture him, when he was living with your troops and making daggers? Do you remember how many Partisans you killed in your attack against Planinica?

Defendant: Two were killed, and one of my men was killed and one wounded.

Prosecutor: Do you remember that five Partisans were wounded and do you know what happened to these five wounded?

Defendant: I don't know what happened to them.

Prosecutor: What did you do with the captured Partisans?

Defendant: I took them to Ravna Gora.

Prosecutor: Were they beaten?

Defendant: At the time of the fight, and when they surrendered, there was some trouble.

Prosecutor: Do you remember when the Germans and the gendarmes started firing at Ravna Gora? Was that as early as in July? Do you remember what happened at Bukovi, when two Germans

were killed and 72 peasants were shot, which you so much deplored at the meeting with the representatives of the Partisans?

Defendant: That was the case of those two Germans in a car.

Prosecutor: Did your forces do this at Bukovi?

Defendant: As far as I know it was not the Partisans. It was somebody who did not belong to anyone.

President: Did the gendarmes, together with the Germans, attack the Partisans in July and August?

Defendant: I don't think so.

Prosecutor: Then what did the gendarmes do?

Defendant: They were at first in small stations and we disarmed them.

Prosecutor: Where did you disarm them? Mention one station.

Defendant: On the Rudnik mountain.

Prosecutor: I shan't believe this until you prove it. Did the Partisans disarm the stations? Did you protect the stations?

Defendant: I did. I was inducing the gendarmes to come to me.

Prosecutor: Did the gendarmes serve the Germans openly or not in 1941?

Defendant: I don't think they did anything for the small salary they got.

Prosecutor: Did Nedić serve the Germans?

Defendant: He did,

Prosecutor: And the gendarmes whom Nedić had appointed?

Defendant: They did not dare to leave the town.

Prosecutor: Did you inform the Partisans that you had established connection with Trišić?

Defendant: I wasn't bound to give information to anybody.

Prosecutor: You were not bound to give information that you had sent a delegation to Nedić?

Defendant: It wasn't of any importance.

Prosecutor: You remember that the Partisans were attacking Ljig?

Defendant: They were.

Prosecutor: And Lajkovac?

Defendant: I don't know, I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Were you attacking when the Partisans attacked Ljig? Did you fight against the Germans in July and August? Did you order your detachments to attack the Germans?

Defendant: I did.

Prosecutor: In July—August 1941?

Defendant: I can't remember.

Prosecutor: Did the Partisans invite you to join the struggle against the invader?

Defendant: I can't say.

Prosecutor: I must establish the fact that you do not want to tell the truth.

Defendant: They told me what they were going to do.

Prosecutor: And what did they say?

Defendant: They told me that they wanted to cut telephone wires and poles.

Prosecutor: Did they say that they were going to attack the Germans immediately, without waiting. Speak the truth before the Court.

Did the Partisans say that they would immediately attack the Germans and did they say that you should both attack the Germans together?

Defendant: At that time, whom did I have at Ravna Gora?

Prosecutor: Well, that is another thing, those were your reasons and we are going to speak about it later.

Defendant: We have been talking of many things, we have been talking for three days.

Prosecutor: For the principal questions you had your notebook and in it you jotted down the points on which you reached agreement. I have at my disposal every possible proof.

Defendant: I cannot invent anything now.

Prosecutor: I repeat once more. The question is very clear; did the Partisans propose that you should immediately start the fight against the invader? Did you have any reasons for not starting this fight?

Defendant: I had no reasons.

Prosecutor: Was it because you had too few troops or was it perhaps because of the reprisals of the invader?

Defendant: What has to be done must be precisely determined.

Prosecutor: Tell us, when, in 1941, did you consider that it would be a favourable moment for attacking the invader?

Defendant: The moment when I was strong enough or when the German garrisons had become smaller.

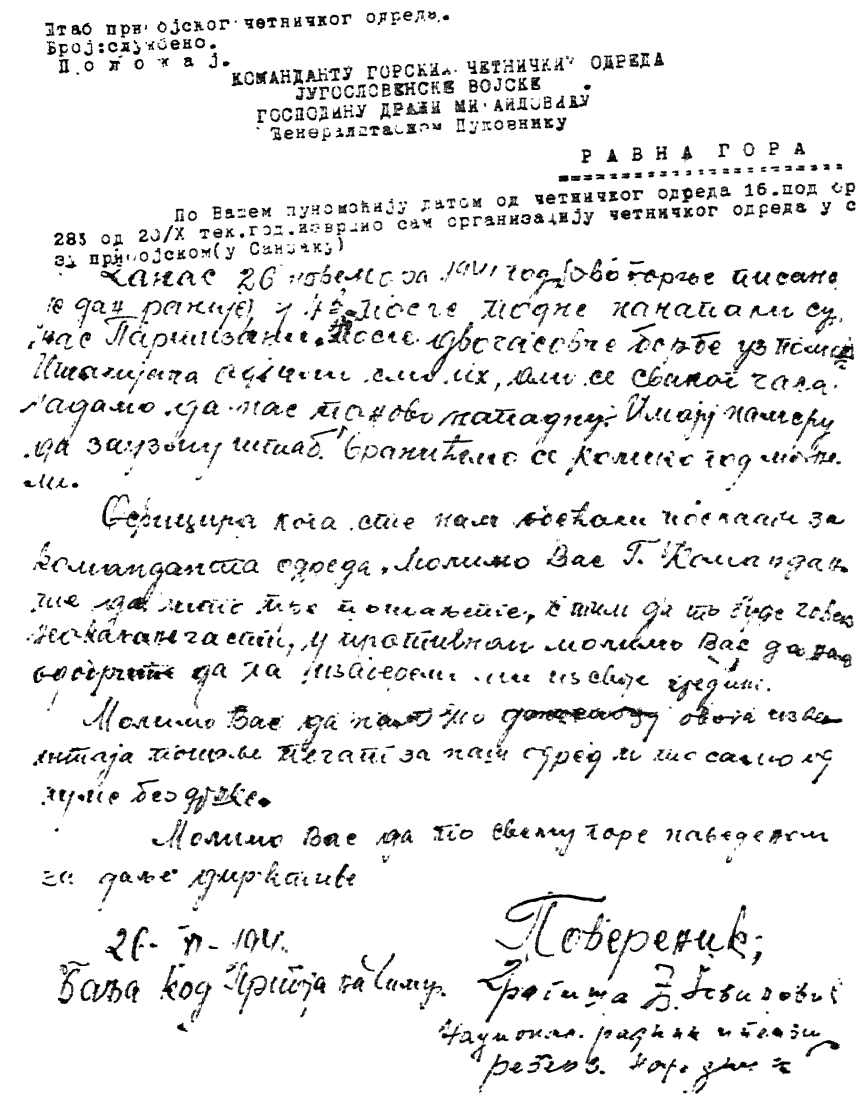
Prosecutor: When was that? At what time?

Defendant: At the time of the attack against Požarevac.

Prosecutor: At what time?

Defendant: It is known, when Čačak and Požega fell.

Prosecutor: When did you consider that the moment for the attack had come? Be careful, the proofs will contradict you, they



Štab pri ojskog četničkog odreda.
Broj:sl.tajno.
P o v e r e n j e.

KOMANDANTU GORSKIH ČETNIČKIH ODREDA
JUGOSLOVENSKE VOJSKE
GOSPODINU DRAŽI MI AILOVIĆU
Đeneralštabskom Pukovniku

R A V N A G O R A

Po Vašem punomoćju datom od četničkog odreda 16.pod bro
283 od 20/X tek.god.izvršio sam organizaciju četničkog odreda u sk
sa pri ojskom(u Sanžaku)

Danas 26 novembra 941 god. dovršio sam pisanje
(ovaj rakuo) u kojem su
Partizani. Posle oružanog borbe u
Italijana sečnici sl. ih, oni se skoro
nadamo da nas ponovo napadnu. Imaju municiju
da zarobimo štab. Branićemo se koliko god mo
mi.

Oficira koga ste nam poslali za
komandanta odreda, molimo Vas G. Komandan
nije da nam ne pomažete, s tim da to bude tajno
sačuvano, u protivnom molimo Vas da nam
odgovorite da za nas više ništa.

Molimo Vas da nam što pre dostavite ovoj izve
štaja koje treba za naš odred mi smo samo u
ruke bez druge.

Molimo Vas da što pre svemu gore navedenom
za dalje uputstvo

26- XI- 941.
Bava kod Prijepolja na Limu.

Poverenik;
Vojislava D. Lalovića
Naučnika radnika i blagaj
rezervnog kapetana

As early as November, 1941, the Četniks were performing joint military actions with the Italians. This document was written on linen in order that it might be sown into clothes, and thus taken from Sanžak through the liberated territory around Užice to Ravna Gora.

will show that you did not consider even this moment favourable for the attack. And before that did you have any link with our emigrants through Constantinople?

Defendant: I had.

Prosecutor: Who was your link at Constantinople?

Defendant: Vasilije Trbić.

Prosecutor: And did you have any other link?

Defendant: You are thinking of Perić. Perić was the first link. He sent 900.000 dinars, and I did not hear of him any more.

Prosecutor: Who gave you the money?

Defendant: I know that Saša Mihailović gave me 400.000 dinars, and 500.000 dinars were lost.

Prosecutor: Did you order Glišić to mop up the Partisans in the direction of Uvac?

Defendant: I don't believe I gave such an order.

Prosecutor: You will see in the course of the proceedings. Well, did you order Đurić to raise the siege at Kraljevo?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: What did that mean. Did that mean free passage for the Germans?

Defendant: As a soldier I knew that I was not able either to defend or to take Kraljevo.

Prosecutor: After raising the Kraljevo siege, where did the forces go?

Defendant: They went towards Čačak.

Prosecutor: In this period, after raising the Kraljevo siege and up to the attack against Čačak, did your forces have any connection with the Germans?

Defendant: Đurić knows best about that, I don't know.

Prosecutor: I have proofs that you ordered the raising of the siege.

Defendant: Perhaps.

Prosecutor: The conclusion of the collaboration agreement with the Partisans meant that you obliged yourself to fight against the invader.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did you receive arms and ammunitions?

Defendant: I got 500 rifles and I don't know how much ammunition.

Prosecutor: You do not remember? 25.000 rounds.

Defendant: I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Mihailović, you are taking such pains to deny things, that you will find yourself in an awkward situation in the course of the proceedings. I would like to deal with just a few more items from the indictment. Who was your chief of staff?

Defendant: Dragoslav Pavlović.

Prosecutor: And his deputy?

Defendant: Ostojić.

Prosecutor: And before the arrival of Ostojić?

Defendant: Dragiša Vasić.

Prosecutor: Did you have any connection with certain political circles in Belgrade?

Defendant: Yes, Dr. Vujanac, Vlasta Petković, Nikola Stojanović, Slepčević used to come to us; and I was in contact with Dragoljub Jovanović, professor of Belgrade University, through Žarko Todorović.

Prosecutor: Did Žarko establish this contact?

Defendant: He used to come to me and speak of Dragoljub Jovanović. Žarko Todorović's wife was Dragoljub's student at the Law Faculty. Žarko Todorović brought me two booklets by Dragoljub Jovanović.

Prosecutor: Did Miloš Sekulić usually come?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: And what happened to him?

Defendant: He came to me, we had an appointment and he told me that he would obtain a passport, I don't know whether forged or not, and that he would flee to Turkey. He gave me 10.000 dinars on behalf of his party.

DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ'S CONNECTIONS WITH ZERVAS, HORIA SIMA AND DAMJAN VELČEV

Prosecutor: When did you get into touch with Zervas?

Defendant: I sent an officer but he did not return.

Prosecutor: Had you given him any authorization?

Defendant: I think so.

Prosecutor: Did any one assist you?

Defendant: Mihailo Vemić came to Belgrade. He is a radiotelegraphist and he told me of his plan for joining the Todt organization and in this way getting to Greece in order to escape. Whether he did so or not, I don't know.

Prosecutor: Your evidence contains proofs that your connection with Zervas was functioning.

Defendant: No. It was not. But there was something. I had some messages through Mihailo Vemić, but I am not sure whether they were written or not.

Prosecutor: And what was your connection with Muharem Barjaktar?

Defendant: I tried several times to establish contact with him but I did not succeed.

Prosecutor: With whom did you have connections in Albania?

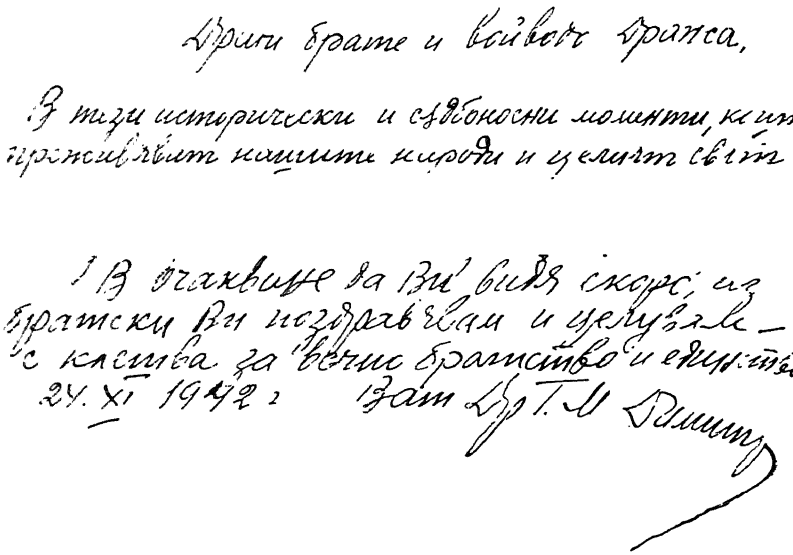
Defendant: The only connection which existed was with the Metropolitan.

Prosecutor: And among the Albanians?

Defendant: Prince Cer, a catholic.

Prosecutor: Was that a permanent connection?

Defendant: I don't know.



Facsimile of the letter of the traitor of the Bulgarian people, Gemet, to Draža Mihailović.

Prosecutor: And your connection through couriers?

Defendant: That existed. There was Radonić from Kuče.

Prosecutor: Did you send any money?

Defendant: I don't know. It is possible that I sent money.

Prosecutor: And on whom did you rely in Kosovo and Metohija?

Defendant: On the Kosovo Committee. There was a Frenchman there.

Prosecutor: And among the Skipetars?

Defendant: Šeri Klipa. He wanted me to establish contact with Barjaktar.

Prosecutor: Was Muharem in the service of the Italians?

Defendant: I think not. I wanted Crnoglavić to come to me when he passed through Belgrade as a released prisoner of war. He went to his district.

Prosecutor: And who gave you the idea of establishing contact with Muharem Barjaktar?

Defendant (Pause): I don't know.

Prosecutor: Did Muharem Barjaktar fight against the Albanian Partisans?

Defendant: I know no details about his work.

Prosecutor: And about Zervas's work?

Defendant: I had no detailed knowledge of Zervas's work. Perhaps I knew something because I had information from a certain Greek. But nothing else. Nothing in writing. He did not write to me.

Prosecutor: And when did you establish connection with Horia Sima?

Defendant: Never.

Prosecutor: There are documents which mention this connection.

Defendant: The person who went there, did not go for that.

Prosecutor: You sent a report to the emigrant government expressing the intention of establishing contact with Horia Sima. The original document will be shown to you in the course of the proceedings.

Defendant: Perhaps, I did not have it. A captain went to Kornelije. I did not send him.

Prosecutor: All right. Did you have any other connection with Roumania?

Defendant: I tried with Maniu.

Prosecutor: And?

Defendant: I don't know if I succeeded. I don't remember.

Prosecutor: And in Hungary?

Defendant: With General Ujszaszy.

Prosecutor: Did you establish connections with officials in the Hungarian government?

Defendant: I don't know. I can't reconstruct the events but I can say something about it. When Urošević escaped from a camp in Hungary he was captured; afterwards he succeeded in escaping to Turkey. The Hungarians were looking for connections there, but the British service in Turkey advised them to find me on the terrain. And they did their best when capturing this Urošević, who informed me of the situation.

Prosecutor: Your documents contain the report of your agents that connection had been established with the Hungarian government.

Defendant: I can't say anything about that because I don't know.

Prosecutor: All right. You were also trying to get into contact with some persons in Bulgaria.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: I ask you, with whom; what kind of contact and upon what basis?

Defendant: These connections were with Damjan Velčev who is now a member of the Bulgarian Government.

Prosecutor: What did you say in the protocol?

Defendant: These connections were with Gemeto and Damjan Velčev and with the Protogerov men.

Prosecutor: Where was Gemeto?

Defendant: In Cairo.

Prosecutor: Did he send you any letters?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did you send him any reports?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did you try to make an agreement, and on what basis?

Defendant: I did. On the basis of a personal union between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia under a common dynasty.

Prosecutor: Under which dynasty? The Coburgs?

Defendant: Under the Karađorđević dynasty.

Prosecutor: And on what basis did you negotiate with the second group, and what group was this?

Defendant: It was not a fully valid agreement. The second group were the Zvenars, with Velčev.

Prosecutor: What was the basis of this?

Defendant: I knew that they wanted a military alliance and customs' union with us.

Prosecutor: Who was working on this?

Defendant: Laza Trklja, Srbakof.

Prosecutor: Was there a committee?

Defendant: Yes.

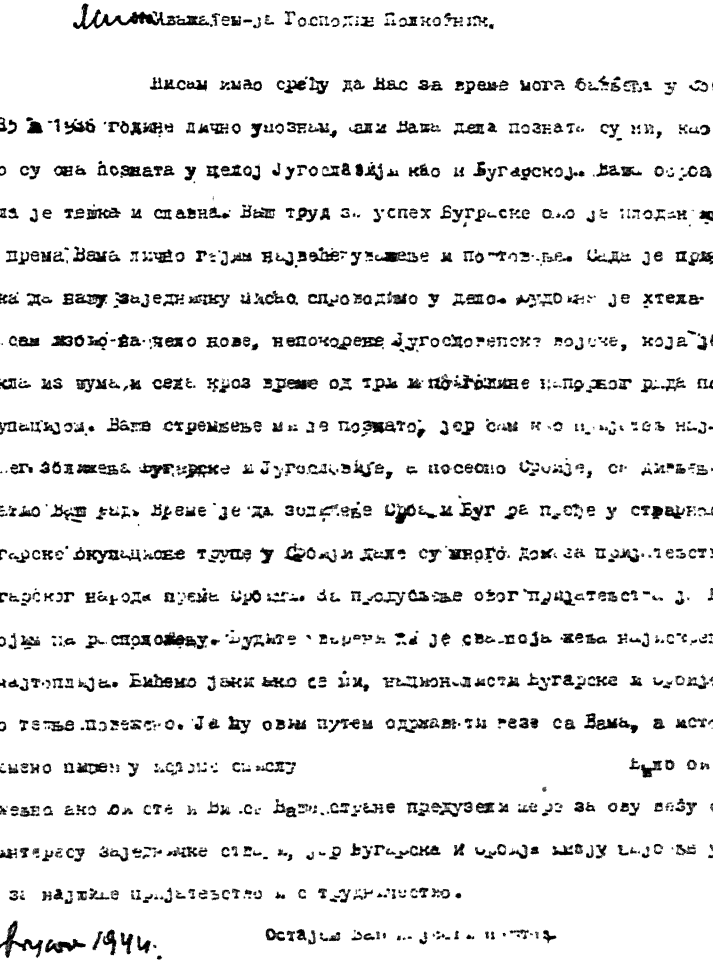
Prosecutor: You established connections with Neco Trajkov?

Defendant: Yes, these were the Protogerov men. My evidence contains data about that.

Prosecutor: And what were your connections with the Bulgarian occupation troops?

Defendant: With General Nikolov?

Prosecutor: What connections did you establish with the Bulgarian occupation army's Headquarters at Niš?



Letter from Mihailović to Damjan Velčev.

Defendant: That was only an attempt. I was expecting Italy's capitulation. I wanted to seize control over the Bulgarian troops in our country.

Prosecutor: And did your troops, together with the Bulgarian occupation army, take part in the struggle against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Only incidentally.

(The President asks the defendant whether he is tired and the defendant replies in the affirmative. The President suspends the trial for 10 minutes).

MIHAILOVIĆ'S CONNECTION THROUGH THE TURKISH CONSUL IN BELGRADE

(After a pause of 10 minutes the trial is continued).

President: The trial is re-opened. Bring in the accused Mihailović. The photo reporters may photograph for a quarter of an hour from the moment of his entry. Comrade Prosecutor, you may continue.

Prosecutor: When you came to Montenegro, can you remember where general Đukanović was?

Defendant: At Cetinje.

Prosecutor: Did you appoint him commander of Montenegro?

Defendant: For certain reasons, I did. I said this during the preliminary examination.

Prosecutor: Did he live at Cetinje freely, undisturbed?

Defendant: Completely.

Prosecutor: All right. And now tell me this. We touched upon this question some minutes ago. You had a connection through Constantinople as early as Summer 1941. And you sent reports, didn't you?

Defendant: We were told to send reports in two envelopes.

Prosecutor: Did you receive instructions for the sending of reports?

Defendant: I can't remember such things. Probably. I would like to see a document of this kind.

Prosecutor: Can you remember from whom you got instructions?

Defendant: I can't. I must think it over. I think it was the British service. The British Intelligence Service, it seems, because when Hudson came he brought a questionnaire or something like that. Those were also the first radio connections through Radio London, because we had no direct connections.

Prosecutor: Did you send your reports in accordance with this questionnaire?

Defendant: Hudson, or Marko, as we used to call him, asked me questions and I replied.

Prosecutor: But before this, did you have any connections with Constantinople?

Defendant: I believe so, but I can't remember.

Prosecutor: To whom did you address your reports?

Defendant: There were two envelopes.

Prosecutor: To whom did you address them?

Defendant: As a matter of principle, I did not want to recognize the authority of anyone except the government, regardless of whether the reports should come into the hands of the government or not. I was under British control and not one of my reports could go through until I succeeded in creating a secret channel. As a matter of principle I considered myself a soldier of my government, with no right to any policy contrary to it, with the exception that I had another idea as to whom I could rely upon, and for that I paid dear. I don't know if you understand me.

Prosecutor: I understand you well. But can you remember from whom you got the questionnaire? From Hudson?

Defendant: I did not get it from Hudson. He kept it in his hands, and asked me questions. I also had links through Turkey, through the Turkish Legation in Belgrade. My aim was to establish connections at any cost. Žarko Todorović succeeded in establishing links through the American Legation. At first I tried to discover a connection. I believed that the British had left at least one station, but I was unable to find it.

Prosecutor: Here it is (shows the defendant part of the record).

Defendant: That is what it is. I think that the Intelligence Service had prepared these instructions, because they resemble those which Hudson brought. I had them in my hand.

Prosecutor: I want you to answer the question, who brought them to you.

Defendant: I can't remember. Possibly the Turkish consul in Belgrade, possibly Dr. Sekulić from Belgrade: it might have been Rapatec. He passed twice through our country.

Prosecutor: Who is Rapatec?

Defendant: He was a reserve officer, who was working for the Intelligence Service, but who used the connections of the Catholic church.

Prosecutor: Did he bring some money on one occasion?

Defendant: He did, but it was lost.

Prosecutor: For whom did he bring it?

Defendant: For Birčanin. Birčanin succeeded in sending information of his existence and they sent to him a radio set, a storage battery, and money by a submarine. All this was lost too.

Prosecutor: Did the government know that the money was sent to Birčanin?

Defendant: The government and the British knew it. It happened before I succeeded in getting into contact with the British. Yes, it may have been Rapatec.

Prosecutor: Perhaps Kostić?

Defendant: Not Kostić. He was a Ljotić man. I got a code, but I didn't want to use it. I did not want to have anything to do with him...

Prosecutor: Did you use Kostić for certain definite purposes?

Defendant: No, I did not trust him.

Prosecutor: I have at my disposal some telegrams from which it is evident that you sent for Kostić...

Defendant: No, I complained against him in my telegrams. I didn't trust him. General Bora Mirković perhaps. He was also working at that time. I know that he sent certain things to Aćimović.

Prosecutor: Did you give any answer to this questionnaire in the course of the summer 1941?

Defendant: I did.

Prosecutor: Through Constantinople, didn't you?

Defendant: Yes, and there was the address of a Turk.

Prosecutor: Yes, of a Persian.

Defendant: Yes, the address of a Turk or a Persian.

FOUR DIRECT SECRET LINKS WITH THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT

Prosecutor: All right. And now I would like to ask some more questions. When were you promoted general?

Defendant: I had been asked the question, whether I would agree to be promoted division general. I did not want to answer. Formerly, as a lieutenant, I had been passed over. My comrades were advancing. Josip Kostić passed me over. He was my enemy throughout my whole life. I did not want to answer. Then they urged me. It was in January, when I was appointed Minister of War.

Prosecutor: You are slightly mistaken. It was on December 15. And when were you appointed War Minister?

Defendant: In January.

Prosecutor: In whose government?

Defendant: In Slobodan Jovanović's.

Prosecutor: What government succeeded the government of Slobodan Jovanović?

Defendant: Dušan Simović's government.

Prosecutor: When were you promoted to an army general?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Can you remember when the Supreme Command had been transferred to our country, and when you were appointed Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command?

Defendant: I don't know the time, but there is a book about it. I agree with the book. I was first asked if I would accept this function and if this could be proclaimed. I said: Do so, if you need to; for it was all the same to me.

Prosecutor: What post did Lalatović accept in your Supreme Command?

Defendant: He had the task of maintaining connections abroad, while we maintained internal connections. He had ten radio stations. Pevec was in charge of technical connections with foreign countries. We broadcast news abroad through our stations.

Prosecutor: Had the government its own stations?

Defendant: It had not.

Prosecutor: Was this in accordance with your wish?

Defendant: This was contrary to my wish. For me it was the most important point that the code was different, it did not matter then if a British station received it. There were four outside connections.

Prosecutor: Did you succeed in establishing secret links with the emigrant government?

Defendant: I did.

THE CONCILIATOR OF THE TRAITORS

Prosecutor: Now let us return to the meeting at Avtovac, in the Zimonića Tower. This took place on July 13, 1942. Ilija Trifunović, Dobrosav Jevđević, Captain Ivanišević, Zaharija Ostojić and Milan Šantić were present. Was there one of them who did not openly collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: Zaharija Ostojić did not but the others did. Šantić is a civilian.

Prosecutor: But he played a certain part all the same.

Defendant: He used to go away and bring back things.

Prosecutor: Please explain to the Court, to myself and to the Counsel, why you did not do anything to put a stop to this?

Defendant: I had no power.

Prosecutor: You mean to say you had no power, force or authority to give Pavle, Bajo or Bačović the order: There must be no more collaboration with the Italians?

Defendant: There was another reason for their doing so. I have already pointed this out, that I wanted to induce them to fight against the Independent State of Croatia. There was a great difference between Italian aims and the aims of Pavelić's Croatia.

Prosecutor: What effect did your suggestions have on Pavle or Bajo? How did they react?

Defendant: They did their own work.

Prosecutor: Could you give them orders?

Defendant: Not at all, I could not even move them if they did not want to move.

Prosecutor: When you saw what they were like, why did you not part with them?

Defendant: Because I wanted to get hold of them by other artful means, so as not to lose them.

Prosecutor: What made you propose such high military decorations for these men?

Defendant: It was a way of keeping them, and I did what I could by means of giving money, too. Except for Baćović, whom I thought was honest, though I was mistaken, the others used that money for themselves.

Prosecutor: When you asked the government to decorate anybody, you used to say: I propose the following for decorations. And you suggested that awards be made public in some cases and not in others. You said it was not necessary to make public Đurišić's and Bajo Stanišić's awards. Why was that?

Defendant: I had to play the role of a patriarch who wished to reconcile them. My messages considerably justify me. I played a conciliatory role. Lots of my messages were intended to reconcile people who were on bad terms with one another. They got in each other's way as regional commanders, and I played the role of a patriarch, as I put it.

Prosecutor: What do you mean by patriarch?

Defendant: They often quarreled among themselves and my duty was to reconcile them... I have just forgotten what you asked me.

Prosecutor: I asked you why did you demand certain names to be made public and others not?

Defendant: The quarrels very often were so fierce that I tore my hair and went away. Lašetić was heavily wounded. He was at

Cetinje and I could not use him. I ordered that the decorations of the three just mentioned should not be made public because I was positive there would be objections.

Prosecutor: I am interested to know whether you were aware that while you were at Lipovo, all your commanders were receiving ammunition, food and other things from the Italians? Since your commanders would not stop this collaboration, did the government not say: »Stop, it can't go on like that!« Did you inform the government of this?

Defendant: I don't think so, but the British were at my Headquarters and they knew everything. Nothing was hidden from them. Col. Bailey could talk to any man who came to me. His room was next to mine.

Prosecutor: But why did you forbid Robertson to send his reports?

Defendant: He insulted me several times. He was difficult to get on with. Twice he made excuses, and the third time when he did come I refused to receive him.

Prosecutor: Was Major Hudson with you at the end of 1942?

Defendant: I think he was with me till 1943.

Prosecutor: Did he change duty?

Defendant: He had a lower position, because in 1942 Col. Bailey came, and Armstrong arrived in 1943.

Prosecutor: And now answer the following question: Did you ever give orders to any of your commanders to attack the Italians and to wage an open armed struggle against them?

Defendant (Shaking his head): There were some fake attacks. After the attack the Četniks came to free the Italians and they took their arms.

Prosecutor: Was there any open fighting, similar to the struggle your units were waging against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I can't answer straight off, it is too difficult, I have no material at my disposal.

Prosecutor: Did your commanders openly collaborate with the Italians in the towns?

Defendant: The troops were not near, and the commanders took care not to be in their neighbourhood.

Prosecutor: I shall prove the contrary.

Defendant: Perhaps.

Prosecutor: Do you consider that collaboration with the Italians was treason? Did your commanders betray their people by it? What do you think?

Defendant: It was so. But I couldn't alter it.

Prosecutor: Who brought you the cipher in 1941?

Defendant: Hudson brought it, but it was not secret. The English knew it too. I asked for a secret cipher, because we shouldn't wash our dirty linen in public. I asked the government to give me a cipher. I did not succeed in getting it until I used other channels

Prosecutor: Did the government ask you, in the course of 1942, to attack the invader? Do you remember Slobodan Jovanović's telegram?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Can you remember the attitude of the government? Were you allowed to attack the invader?

Defendant: The government was of my opinion: to wait for a favourable moment.

Prosecutor: Is it true that in 1942 the government still considered it necessary to wait?

Defendant: Yes, till the moment of the decisive battle, i. e., the landing of the Allies or the capitulation of Germany.

Prosecutor: It means that your point of view was identical with that of the government?

Defendant: Absolutely identical. But individual actions were not necessarily excluded.

RELATIONS BETWEEN BISHOP NIKOLAJ AND DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

Prosecutor: Now I want to ask another question. When did Žarko Todorović leave Belgrade?

Defendant: Žarko was arrested by the Gestapo in Belgrade, and taken to Zagreb to be questioned about his activities in Croatia.

Prosecutor: And then he remained in Zagreb?

Defendant: He broke the window of his prison and escaped. He spent several months there, worked there, and founded our organization.

Prosecutor: Who took over the contacts that Žarko was maintaining with certain politicians? Did Žarko's wife do anything?

Defendant: I think she tried. The son of General Anđelić, military jugde, appeared as mediator. Two people appeared and offered to take Žarko's place.

Prosecutor: Your couriers were meeting in the house of a woman?

Defendant: I know, but I can't remember the name.

Prosecutor: Cenić, Denić, what was the name? Did you have contact in this period with a certain priest?

Defendant: In Slovenia I tried through Karlo Novak.

Prosecutor: Who sent you letters about Korać, was it Bishop Nikolaj?

Defendant: Bishop Nikolaj sent one letter by Mirko Trifunović. I received this letter two years later. The man who was carryng the letter had kept it. But I had other contacts. There was a man who could remember every word which was said and who did not talk. I spoke and everything was recorded in his brain.

Prosecutor: When did you first establish contact with leading members of the Maček party? In 1941 or 1942? Did you know Pinterović?

Defendant: I had contact with Croatia via Budapest. It was more difficult to get contact through Belgrade.

Prosecutor: Did you receive messages from Maček about his attitude at that time?

Defendant: A certain Belanić came. He was Maček's man. I sent a letter both to him and Košutić, and gave them instructions.

Prosecutor: And what was the answer?

Defendant: The answer was that he was not their representative. They were getting what they wanted out of me and were not giving anything in return. It was in line with Maček's policy.

Prosecutor: In that period?

Defendant: During those contacts.

Prosecutor: When did you meet Bajo first?

Defendant: When I returned from Hercegovina.

Prosecutor: Bajo did not come to Avtovac?

Defendant: I met him on the road which leads from Šavnik to Lever Tara.

Prosecutor: How did you meet Đurić?

Defendant: Through Nedeljko Plećaš, a parachutist who came to Sinjajevina.

Prosecutor: When was that?

Defendant: In the autumn of 1942.

Prosecutor: Were supplies dropped to you while you were on Sinjajevina?

Defendant: Supplies were dropped at the village of Stepac and also in Montenegro.

Prosecutor: How did you distribute the supplies?

Defendant: Only limited quantities were received, and they were given to the troops on whose territory the supplies were dropped.

Prosecutor: That is to say that Pavle got the supplies? Was Pavle fighting the Partisans then?

Defendant: When he got the material he was not fighting. That was after my return.

Prosecutor: When did the Ćurevo operation take place?

Defendant: I don't know the date.

Prosecutor: Were the Partisan forces retreating to Bosnia on account of Četnik and Italian attacks?

Defendant: We were moving from place to place.

Prosecutor: Rarely or often?

Defendant About ten times.

Prosecutor: Did the supplies contain arms, too?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Can you remember that fighting broke out between Četniks and Partisans, when you received the first supplies on Ravna Gora?

Defendant: I think that it was so.

Prosecutor: It was when Krupanj was attacked?

Defendant: No, before that.

Prosecutor: The President asked you a question which I would like to ask, too. Did you send news abroad that fighting had broken out? And what did the government reply?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: You also sent news that the Partisans had been driven out of Montenegro.

Defendant: Because I received such information. I received news of a great number of shootings in Montenegro.

Prosecutor: That is also in your telegram. And what did they answer? Did they say that you had made a mistake?

Defendant: I don't think they did.

Prosecutor: When did you first meet General Đukanović?

Defendant: I think at Lipovo. I think I met him twice.

Prosecutor: Did you appoint him commander of Montenegro before that?

Defendant: Before that, his deputy Laković came to me.

Counsel Joksimović: Have you ever done anything which went beyond the orders and intentions of the emigrant government during the occupation, or did you stick strictly to the orders and instructions of the said government?

Defendant: They had to understand my difficult situation. My great difficulties, a ruined country, a country without anything, the beginning — they had to understand it. Even if I had hidden anything from them, the British service would not have done so. We had two parallel services: information sent by me, and by the British Mission, which had absolute freedom of movement.

President: I shall return to the question of your Counsel. »Did you act at all times on the instructions of the royal emigrant Yugoslav government?

Defendant: I did. I am a soldier and they were the government. I considered that I was appointed minister merely for purposes of propaganda.

IN THE FOURTH OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION SOME TWENTY THOUSAND OF MIHAILOVIĆ'S ČETNIKS TOOK PART

President: Accused Mihailović, are you acquainted with the operation of the invader, known as the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: Yes, I am.

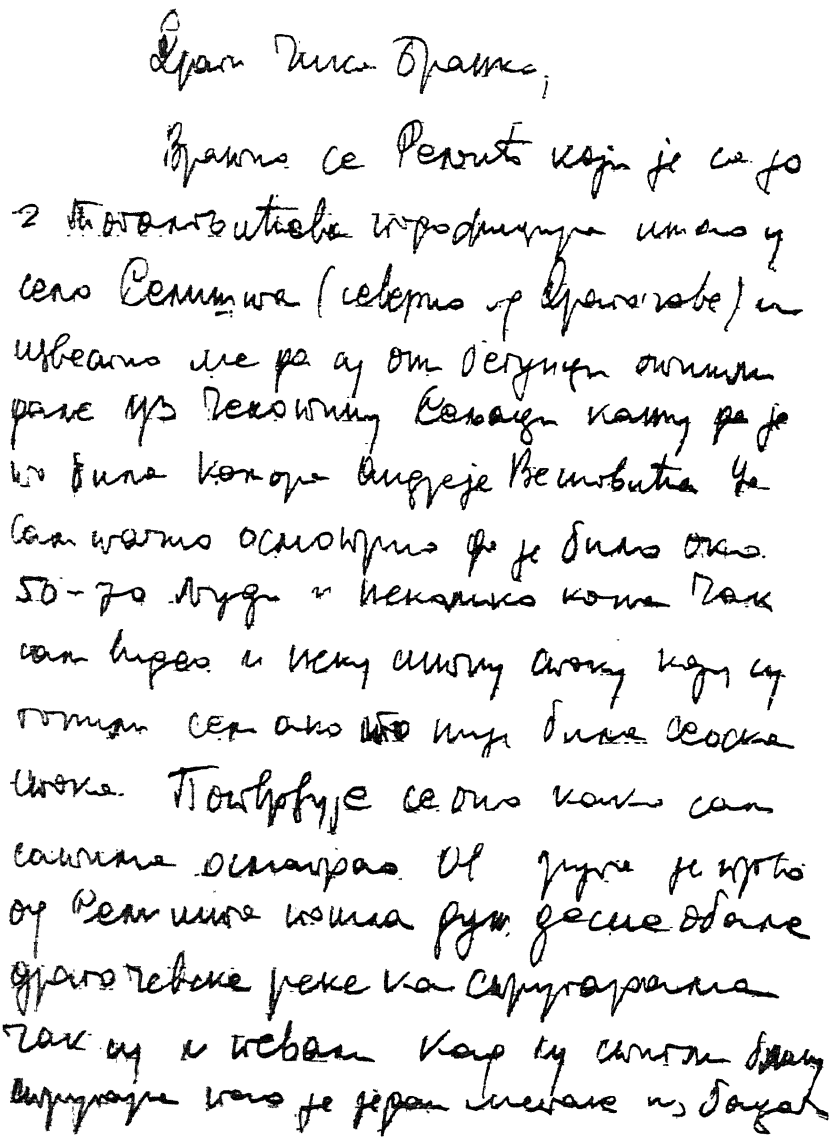
President: Tell us now what you know about the Fourth Offensive. Which of your commanders, units etc. took part in it?

Defendant: Regarding my participation in this Offensive, the centre of it was in Dalmatia. As early as winter 1942/1943 I was informed about the landing which was to be carried out on the Dalmatian Coast, or rather, not on the Dalmatian Coast, but on our Littoral. As a soldier, I estimated the possibility of a landing, and I came to the conclusion that the most favorable conditions for the landing were in Dalmatia, near Split, where there are several islands which would make the landing operations easier. At that time the Partisans began to attack Dalmatia. One thing was obvious, and that was that I should keep my positions in Dalmatia. Under such conditions, and in these circumstances, I had, in my opinion, to defend my positions in Dalmatia.

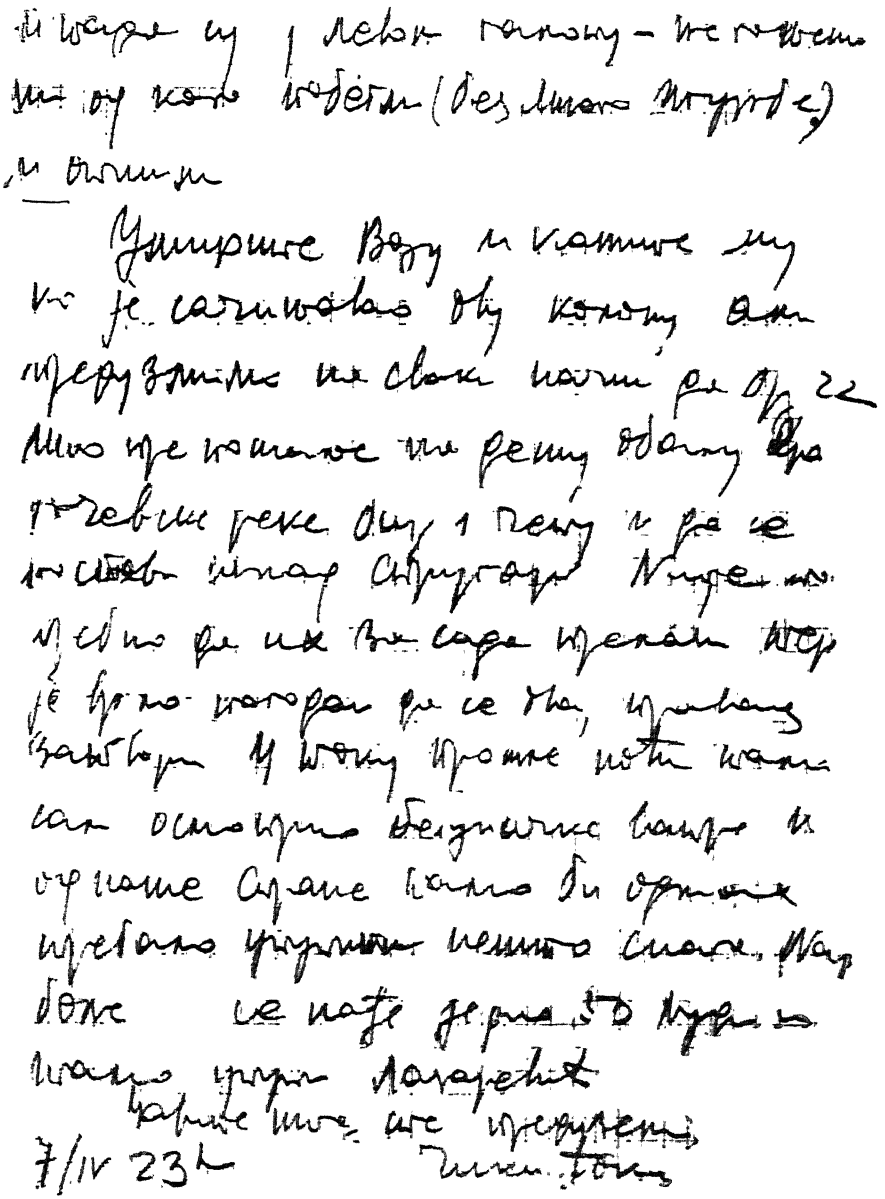
President: Tell us actually about the Fourth Offensive.

Defendant: This was the situation up to the Fourth Offensive. Under such conditions and having gathered data, I issued the plan for operations on January 2. We carried on fighting in Dalmatia, where Baćović participated, but the other forces neither joined it there, nor came to the positions which I assigned to them. In the Fourth Offensive there was much disobedience, because Pavle Đurišić, who was asked to go to the region of Kalinovik as a re-

serve, instead of going there said, that on his way through Sandžak, he would purge it of the Italian Militia and the Moslems. However, he returned with the plunder and dissolved his units. The Partisan offensive was to develop in the Prozor direction. Fighting was going on. Baćović passed through the Imotsko area, and finally came to

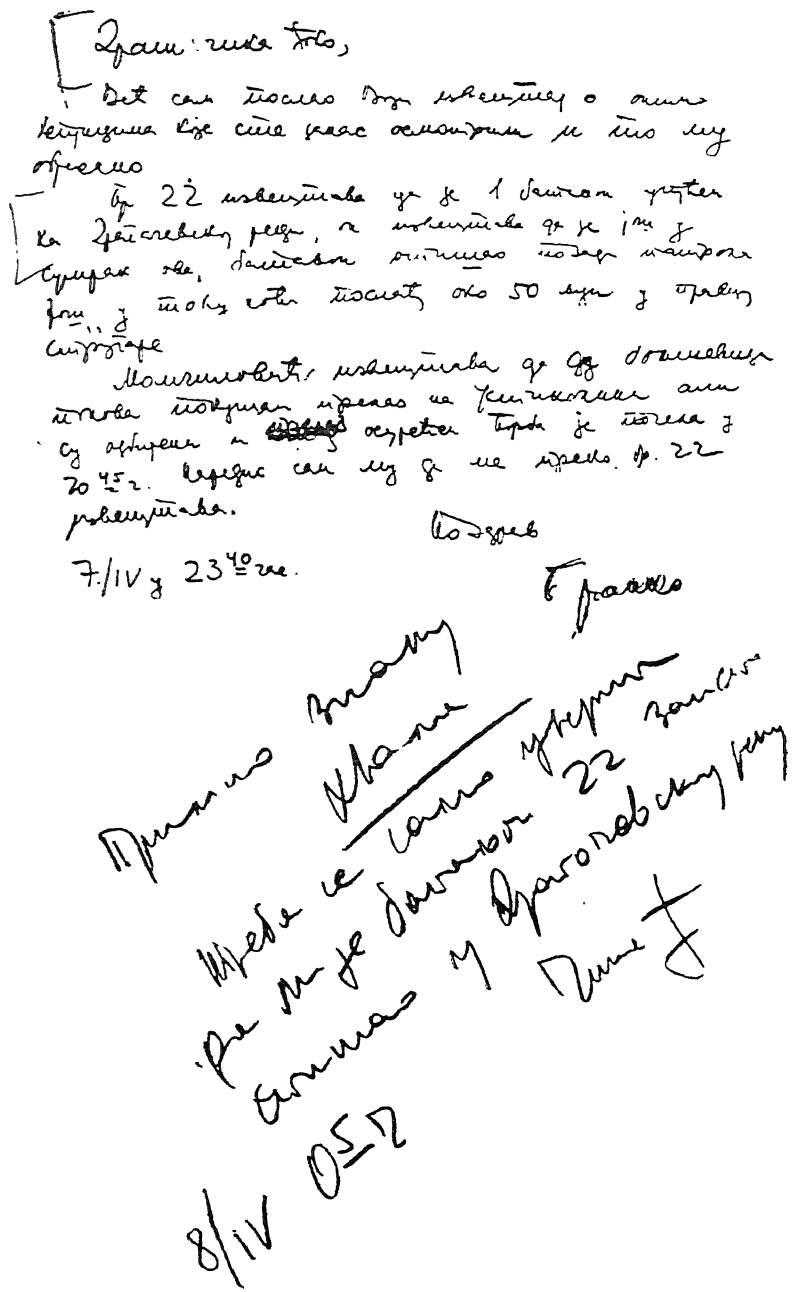


A document showing Mihailović's cooperation with the invader. Beginning of the original letter from »Čika Đoka« (Draža Mihailović) to »Čika Branko« (Zaharije Ostojić) on the eve of the battle with the Partisans at the Dragačevska river...



... In the second part of this letter (continued from p. 168) Mihailović orders that Number 22 (Italians) should send »by all means« one of their companies to the Dragačevska river.

Hercegovina. The most important thing for me was to keep Hercegovina, and I did not care at all about the intentions of the enemy. As the Partisans were advancing in the direction of Jablanica, I



(In connection with the letter on p. 169): After 40 minutes »Branko« (Zaharije Ostojić) reported that the Number 22 (the Italians) had sent not a company, but a battalion. »Čika Đoka« wrote on this report: »Acknowledged with thanks«.

wanted to preserve the area of Hercegovina, Sandžak and Montenegro. The fighting was developing. Ostojić really dircted the operations. He gave the orders. After this, I decided to go to the battlefield itself, and for this reason I went through Lipovik towards Kalinovik. I went to this area but I didn't stay in the Headquarters there, but I went in the direction of Bilinići with Pavle's troops, and later I went back to Kalinovik and to the left, where I was in danger of losing the line I had in Hercegovina. There the operations were lead by Ostojić, because I had no time to occupy myself with these matters, since I had really come to visit my troops and get acquainted with the real state of affairs.

President: Did you, for the sake of direct leadership in these operations, form a special staff at the general Headquarters, headed by Zaharije Ostojić?

Defendant: This staff was sent later. It was attached to the Supreme Command in order to direct the struggle, the operations and the organization, and to be nearer to the terrain, both in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and also in other regions.

President: It acted according to your order № 1 of January 2, 1943. Which Corps were to take part in the struggle against the Partisans under whose command, and with what numerical strengh?

Defendant: We had no details as to how many men the commanders could bring. The plan expressed only our desire. The First Corps of 2.000 men was under the command of Bjelajac.

President: Is it true that the Second Corps fought under the command of Bjelajac?

Defendant: I believe so. It is in the indictment and the order bears it out. I do not know how much Bjelajac really participated — I have no data about it. The Second Corps of 2.000 men, under the command of Father Đujić, in the region of Otočac, the Third Corps under the command of Major Baćović, 3.000 men, in the vicinity of Knin, the Second Kosovo Brigade, 6.000 strong, under the command of Novak Mijović in the vicinity of Drniš, the Fourth Corps under the command of Bajo Stanišić, 3.000 strong, in the area of Donja Jablanica, the Fifth Corps, 3.000 strong, under the command of Bora Mitranović in the region of Ključ and Manjača. I do not believe that the plan was executed. As a reserve, Pavle Đurišić with 4—5.000 men, according to orders, was to be in the region of Kalinovik, because I considered this region to be very important; when later I wanted to retreat from Kalinovik, my idea was to take the Piva-Drina line, because, from the military point of view, it is the strongest and most favourable line.

President: You said that Major Ostojić personally led the operations of the Četnik forces in the Fourth Offensive.

Defendant: Major Ostojić led them.

President: Was Major Ostojić still Chief of your operative section?

Defendant: Yes, he was. He represented a separate section, which I sent from my Headquarters, in the beginning of December, to the region of Kalinovik in Hercegovina.

President: In whose name did he command?

Defendant: In my name.

President: Did Ostojić inform you of the development of the operations?

Defendant: Certainly, he did.

President: Did the commanders of the sectors and columns also inform you?

Defendant: Telegrams arrived from all sides.

President: In the course of the Fourth Offensive did you personally issue orders to certain commanders?

Defandant: Perhaps,but very few.

President: How many of your units, do you think, took part in the Fourth Offensive against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I think, only very small parts of Đujić's forces actually participated.

President: How many men participated, approximately?

Defendant: At a maximum 12 to 15.000 men.

THE ČETNIK TROOPS ARE TRANSPORTED TO THE FRONT AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION BY THE TRAINS AND SHIPS OF THE INVADER

President: In order to transport and bring to the concentration area such a great number of men, you surely had to carry out certain preparations. How did you transport your troops to their positions?

Defendant: My desire was that everybody should get to his place according to orders.

President: And how was it really done?

Defendant: As a fact, Baćović transported his troops by ships.

President: Whose ships?

Defendant: The ships of the invader. He transported them to Split. Blažo Đukanović tried to do the same.

President: And what about the units of Bajo Stanišić?

Defendant: He went by train, I do not know where; the line which goes through Trebinje.

President: In whose hands were the towns of Nikšić, Trebinje, and Mostar at that time?

Defendant: Nikšić and Trebinje were in nobody's hands. Mostar was in the hands of the Italians.

President: And in whose hands was the railway?

Defendant: It was in Italian hands, but the staff was national. *(Laughter in the hall. The President rings the bell to warn the audience to keep silent).*

President: Do you admit that the Fourth Offensive covered the period from January 15 to the middle of April 1943?

Defendant: For me, it covered a much longer period. It lasted till May.

President: What part did your delegate, Dobrosav Jevđević, play in the preparation of the Fourth Offensive and in the course of the Offensive itself?

Defendant: He was an unbalanced sort of a man, whom nobody could restrain. He did what he wanted. He came to Sušak and submitted a report. His reports were useful, but his work, as a whole, was very harmful. He could have been useful in the intelligence service, but in his work he was very unfortunate for the organization.

President: During the battle on the Neretva was he on the left wing of your troops?

Defendant: The Italians were on the left.

President: And who was on the right wing?

Defendant: There was nobody on the right wing.

President: In the battle on the Neretva you had the Četnik forces of Voja Lukačević on the right wing?

Defendant: He had no reason to go to Konjic. When the Neretva fell into the hands of the Partisans, he had to hold the Treskavica Mountain and to defend the area which I needed for my defence; but on his own he threw his forces on the Neretva.

President: Did Lukačević come down to Konjic?

Defendant: He arrived at Konjic.

President: Who was at Konjic?

Defendant: The Italians were at Konjic.

President: Only the Italians?

Defendant: First the Italians, and then the Germans arrived from the direction of Sarajevo.

President: Did it come to a struggle between Lukačević and the Germans?

Defendant: No.

President: Was there cooperation between Lukačević and the Germans?

Defendant: Yes, there was.

President: Were the German forces next to Lukačević?

Defendant: The German forces were there when they arrived, after the Kalinovik area fell.

President: I think much earlier, in February there was cooperation between the Četniks and the German forces?

Defendant: It is difficult for me to say anything about the time. When I arrived at Kalinovik there was the greatest crisis. It was in March or April, and only later the Germans began to arrive.

President: You say, you were informed about these operations, that you were on the whole informed...

Defendant: But they only told me what they wanted to, because all the main links were held by Ostojić, who jealously kept them from me, thus trying to increase his influence.

President: Were you not informed, first in the course of the Fourth Offensive, and later, upon your arrival, that the Germans were participating with your forces there?

Defendant: Ostojić informed me, according to data gathered on the terrain. I was informed about the Italian forces, which did not engage in the fighting, and I was otherwise told only where everyone was.

President: You were told where everyone was. Did you see the schedule of forces?

Defendant: The schedule was not clear to me.

President: You said that Ostojić informed you.

Defendant: About the course of the operations.

President: Did he inform you that the Germans were on the right wing?

Defendant: I think not, because they were not there. They arrived later, when Konjic was threatened, and this can be seen from the letters Lukačević sent to Ostojić.

President: Was it in the course of the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: In the course of the Fourth Offensive.

President: Explain to the Court, how did it happen that at Konjic the Četnik forces, under the command of Lukačević, met the Italian and the German forces.

Defendant: Lukačević and Ostojić did it entirely independently and deliberately.

President: How were the Četniks armed in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: With the arms they had earlier.

President: From whom did they receive the ammunition?

Defendant: From the Italians.

President: How were they fed?

Defendant: The question of the food was explained to me then. Jevđević took a lot of money with which to buy food. I gave money in gold for this purpose. In the Kalinovik region there should have been sufficient food.

President: Do you know that the Savoia planes dropped food and ammunition?

Defendant: I know it from the indictment.

President: And did you see this?

Defendant: Nowhere in the region of Kalinovik.

President: And on the Neretva?

Defendant: It was near the garrisons. It was in the Konjic region

11, 22, 33, 44, WERE CIPHERS FOR THE TROOPS OF THE INVADERS WITH WHICH THE ČETNIKS COOPERATED IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORCES OF THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

President: In the correspondence of Ostojić, in his telegrams, what do the following mean: 11, 22, 33 and 44?

Defendant: This was invented. It stood for: The Germans, the Italians, the Ustašas and the Home Guards.

President: You said that 12.000 to 15.000 Četniks took part in the Fourth Offensive. How were they armed, in addition to rifles?

Defendant: With light automatic weapons and mortars.

President: Had they enough ammunition?

Defendant: I think not.

President: Did they receive ammunition from anybody?

Defendant: Yes, they did.

President: And what did the Četnik units lack in the struggle?

Defendant: They had bad leadership. They did not act according to my orders and ideas, nor according to order No. 1. They did what they pleased.

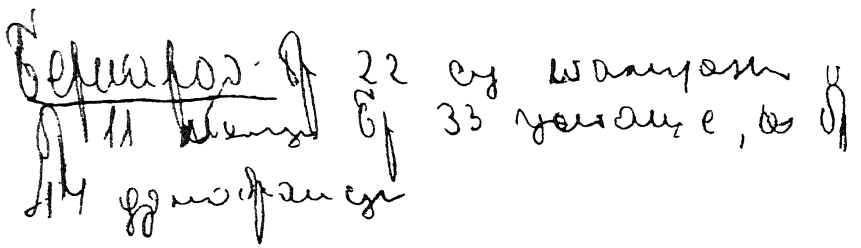
President: How was the morale of the troops?

Defendant: I cannot give you any details about it. Among Đurišić's troops the morale was good, the troops were in good condition, but those in Dalmatia lacked morale.

President: And those of Lukačević, Pantić...

Defendant: Lukačević could supply good troops, because it depended on the commander. Mitranović, never. Bjelajac was constantly quarrelling on the terrain with Colonel Mitić. There were traces of their conflict. On the whole, it can be said, that the commanders were greatly responsible for the lack of morale, and the struggle itself was not popular, although it had been during the Third Offensive.

President: And how did the morale come to be so low?



Note from Mihailović's files: Number 11 are Germans, 22 are Italians, 33 Ustašas, 44 Home Guards.

Defendant: I think that the struggle itself was not popular.

President: How do you mean — the struggle was not popular? Why?

Defendant: Certainly, because we were fighting each other.

President: Against whom did the Četniks fight?

Defendant: Against the Partisans.

President: Did this influence their morale?

Defendant: It must have had an influence on it.

President: Before comming to fight were the troops told against whom they were fighting?

Defendant: The indictment, perhaps, exaggerates in this respect; but I consider that it was not concealed from the troops.

President: Do you?

Defendant: Perhaps, some of them, certain commanders, on their own responsibility, told them that they were going against the Germans, instead of telling them against whom they went, and so... I would like to add this that I, being a soldier, would never deceive my soldiers. This would be very wrong, for they would find out. In such a case, a commander would achieve the opposite effect concerning the morale of the forces, because he would lower the morale. It would be a wrong and unmilitary act.

President: In the course of the examination, you were shown a document signed by Stanišić and Baćović, from which can be seen that there existed collaboration between 11, 22, and 33.

Defendant: I first saw it in that mixing up of troops.

President: And what do you think? Was there collaboration or cooperation between the German troops and the Četniks against the Partisans in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I think there was no other collaboration but that of Voja Lukačević, who arranged it on his own in that region. Otherwise, I didn't see any collaboration with the German occupation troops.

President: And the participation of Drenović?

Defendant: Drenović was so far from me that I never came into contact with him.

President: And did you know that he collaborated with the Germans in that period?

Defendant: I learnt about it from the indictment, and in the course of the examination.

President: Were you regularly informed about the advance of 11, 22, 33 and 44?

Defendant: I ought to have been, because I had to protect my rear.

President: I must remind you, that you said the following at the examination: "They also informed me regularly about the advance of Nos. 11, 22, 33, and 44, all except for Drenović, with whom I had no radio contact.« Do you know that Bajo Stanišić collaborated with the Germans in the course of the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: When he went to Mostar.

President: Where did he go?

Defendant: He went to Mostar. The Italian troops were there. Bajo Stanišić went to Mostar without my approval, and at that time the Germans came there.

President: Well, was he with the Germans then?

Defendant: Yes, only I do not know whether it was a coincidence that he was at Mostar, when they arrived.

President: Do you know that in the course of the operations of the Fourth Offensive, Bajo Stanišić asked the German airforce to bomb the positions of the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Yes, I learnt it from the indictment.

President: You say that Baćović transported his troops to Split by ships.

Defendant: Yes.

President: Where and how did he go from Split?

Defendant: I do not know exactly, but I think that he went towards Knin.

President: What transport did he use?

Defendant: Knin was in Italian hands. I think you have asked me about it already.

THE DEFENDANT MIHAILOVIĆ DIRECTS THE OPERATIONS OF THE ČETNIKS AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE FOURTH OFFENSIVE

President: Were you informed that the forces of the Army of National Liberation, having crossed the Neretva near Jablanica, had withdrawn towards Prozor?

Defendant: I cannot remember whether I was informed or not.

President: Can't you remember?

Defendant: No, I don't remember.

President: Do you remember the battle at Čičevo and Glavatičevo?

Defendant: I was very intersted in that region. It seemed to me a very dangerous direction. It was for this reason that Pavle's reserve was to be sent there.

President: Do you know anything about the first part of the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: Very little.

President: How much?

Defendant: Very little as far as the movements of the German forces were concerned, because, as can be seen from the indictment, they were located far away, they could not even concentrate in Sarajevo. Sisak—Zagreb—Ogulin were very distant locations. Therefore I could not obtain details, especially as communication with Western Bosnia was difficult and rare.

President: Were you informed that in the first phase the Četnik units participated with the Italian and German troops?

Defendant: I know Voja Lukačević did.

President: In the first part?

Defendant: At first I had reports only about the work of Baćović and Father Đujić.

President: Do you know any more details about the breaking through of the Army of National Liberation towards Čičevo and Glavatičevo in the direction of Kalinovik?

Defendant: That was on Jablanica. Andrija Vesković was there with part of the forces of Montenegro which were supposed to defend the left bank of the Neretva. Fighting developed. He was absolutely inactive, and the crossing was made possible because he did not properly secure the defence of the river. Later on Lukačević was also there. Andrija Vesković and Lukačević withdrew towards Glavatičevo. Then Lukačević separated from him and instead of holding Treskavica and Bjelinići he turned to the right towards Konjic, from where he carried out attacks in the direction of Dražice.

President: When the forces of the Army of National Liberation came to Čičevo and Glavatičevo and reached Kalinovik, where were you?

Defendant: On the same day when the Partisans reached Bjelinići I had come from Lipovo. I arrived the same day and was at the head of my troops, proceeding in the direction of Bjelinići. I did not know exactly where the Partisans were. When I was a few kms away from Kalinovik, perhaps two hours after my departure, I came across the Partisans, and I stopped there with 15 men, while Pavle came an hour later. He deployed his forces, and started to attack. Heavy fighting took place but neither of them succeeded in repulsing the other. But that same evening Vesković, who was situated on the right wing near Obalj, was easily repulsed by bombs, as I saw from my position. Thus the position which had been established on the line Bjelinići—Nevesinje was broken. I was then completely separated from all forces located in the region of Hercegovina, near Nevesinje.

President: Where did you go from there?

Defendant: To Kalinovik. I immediately saw the nature of the manoeuvre which was being carried out through Lelija. I had been all day at the observation post. This forced me to direct the entire withdrawal towards Sarajevo. But on the way I changed my direction and I went through Jabuka. Thus I arrived at Ustikolina and ordered that the Bilja-Drina line should be held as the second line of defence.

President: How did you go from Lipovo to Kalinovik?

Defendant: I went by car past Plevlje.

President: And from there?

Defendant: I passed the night in the region west of Čajniče.

President: And from there? Where did you go from there?

Defendant: From there I went through Bukovica and through Ustikolina, then to Foča to a place on the left bank of the Drina. I stayed in a house there and then set out for Kalinovik.

President: Where was Pavle Đurišić at that time?

Defandant: I found him west of Čajniče.

President: Let us go back to some other things. In the course of the Fourth Offensive were you continually in touch with Zaharije Ostojić, the chief of your operational section?

Defendant: Not in continual contact.

President: Did you issue any orders during the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I could have only issued orders of an advisory character. Otherwise I left it entirely to him to lead the operations and whatever else he had to do. And as I was dealing with very important matters in the whole of the country, it was much better for me to find out the real situation on the terrain and to draw my own conclusions from it.

President: Did you issue orders to Father Đujić?

Defendant: Father Đujić very often tried to get in direct touch with me, though he should have been in contact with Ostojić. This is a principle of military command. Most probably he often reported to me directly, but this was completely wrong.

President: Did you issue direct orders to Pavle Đurišić, Baćović, Stanišić and Jevđević?

Defendant: There may have been some exceptions.

President: There is some contradiction here. When interrogated you answered this question: "Yes, I issued direct orders to each of the mentioned commanders, regardless of Zaharije Ostojić, who was at Kalinovik."

Defendant: I have contradicted nothing by this, I have only made it more detailed. There were certain cases of which I do not know the details. There were certain orders which I issued; but Ostojić ought to have issued all the orders. It is clear even according to the instructions.

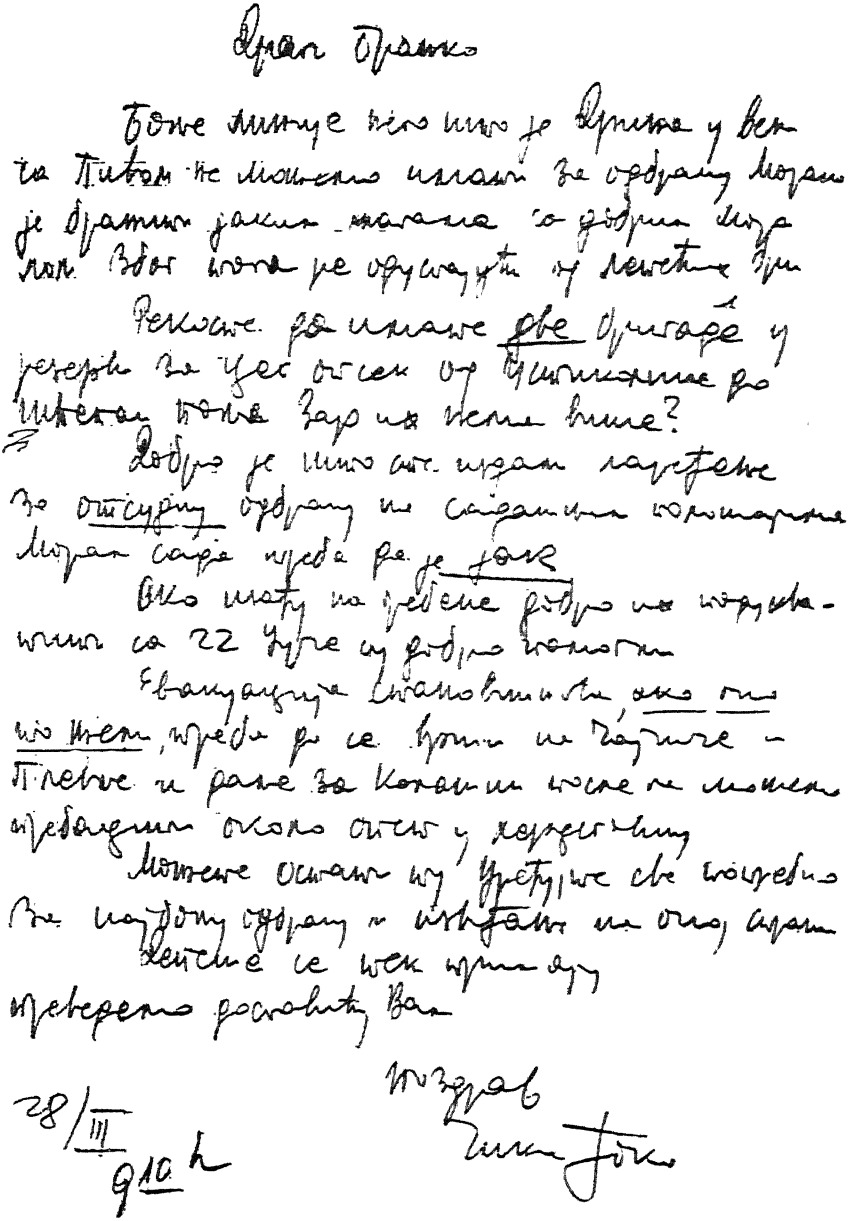
President: Did you see in the explanatory messages you received from Ostojić and other commanders, that there existed collaboration between the Germans, Italians and Četniks.

Defendant: I can not be precise on this point, because, as far as I received information about the enemy, I looked upon it as information, as intelligence data which we needed, but I knew about collaboration only as far as it referred to Jevđević, who worked on his own, and I did not know he was in such close contact with Ostojić.

President: Well, you received particulars which you regarded as information. But you, as a soldier, had a map in front of you.

Defendant: Yes, I used to enter everything on a map.

President: Did you see from the marked positions of the Italian, Četnik and German troops that the wings touched and even covered each other?



Instructions from »čika Đoka« (Draža Mihailović) to »Branko« (Zaharije Ostojić) to ask help from Number 22 (the Italians).

Defendant: According to the information I obtained, that happened only after I left Lipovo. Till then there was no mixing until their arrival on the terrain. There may have been some, but only in Dalmatia.

President: Where were the Četniks, who were wounded in the Fourth Offensive, taken and tended?

Defendant: I had hospitals on that sector of the front. I had my hospitals on the sector in which I was staying.

President: Name one of your hospitals?

Defendant: There was one at Kalinovik.

President: And another one?

Defendant: Afterwards there was one at Foča, and then at Kolašin.

President: And who held Foča?

Defendant: It was in Četnik hands. And above Foča, on the right bank of the Čehotina river there was an Italian garrison. Foča was held by the Četniks.

President: You say the Italians were on the right bank of the Čehotina river.

Defendant: Yes, on the hill which is in the angle made by the right bank of the Čehotina river and the Drina.

President: And who held that part of the town of Foča which is on the right bank of the Čehotina river?

Defendant: I was not in the town itself and I was not informed that anybody else was there except Ostojić's forces.

President: Do you think then that Foča was not held jointly by the Četniks and the Italians?

Defendant: Foča was not, but they might have administered it. Whoever knows their troops, is well aware of their morale and knows that they can be forced to remain where they are. And they were there.

President: I remind you of your statements given at the examination, when you said: »The Četniks held the left bank of the Čehotina river while the right bank was in Italian hands and the right part of the town itself was held by the Italians and the left part by the Četniks«.

Defendant: That part of the town of Foča on the right bank of the Čehotina river consists only of a few houses, while in the main part of the town, on the left bank, were the Četniks.

President: Do you remember a certain Kapetanović?

Defendant: Kapetanović was in Lika. I think he came after the capitulation of Italy, or perhaps even earlier. I do not know exactly. Kapetanović replaced Bjelajac.

President: Was Kapetanović one of the Četnik commanders?

Defendant: Yes he was.

President: Do you remember his letter of November 7, 1943, in which he informs you that the Četniks of Plaško and Jasenica were marching with the Italian units towards Slunj to attack the Partisan forces, while the German and Croat troops were marching in the same direction, from Petrinja and the Drina.

Defendant: I do not remember this letter.

President: Was Kapetanović under your command?

Defendant: No, he was under Bjelajac.

President: Was Bjelajac under your command?

Defendant: He was, but I had no proper contact with him. He was sent a radio station which did not work well.

President: How did the Fourth Offensive develop after the front on the Drina river had been established?

Defendant: The front was strong. We found the Italian garrison on the hill I mentioned before. The disposition of our troops was carried out along the Piva and Drina rivers. Pavle suddenly proposed to carry out manoeuvres towards Hercegovina through the very difficult terrain of Maglić and Volujak. I was very much against it. However, he left for Volujak, leaving Vesković, who was very incapable as a commander. I considered that the dangerous points were those south of Brod and round Ustikolina. I considered that these were the main points where the break through might occur. There ensued a break through near Brod, where the front was weak and Vesković absent. He was further away, above the bank. Then came the retreat and Vesković's troops soon dispersed. Đurišić returned to Šćepan Polje. When he came to the place where he had to launch the attack, he did not carry it out, and hearing what was going on, he returned to Šćepan Polje without engaging in the battles either there or in Hercegovina. After that we withdrew, with Ostojić, towards Plevlje, and formed a new front there. I left Ostojić there to continue the work, and I hurried back to Lipovo where Colonel Bailey had asked me to come. I somehow supposed the Germans were advancing towards Novi Pazar and Sjenica.

President: Who held the positions facing the Army of National Liberation on the right bank of the Drina river?

Defendant: The troops of Ustikolina headed by Voja Lukačević held the right bank of the Drina river. On that lonely hill, on

the right bank of the Čehotina and Drina rivers, there was a battalion of Italian troops with a mountain battery, and thence to the South, from the left bank of the Čehotina, the Četnik forces were located. Later on I learnt through official sources about the movements of the Italians from Plevlje towards the right wing. I pointed out that the wing near Ustikolina should be secured.

MIHAILOVIĆ INFORMS THE BRITISH MISSION AND THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT OF HIS OPERATIONS IN THE COURSE OF THE FOURTH OFFENSIVE

President: Where was the plan, i. e., direction No. 17, drawn up?

Defendant: At Lipovo.

President: Who took part in drawing it up?

Defendant: I am not sure that I drew it up in the presence of anybody, except Mirko Lalatović. The others who used to come to the headquarters, that is Ivanišević and Pavle Đurišić, as can be seen from the indictment, gave me information about the state of troops etc. But the instructions themselves had to be drawn up by me and Lalatović.

President: Who was informed beforehand about the operations forecast in order No. 1?

Defendant: All the commanders concerned.

President: And those around you, I mean the persons around you?

Defendant: I informed nobody except my commanders.

President: Was Moljević informed?

Defendant: He did not understand such things.

Presendent: All right, he did not understand, but did you inform them when you drew up the order?

Defendant: It is possible. Moljević, Vasić and Žujović were there. I gave them the substance of it in a few words.

President: Whom did you acquaint with the substance?

Defendant: I acquainted the British Mission? They knew about the fighting.

President: Why did you inform the British Mission. Were you obliged to do so?

Defendant: The Mission knew of it because they had freedom of movement and knew everything about the departure and concentration of troops. They were interested to know where the troops went and it was easy to learn everything from our soldiers.

President: Whom did you inform from the Mission?

Defendant: I was usually travelling with Colonel Bailey, and he knew all about it.

President: Did you inform Colonel Bailey about attacks and counter-attacks?

Defendant: I did, in so far as he was interested.

President: Did Colonel Bailey know that you were going to the Neretva and why?

Defendant: He knew it.

President: Did he advise you not to go there?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Were you in contact with the emigrant government during the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: We were always in contact.

President: Did you inform the government about it?

Defendant: I believe so. The files are in your hands. It can be seen from the evidence.

President: Was the government helping you during the Fourth Offensive. Did it approve of your actions?

Defendant: They approved of everything I did.

President: Do you know of the propaganda campaign of the emigrant government during the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I knew only what was broadcast by the BBC.

President: And how was it represented?

Defendant: We were using it as propaganda for our troops.

President: Was it correctly represented?

Defendant: I don't know all the details.

THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT SUPPLIES THE ČETNIKS WITH MONEY, ARMS, AMMUNITION AND FOOD.

President: Was the emigrant government acquainted with the fact that the units of the Army of National Liberation pushed the Četniks back?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Can you remember, on the whole, whether what was happening on the terrain was correctly and truly represented, or misrepresented?

Defendant: I can say, that I felt that what was unfavorable was not mentioned, but I cannot remember exactly.

President: Did the emigrant government during this period send you arms, ammunition, money, food, etc?

Defendant: I know that money was sent and I know that they sent arms, clothing and other things by plane from England. I had to have men to organize reception. What was received I do not exactly know.

President: Did the Italian artillery help the Četniks when the Army of National Liberation forced the Drina?

Defendant: Yes.

R E F E R A T

Претседнику Министароког савета и заступнику Министра војске, морнарице и ваздухопловства.

29 децембра од 16 до 17,15 часова имао сам необично занимљив и важан разговор са енглеским мајором Питром Бојем, једним од главних у сервису г.Мастерсона, који се стара о помоћи генералу Михаиловићу и који одржавају везе са генералом Михаиловићем.

Мајор Бој дошао је по својој иницијативи поводом пребацивања у нашу земљу 3.000 примерака "Службених Новина" број 10.

Мајора Боја обавестио сам о великој оскудици у храни, одећи и наоружању одреда генерала Михаиловића, због иначе тешког стања у нашем народу. Напоменуо сам му да је Н.В.Краљ предао г.Черчилу једну забелешку, у којој је молио, поред осталог, да се генералу Михаиловићу достави храна, одело и наоружање.

Мајор Бој, један од Енглеза који не воли дипломатска увијања и завијања и који отворено каже шта мисли, одмах ми је, у једночасовном разговору саопштио, у главном, следеће:

1.- Морамо да говоримо отворено и искрено. Г.Черчил пошле ми прилаже забелешке Н.В.Краља затражио је од г.Идна, мишљење по овој ствари. Форин Офис затражио је мишљење од сервиса г.Мастерсона и мајор Лиџер Бој, који заступа овога шефа потпуковника Персена, дао је мишљење по овој забелешци.

Изјавио је да се генералу Михаиловићу не може слати наоружање за борбу против партизана, који се сада једини туку против Осовине. Исто тако слање хране зависи од Министарства блокаде, а стање у нашој земљи под италијанском окупацијом није тешко према њиховим извештајима. У Србији признаје да је стање тешко.

2.- Генерал Михаиловић отворено сарађује са Италијанима и његови одреди, потпуно наоружани, пребацују се италијанским камионима у Западну Босну за борбу против партизана и то у заједници са италијанским трупама. Каже да се баш данас води битка северно од Мостара између једног Драшиног одреда од 2.400 људи из Црне Горе у заједници са Италијанима против партизана.

Мајор Бој је рекао: Драша Михаиловић је Квислинг исто као и Недић, јер Недић сарађује са Немцима а Драша да Италијанима.

3.- Одреди генерала Михаиловића у опште сада не воде борбу,

Шеф Војног кабинета
м а ј о р,
Живко Кнежевић

Facsimile of the report of Živan Knežević, secretary of the military cabinet, on the conversation he had with Peter Bowie, major in the service of Masterson, from which it is seen that the emigrant government was informed of the cooperation of Mihailović with the invader.

President: Did you know that your detachments and certain corps in Serbia were, at this time, in 1943, closely collaborating with the Germans?

Defendant: No, I did not.

President: Are you acquainted with Raković's report about meeting Krüger and receiving 5.000 rounds from the Germans?

З А К Љ У Ч А К

Целокупно ово излагање мајора Боја, коме су познате све дешеше ђенерала Михаиловића, јасно показује следеће:

1.- Да југословенска Влада са своје стране није ништа урадила да Енглезима објасни ситуацију у нашој земљи и изложи да је до сада број мртвих у Југославији скоро милион и да се од нашег народа не могу више да траже бесмислене и несразмерне жртве;

2.- Због оваквог држања Краљевске Владе целокупна борба нашега народа биће сведена на нулу. Отворено иступање активних Министара у Влади, као и активно помагање злонамерне пропаганде од стране Дирекције за информације у Лондону и Информативног центра у Њујорку противу Драже Михаиловића, - наштетило је у највећој мери виталним интересима нашег народа;

3.- Имам утисак да Енглезима мало стало до тога што ће српски народ бити потпуно истребљен и то без икакве стварне користи за наше савезнике. Извесни енглески сервиси желе да наш народ голорук баце на митраљезе, што претставља најобичнију авантуру, у коју наш народ неће да улети. Наш народ никада није мерио жртве за своју слободу, али ако се голорук баци поново у авантуру Срби ће бити истребљени и неће нам бити корист од Југославије, макар се протезала и до Индије, ако у њој нема Срба. Ми сви овде у иностранству носимо тешке одговорности и пред нашим народом и пред историјом.

4.- Последњи је час да Краљевска Влада звучне недвосмислено, и отворено по питању одреда југословенске војске под командом ђенерала Михаиловића и да овај став свуда и на сваком месту отворено и енергично брани. Борба ђенерала Михаиловића претставља у ствари борбу српског народа за обнову Југославије. Милион мртвих пало је у овој борби. Уместо признања, данас се ђенерал Михаиловић - чак и од сервиса који знају његов рад и који су издавали наређења ђенералу Михаиловићу без знања Краља и Владе - ставља на исту ногу са Антонеском и Недићем, а сутра ће се ставити у исти ред и са Павелићем..

Није потребно, Господине Претседниче, да Вам даље излажем тешке одговорности и Краљевске Владе и наш војника ван Отаџбине за стање које је овако катастрофално набрчито за борбу коју су Срби пружили дајући преко милион мртвих.

Сматрао сам за своју дужност да Вам, као Ваш Шеф Војног кабинета, као војник који ће сутра одговарати и пред ђенералом Михаиловићем и пред својим друговима, - изнесем све чињенице на оцену и хитне одлуке, како би се борба нашега народа претставила и пред савезницима у светлости праве истине.

Шеф Војног кабинета
м а ј о р,

Facsimile of the deductions of Živan Knežević, secretary of the Military Cabinet, after his conversation with Major Bowie. In his deductions Knežević criticises the government for not contradicting the reports about the collaboration of Mihailović with the invader.

Defendant: I cannot remember.

President: He gave 5.000 rounds to Zvonko Vučković.

Defendant: I cannot remember this report.

President: Did you know that, after the capitulation of Italy, your commanders entered into open collaboration with the Germans, Italians, and Ustašas in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and in Serbia with the Germans, Nedić's troops, Ljotić's detachments, Bulgarian troops and units of the White Guard?

Defendant: If the enemy was in the vicinty, all the operations which had to be executed were reduced to the defence of the territory.

President: Was there cooperation between the Zlatibor, Javor and Požega corps with the Germans in November 1943?

Defendant: It is possible to say there was cooperation quite accidentally. I have no maps nor reports to enable me to say now, where everybody was.

President: Do you remember that during the operations of the Second Proletarian Division, which penetrated from Sandžak into Serbia in the direction of Užice, the Javor, Zlatibor and Požega corps attacked parts of the Second Proletarian?

Defendant: They were defending this boundary.

President: Did you know that Bulgarian units participated in this?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Did you know that Nedić's troops and units of the Serbian State Guard took part in this operation?

Defendant: That I did not know.

President: Did you know that Ljotić's troops participated?

Defendant: Perhaps they did.

President: Did you know that the Germans participated?

Defendant: Yes, I did, but I did not know in what numerical strengh. They defended Užice.

President: Then can it be concluded that there existed collaboration of the Četniks, with the Germans and the Bulgarians, when the Second Proletarian Division was crossing from Sandžak into Serbia?

Defendant: I think there was no collaboration. It happened by chance. I cannot explain it properly, as I have no exact schedule of forces nor any maps.

President: Was there parallel action?

Defendant: You can say parallel action, but not collaboration.

President: Let us go back to the Fourth Offensive. Did Dobrosav Jevđević inform you about his negotiations with the Italians in which he obtained the consent of the Italian General Staff to the participation of the Četnik units in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I do not know of any consent of that kind. I would never have agreed to it. I considered him a very bad man, who did anything he liked. My greatest mistake was that I did not get rid of him somehow. But I could not. I should have done it somehow. He did the greatest harm to me and to the whole organization, by his behaviour.

President: How do you explain the fact that in the course of the operations at Konjic your commander Voja Lukačević, the Italian troops, and, I think part of the 718th German Division found themselves together?

Defendant: Lukačević brought it about entirely on his own, and Ostojić knew and approved of it.

President: Did you know that Ostojić and Lukačević collaborated with the Germans at that time? Perhaps not at that time.

Defendant: When this ended, I was in a position to investigate the matter. During my journey from Lipovo to Kalinovik the crisis occurred. When I arrived at Kalinovik my chief work was on the terrain.

President: How did this contact at Konjic come about?

Defendant: It came about through the work of Lukačević and Ostojić.

President: Was there collaboration, not only in Konjic, but also further on the right wing, with the Germans?

Defendant: I do not know. Further to the right there ought to have been Mitranović.

President: Were you informed, in the course of the Fourth Offensive, when Lukačević was at Konjic, and to the right of Konjic on Ivan Mountain, that certain German units were coming from Sarajevo?

Defendant: No, I was not.

President: Were you informed that the German units clashed with the units of the First Proletarian?

Defendant: I do not remember being informed about this, but I was informed about the arrival of the Germans in Mostar.

President: Were you informed about the conflict of the Četnik units with the German column which accidentally came across them?

Defendant: No, I was not.

President: Were you informed about the collaboration of this German column with your troops?

Defendant: I think, not.

President: And how do you explain the matter concerning Lukačević?

Defendant: It was his own decision.

President: Was Ostojić informed about this decision?

Defendant: Yes, he was.

President: Did he agree with it?

Defendant: Certainly.

President: Who led the operations?

Defendant: Ostojić.

Prosecutor: And the Commander in Chief?

Defendant: I was the Commander in Chief.

President: Do you know that after the capitulation of Italy, in December 1943 and in the course of 1943, particularly after the capitulation, the Četnik detachments in Slovenia, Lika, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro and Sandžak entered into completely open collaboration with the Germans?

Defendant: I cannot say anything about it, unless I am shown the evidence, seeing that this is on such a large scale, and covers a large area.

President: This evidence will be shown in the course of the trial. Did you know about the agreements of the Četniks in Bosnia with the Ustašas and the Germans, after the capitulation?

Defendant: I learned the details when I arrived in North Bosnia towards the end of 1944. Otherwise, the links were weak, and my commanders who were there, did not want these links, because they wanted to be independent.

JUDGE LAKOVIĆ: »AGAINST WHOM DID YOU USE THE ARMS RECEIVED FROM THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT?« DEFENDANT (MIHAILOVIĆ): »AGAINST THE PARTISANS«

Judge Laković: You have represented Jevđević as a charlatan. From the indictment, however, it can be seen that you entrusted him with very important tasks. Even more, you appointed him as one of your chief links, between yourself and the Italians.

Defendant: Never.

Judge Laković: It is in the documents.

Defendant: Please show them to me.

Judge Laković: If you considered him as such, why did you propose that he should be decorated with the Karadorde Star? Did you submit his name?

Defendant: Yes, I did. But there were reasons for it. Birčanin demanded it.

Judge Laković: You did not tell us quite clearly about your personal collaboration and the orders you gave in the course of the Fourth Offensive, for collaboration with the Italians. You are reserved on this point; although it can be seen from the indictment and from the letter you sent to Branko Ostojić, which reads as follows: »If they reach the ridge, give them a good reception. They helped us yesterday« ... Is this right?

Defendant: Yes, but it refers to the artillery on the hill on the right bank of Čehotina, which fired and defended itself. It may not have been collaboration, but an intrigue arranged beforehand.

Judge Laković: You go on to say in the letter addressed to Ostojić: »Utilize № 11 (i. e. the Germans) so as to succeed in the easiest way« ...

Defendant: What is the date?

Jugde Laković: May 7, 1943.

Defendant: Please show me the original, so that I can remember the situation.

Judge Laković (after showing him the original): Is this your telegram?

Defendant: Yes, it is.

Judge Laković: You stated that you were receiving arms and ammunition from the government and the Allies from abroad. Against whom did you use these arms and ammunition?

Defendant: Against the Partisans, against the Ustašas, against the Germans, against the Ljotić troops.

Judge Laković: Against whom did you use this ammunition at this time on Stenjevina?

Defendant: It was used against the Partisans.

»ANNIHILATE THE PARTISANS« — MESSAGE OF COLONEL BAILEY, THE CHIEF OF THE BRITISH MISSION, TO MIHAILOVIĆ.

President: Comrade Prosecutor, have you any questions, please?

Prosecutor: (to the defendant) Comrade Judge asked you a few minutes ago about this telegram. In the first place you ought to state whether it is your handwriting and then I shall put questions to you. Is this your book of telegrams?

Defendant: Yes, it is.

Prosecutor: You have just declared that you did not know about the collaboration of your commanders with the invader at the time of the Fourth Offensive, but this telegram contradicts you (he reads) »Bajo already gathered 1.200 men... Pavle 3.000 men... Bajo's men are at Ostrog, Pavle's at Kolašin... The Italians say that on January 2nd the decision will be taken — permission for the movement to Nikšić...« Who needed this permission?

Defendant: Bajo.

Prosecutor: Well, were the Italians invaders?

Defendant: Yes, they were.

Prosecutor: Why did you ask permission from invaders?

Defendant: He asked for it.

Prosecutor: There are further mentioned 1,500.000 rounds, and arms. From whom was this to come?

Defendant: From the Italians. He wanted to utilize this opportunity.

Prosecutor: Your telegram also says: »... Footwear is particularly in poor condition... Pavle, Ivanišević and Rakočević spent the night with me...« What was Pavle?

Defendant: Commander.

Prosecutor: He spends a whole night working with you and asks the Italians for ammunition, and you do not know of it? What was Ivanišević?

Defendant: Ivanišević was chief of Birčanin's staff.

Prosecutor: Where did he live?

Defendant: In Split.

Prosecutor: And who is the invader?

Defendant: The Italians.

Prosecutor: Did you know that Ivanišević lived at Split where the Italians also lived.

Defendant: Yes, I did.

Prosecutor: What was Rakočević?

Defendant: He was nothing, actually.

Prosecutor: How could he be nothing, when in your telegram it says: »... Rakočević guarantees that he will get food and footwear.« From whom was he to get food and footwear?

Defendant: From the Italians.

Prosecutor: Did you establish contact with Mitranović? »Mitranović is strong and he san tear the Soviet Republic in two.« What did you call the Soviet Republic?

Defendant: The areas which you held.

Prosecutor: I did not hold them, the Partisans held them. Which areas do you mean?

Defendant: Around Bihać.

Prosecutor: Do you need a map?

Defendant: No, I do not.

Prosecutor: Were your forces, according to your order № 1, directed against the »Independant State of Croatia« or, as you call it, against the »Soviet Republic«. Did the Partisans attack you or did you attack them:

Defendant: The order was given and later came the attack against the Dinaric region.

Prosecutor: Who attacked whom there?

Defendant: I defended the Dinaric region, because I wanted to keep Dalmatia.

Prosecutor: The Dinaric region is not in Hercegovina. Is the Dinaric region near Kolašin?

Defendant: No, I had to keep all the Littoral in my power.

Prosecutor: Here is your order № 1. Would you like to see the Italian map, where the schedule of your forces is marked?

Defendant: I would like to see it.

Prosecutor: Is this a defence or an attack? You attacked, you were not defending yourself. This is a real offensive.

Defendant: This came as a result of the attacks directed against Dalmatia.

(The Prosecutor shows the map to the Defendant who looks at it.)

Defendant: There is no explanation of the signs, red and blue ones, on the map.

Prosecutor: The red are the Italians, the blue are the Četniks. Is the schedule of your forces exactly according to your order?

Defendant: No.

President: Well, then?

Defendant: The Knin region is poorly shown here.

Prosecutor: This is only the first phase of the offensive.

Defendant: Near the Knin region I had only one corps, that was Baćović's. Near Gračac it is not correctly marked according to my order. Only Baćović's position is marked.

Prosecutor: You gave Mitranović the task of tearing »The Soviet Republic« to pieces with Bjelajac.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: All right. (He reads): »If Pavle does not want to go across country« — how else could he go?

Defendant: As can be seen from the telegram, he wanted to go by train. Pavle did what he wanted.

Prosecutor: Let us now clear up the situation around Konjic. You answered the President, quite clearly, that the Italians were at Konjic and that the Germans arrived later?

Defendant: Yes, only later. Lukačević was on the left bank of the Neretva and he went there on his own, with Ostojić's approval.

Prosecutor: Were there battles around Konjic?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did Lukačević fight with the Italians and the Germans against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Yes, he did.

Prosecutor: Did the German airforce help Lukačević in the operations?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Answer this question. Did the Četniks liberate Hercegovina with the Italians, and did the Partisans then disturb you in Hercegovina?

Defendant: (Keeps silent).

Prosecutor: Did your commanders collaborate with the Italians? Did your commanders participate with the invader against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Yes, they did.

Prosecutor: Did you know about it? You stated and it is on record, that you knew about this collaboration.

Defendant: I also stated, and I repeat it, that I could not prevent this, though I tried by all possible means to prevent it. I could not force anybody by the means that were at my disposal. I was satisfied for them to accept my command so that I could later use them when convenient.

Prosecutor: When did Colonel Bailey come to you?

Defendant: In December 1942.

Prosecutor: Did you acquaint the respresentative of the Allied Mission with your plan of operations after you had made it.

Defendant: Yes, I did. But I neither read the order to him, nor gave it to him.

Prosecutor: From whom did you learn that the Allies would land?

Defendant: When Bailey came, I learned about it.

Prosecutor: He told you about it?

Defendant: Just in conversation. I cannot remember the details of what he spoke about or what he said. That is asking too much of me.

Prosecutor: He came, introduced himself to you as a representative, and brought you a letter.

Defendant: He brought a letter.

Prosecutor: You submitted your plan regarding the Partisans to him?

Defendant: No, we first had a conversation about the invader.

Prosecutor: Did you tell him about the attack against the Partisans?

Defendant: I do not know how, but he knew about it.

Prosecutor: Did he ask you to discontinue your attack against the Partisans and to cooperate with them in an attack against the invader, in order to make the landing safer?

Defendant: Here I must be definite and I ask not to be objected to for something which looks improbable. I intended to establish contact in some way, and went to the terrain to try to find some means of contact. This may seem unbelievable to you, but I told him: »I shall go and try« but I could not, because the fighting was very bitter. He advised me differently. As the indictment has already stated, he advised liquidation or annihilation of the communists.

Counsel for the Defence (Dragić Joksimović): The communists or communism?

Defendant: The communists or communism, I do not quite know. I ask the President, should this not be answered in secret session?

President: In the Federative People's Republic of Yougoslavia you can speak freely before the Court.

Defendant: He said: annihilate the Partisans.

Prosecutor: Annihilate the Partisans? Is that so?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Well, how did you understand it? Should we take it as approval of your plan of attack?

Defendant: Absolutely.

Prosecutor: And he told you that the landing would take place?

Defendant: When I came, I heard from him that the landing was to be carried out in our Littoral.

Prosecutor: Had his »annihilate the Partisans« anything to do with his information that the landing would take place?

Defendant: He did not say so at the same time.

Prosecutor: I know.

Defendant: He was a man who did not say everything at once, but mentioned something now and again.

Prosecutor: And was your operation aimed at creating a clear situation in case of a landing?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did you explain it in your conversations?

Defendant: In the course of the winter of 1942—1943 I made a plan. I foresaw what every corps should do.

Prosecutor: Does it agree with your order № 1?

Defendant: I believe you have it in the material under the heading »operational orders«. It was directed against the invader, elaborated, duplicated and sent to all the higher commanders.

Prosecutor: We don't know about this. I wish I had such a telegram, not that I am interested in the telegram itself, but for the sake of an impartial investigation. But you know that all your files are not in our hands.

Defendant: You may have the operational orders from Ravna Gora. I believe you have them.

ABANDONED BY THE PEOPLE MIHAILOVIĆ FEEDS ON SNAILS

Prosecutor: All right, let us go back again to the Fourth Offensive. You said that even during the Fourth Offensive you did not know that your commanders were collaborating with the invader and that you learnt it only in the investigation material?

Defendant: Even if I had known, I would not have been fully conscious of it, because of the situation in which I was and the sufferings through which I passed. How was it possible for me, considering the volume of the material, to know...

Prosecutor: And what did you suffer?

Defendant: Hunger.

Prosecutor: When?

Defendant: Last year.

Prosecutor: And how did you live, what did you pass through? It might be interesting for the Court? Where did you live?

Defendant: In the woods.

Prosecutor: In a house?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Where then?

Defendant: Out of doors.

Prosecutor: Did you have a pill-box or a hut?

Defendant: Sometimes I had, and sometimes I hadn't.

Prosecutor: What did you live on?

Defendant: We bought food, but with great difficulty.

Prosecutor: Did you always have food usually eaten by men?

Defendant: For a time we ate only snails.

Prosecutor: Had you any money?

Defendant: I had. But I nearly died of starvation, in spite of my money.

Prosecutor: Well, this was in 1945? After the liberation?

Defendant: Yes.

MIHAILOVIĆ PERSONALLY ASKS FOR HELP FROM THE ITALIANS AND GETS IT

Prosecutor: Please read these letters of yours. Is this your handwriting?

Defendant: Yes, it is.

Prosecutor: This is Ostojić's letter and your remarks. Read it. The other is a reproduction. Show it to the Counsel for the Defence.

Defendant: I would like to see the other one once more.

Prosecutor: Do you admit that it is yours?

Defendant: Yes, it is mine.

President: He admits them as his. Documents 247 a) and b) are undisputed.

Prosecutor: Your letter was written on April 7, at 11 p. m. I shall read it all to you. *(Prosecutor reads document № 247 a)* in which the Defendant asks № 22 (the Italians) at all costs to send one of their companies to the right bank of the Dragačevska river and to take up positions above the sawmills.) Now then, how are we to understand this? You ask for an Italian company to be sent to the Dragačevska river!

Defendant: Pure intrigue.

Prosecutor: This letter was sent on April 7.

Defendant: But they were not under my command.

Prosecutor: Here is your other letter: (He reads the document № 247 b) which shows that one Italian battalion was sent to the Dragačevska river).

Just according to your order. Your order was executed. That is by № 22, by the Italians. This letter did not go to the archives, you added your note to it. He reported to you 40 minutes later at 11.40 p. m. You added your note to it and returned it at

0.5 a. m. on April 8. What does this mean? This means that your order was carried out: instead of the company you asked for, an Italian battalion was sent.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: (reads the document, and when he comes across the word »intrigue« he asks the Defendant what is the meaning of the word).

Defendant: Through an intrigue you can achieve something you need at a given moment.

Prosecutor: Now, one more question.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Please let us have an explanation of what he meant by »intrigue«.

Prosecutor: It is clear to every one of us what intrigue means here.

Defendant: Intrigue in this case means, seize your chance, your opportunity to carry on intrigues with the invader, in order to accomplish something against the Partisans *(murmur in the hall).*

Prosecutor: I am satisfied with the answer. Are you? *(Addressing the Counsel for the Defense). (No answer).*

President: Have you any more questions? Accused, do you feel tired or can you go on?

Defendant: Yes I can go on.

HUDSON'S LETTER TO DRAŽA

Prosecutor: The Court asked you a short time ago whether you knew that Raković had collaborated with the invader in Serbia?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: I am asking you a definite question. Do you know that Raković met the German commander of Gornji Milanovac, from whom he got 5.000 rounds of ammunition with which he supplied his unit?

Defendant: I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Did Raković collaborate with the Germans?

Defendant: He was for some time at Čačak. No matter who he was, he rendered great services.

Prosecutor: To whom?

Defendant: To the organization, because he killed Father Bulić.

Prosecutor: Did he fight against those who fought against the Germans?

Defendant: That is another matter.

Prosecutor: Now, let us come back to the Fourth Offensive. Would the Germans and the Italians have needed more divisions to

fight the Partisans if you had not taken part in that offensive? Who would have held the Neretva if your units had left it?

Defendant: I would have never taken part in that business if I had not needed the territory, which I had to hold.

Prosecutor: Did Jevđević collaborate with the Italians?

Defendant: He collaborated fully.

Prosecutor: Did you order him to collaborate?

Defendant: I did not.

Prosecutor: In your instructions it is said that you gave him some task.

Defendant: Yes, I know what task I appointed to him.

Prosecutor: (Reading this instruction) »Jevđević will organize, according to the movements of various corps, the medical service and evacuation of sick and wounded in agreement with the respective corps commanders under the conditions then prevailing.«

Defendant: That's right.

Prosecutor: Where did he live?

Defendant: I wanted to give him something to do, so that he should not be in my way.

Prosecutor: What was his role in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: The role of a mediator.

Prosecutor: Was this collaboration of your commanders with the invader known to the members of the Mission at your headquarters? Did Colonel Bailey, for instance, know about it?

Defendant: I did not go to Kolašin. I never went into towns. He went to Kolašin several times with his Mission.

Prosecutor: At the examination you declared that there were some Italian soldiers at Kolašin?

Defendant: I don't remember.

Prosecutor: In that case they knew as much as you and perhaps more?

Defendant: Their job was not so simple as all that. They knew more than I. They had their agents. Milan Radonjić was their agent already in peacetime. I know old Montenegro very little.

Prosecutor: Did Hudson say to you during the operations: »Listen, Mr. Mihailović, your commanders down there are collaborating with the invader«.

Defendant: He did not.

Prosecutor: Did the emigrant government know about it?

Defendant: I don't know. You have the report. They could have known everything through the British service, because I had no secret link at that time, and the British Mission was sending tele-

grams regularly every day. Everybody who came to see me, went also to Colonel Bailey and spoke with him about everything.

Prosecutor: Did the members of these missions at your headquarters know that Pavle Đurišić and other Montenegrin commanders collaborated with the Italians during the Third Offensive?

Defendant: I think that was in the hands of Ostojić. That is my belief.

Prosecutor: For instance; did Hudson know that Pavle Đurišić collaborated with the Italians?

Defendant: He could have come to that conclusion on the first day of his trip to Montenegro.

Prosecutor: Why on the first day?

Defendant: Because he travelled by motor-car, although his identity was hidden, together with an Australian and with the Ostojić and Lalatović group who came to Šahovići. They passed through two garrison towns, Prijepolje and Bjelopolje. It is true that they had false names and forged papers.

Prosecutor: And the numerous Četniks in the lorries?

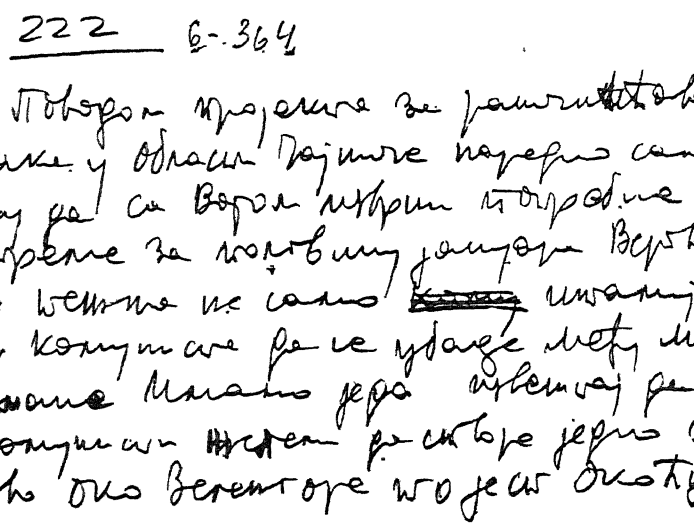
Defendant: Ostojić passed them off as Nedić's troops.

Prosecutor: They belonged to Glišić and Ignjatović?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did Hudson ask to see the commanders that time?

Defendant: He did. I know it from the indictment. The letter was shown to me during the investigation.



Beginning of the telegram written personally by Mihailović to number 222. (Advance Section of the Supreme Command, which was under the direction of Zaharija Ostojić).

ha a друго оштрь бы-било ово Пау-
шина# Све ово довести у вези са нашим
нападима од вечерас на дуж Ибри-
ске ~~железничке~~ пруге и Зеленгоре
да ми ваше наше мисли шта ће
бити предузети ~~даље~~ од јединог
јачег непријатељског комунистичког покрета на
Босне Од Тебе. Чекам извештај
успеху Рачунајући на успех. Ис-
ход Сутрашњег дана Вођа
наређено да удари фронтом вези са
нама Вођин позивни знак је RO по-
навлан RO поновлан RO Наређено сам
да сигнале које шаље са крипто-
графским кључем вези с нама. Ђен по-

зивни знак јавићу Вам када ће до-
бити и Повеља Чачак на одлеж Пау-
шине када сам Тебу да пошаљем
Вођи. ~~Чачак~~ ~~да~~ ~~пошаљем~~ #. Од
Пријепоље, Усташе, Фронте и Немачке
Вама Бајо само куће и пруге нема
кад у Пауштици и Фочанском срезу нема
пријављених наше 1400 пушака. Тешко
само да ће помоћи нам пре Вама
да кажемо ја и они хоће ли се бити.

2 јануара 1943

222-5-343

Вама и херцеговачка пајташице

Second part of the telegram (continued from p. 200) in which Mihailović orders an attack on the Moslems in the Čajniče District.

Ш Т А Б

Лимско-Санџачких четн.одреда
Стр.Пов.Број
13 фебруара 1943 године
Положај.

НАЧЕЛНИКУ ШТАБА ВРХОВНЕ КОМАНДЕ.

Акција у Пљевљанском,чајничком и фочанском срезу противу муслимана извршена је.

Операције су изведене тачно по наређењу и издатој заповести.Напад је почео у одређено време.Сви команданти и јединице извршиле су добивене задатке на опште задовољство.

Отпор непријатеља био је од почетка до краја слаб.Једини већи отпор био је на Требешком брду,који је трајао 4 часа,али и он је брзо савладан.

Наши одреди 7.овог месеца у току ноћи,већ су избили на р. Дрину,те су борбе закључно са тим даном биле у главном завршене,а затим је настало чишћење ослобођене територије.Сва муслиманска села у три поменута среза су потпуно спаљена тако,да ниједан њихов дом није остао читав.

Сва имовина је уништена сем стоке,жита и сена.Наређено је и предвиђено прикупљање људске и сточне хране у одређеним местима,за стварање магацина резервне хране и исхрану јединица,које су остале на терену ради чишћења и претресања терена и шумовитих предела,као и ради спровођења и учвршћавања организације на ослобођеној територији.

За време операција се приступило потпуном уништавању муслиманског живља без обзира на пол и године старости.

Жртве.-Наше укупне жртве су биле 2% мртвих од којих 2 несретним случајем и 32 рањена.

Код муслимана око 1200 бораца и до 8.000 осталих жртава: жена,стараца и деце.

За време почетних операција,муслимани су се дали у бегство ка Метаљи,Чајничу и р.Дрини.На Метаљи је нашао склониште мали део становништва.У Чајничу се рачуна да има до 3.000 избеглица,а један део је успео да умакне преко Дрине пре него што су одређене јединице извршиле пресецање могућих одступних праваца на том сектору.Све остало становништво је уништено.

морал код муслимана био је такорећи срушен.Завладала је епидемија страха од наших четника тако,да су били просто изгубљени.

интервенција окупатора из Пљевља и Чајнича састојала се само у томе-заштита и обезбеђење њихових гарнизона од опасности услеђења напега напада.

Детаљан извештај поднећу накнадно у релацији са свима прилозима и скицама.

Командант,м а ј о р
Павле Ђурић

Report from Pavle Đurišić, Četnik commander, to Mihailović, about wholesale massacres of Moslem population in the districts of Čajniče, Plevlje and Foča.

Prosecutor: Whom did he want to meet, and why?

Defendant: It is difficult to say. I think he wanted to meet Bajo Stanišić, Pavle Đurišić and a third person whose name I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Would you like to hear it?

Defendant: I would like that letter to be read as a document. (Hudson's letter is shown to the Defendant. In this letter Hudson asks to meet Stanišić and Đurišić and »other leaders who have so successfully fought the communists and liberated their areas from them«).

President: Is this Hudson's original letter, accused Mihailović?

Defendant: Yes, absolutely the original.

Prosecutor: And the additions?

Defendant: The additions too.

Prosecutor: The letter shows that there was some disagreement between you. Did Hudson condemn the collaboration of Đurišić and Stanišić, and was that the cause of the disagreement?

Defendant: We had already had disagreements in Serbia. He was that type of man. We quarrelled about trifles. I can't remember what. They were quite small things. For instance, some petrol was dropped by parachute; my chief signal officer took it by mistake. He asked that the petrol be returned within five minutes. Such trifles would lead to conflicts between him and myself.

Prosecutor: Did Hudson point out to you the collaboration of your commanders with the invader and was that the reason for the conflict?

Defendant: No, it wasn't.

President: Defendant, are you tired?

Defendant: It will be easier for me to give answers after an interwal.

Prosecutor (After recess): When the President asked you about the collaboration of Voja Lukačević with the Germans you said that it was not collaboration but a parallel action. Is that true?

Defendant: It was accidental parallel action. But to him it did not seem accidental because he went there.

Prosecutor: I should to read you a letter of Voja Lukačević which states:

> »*Yesterday the communists shelled Konjic, destroyed Italian pillboxes and inflicted fairly heavy losses on them. Last night they shelled my positions with mortars. Even more confusion was created when a German or Italian plane bombed the Italian Headquarters at Konjic. The Italians and Germans*

do nothing without consulting me. Yesterday I formally gave them orders for the taking up of battle positions around Konjic«.

Defendant: The first letter in the indictment contains the same thing.

Prosecutor: But here it is said that Lukačević gave orders to German and Italian units. Is it collaboration or accidental parallel action?

Defendant: I don't know what word to use for it. You attach so much importance to one word.

Prosecutor: I attach importance to the truth. Accidental parallel action means that if the Partisans fight the Germans there is simultaneously a clash with the Četnik forces. But here Lukačević says that he was giving orders to German and Italian units.

Defendant: In that case he did it on his own.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Perhaps Lukačević was boasting?

Prosecutor: If Counsel for the Defence suggests answers to the accused, we shall not be able to discover the truth.

President: I expect that the Defence will fulfil its duties.

Prosecutor: The Defence may suggest answers, but the documents are here. You say that this was accidental parallel action. Let us see document № 202. On page 4 of the original Lukačević writes:

»Ammunition should be dropped to me by plane. I shall place this sign on the shool ground: a white sheet 0,45 m. wide. It is the best solution«.

Who was to drop the ammunition by plane?

Defendant: I don't know with whom they were in contact.

Prosecutor: Did the Germans and Italians drop the ammunition?

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: Was that also accidental parallel action or collaboration?

Defendant: I did not know what Ostojić and Lukačević were doing.

Prosecutor: Lukačević was a commander of yours?

Defendant: I have told you about my difficulties with my commanders.

Prosecutor: In document № 207 (it is also a letter from Voja Lukačević) Lukačević says: *»The ammunition dropped by plane is not sufficient. As the Kalinovik road is free, let Jevđa ask...«* Who is Jevđa?

Defendant: Dobrosav Jevđević.

Prosecutor: (Continues reading) »*Let Jevđević tell 22 to ask 11 to lend us some.*« Who is 22 and who is 11?

Defendant: 22 are the Italians and 11 are the Germans.

Prosecutor: »*Let Jevđa tell 22, i. e., the Italians, to ask 11, i. e., the Germans, to lend us 300.000 to 500.000 rounds because we are without ammunition. The attack is to begin on March 4, 1943*«. Were you at Kalinovik at that time?

Defendant: I was, but I don't remember the exact date. I came in the evening, and two days later there was a retreat from that front. Pavle's units, which came from Kolašin, were fighting. I came in the evening. Nex day we fought. Ulog fell on that day. The front was broken.

Prosecutor: Lukačević says: »*The attack is to begin on March 4, 1943. 11 has to act according to my battle order.*« How was he using the enemy?

Defendant: He was using the enemy to fight against the Partisans.

Prosecutor: Who were the enemy?

Defendant: The Germans and the Italians.

Prosecutor: And what nationality were the Partisans?

Defendant: We were fighting each other.

Prosecutor: Did the Partisans get into contact with the Italians and Germans during the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Did Voja Lukačević betray his country?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: What steps did you take against it?

Defendant: I didn't even know what was happening.

Prosecutor: You say you didn't know. Weren't you commander in chief during the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I had that title, but the commander in chief was Ostojić.

(A voice from the Court-room: »*Death to the traitors*«*)*

President: Order in Court! Let the person who shouted stand up. *(A peasant stands up.)* Please leave the Court-room. *(As he leaves the Court-room the peasant justifies himself by saying:* »I couldn't keep silent, he killed my son«).

Prosecutor: Did Vojislav Lukačević go abroad?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: With whom did he go?

Defendant: He went with Bailey, Bailey took him.

Prosecutor: Was Vojislav Lukačević present at King Peter's wedding?

Defendant: He was.

Prosecutor: Did he come back?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: Did he keep his command?

Defendant: He did.

THE RAVNA GORA CONGRESS IN THE VILLAGE OF BA WAS HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN MIHAILOVIĆ AND LEADING MEN OF FORMER BELGRADE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT

Prosecutor: When did Birčanin die?

Defendant: I don't know exactly when Birčanin died. He died during the Fourth Offensive.

Prosecutor: Did you propose that Birčanin should be decorated?

Defendant: I proposed it after his death.

Prosecutor: After his death? Birčanin openly collaborated with the Italians?

Defendant: I am not convinced that he openly collaborated.

Prosecutor: Did Birčanin fight against the invader?

Defendant: I don't know what he did. He could not fight because he was very ill.

Prosecutor: How could you, then, give him a function?

Defendant: I gave him an appointment, because he was there and because of the situation which prevailed there.

Prosecutor: Do you know that Birčanin was guarded by carabinieri?

Defendant: If he had had any sense, he would not have allowed that.

Prosecutor: He allowed it, and he was one of your commanders.

Defendant: Jevđević celebrated Birčanin's death by drinking, because he hoped to take his place.

Prosecutor: Whom did you send to replace Birčanin?

Defendant: I sent Mladen Žujović.

Prosecutor: Did he continue the same work?

Defendant: He had instructions to stop that work.

Prosecutor: Did he carry them out?

Defendant: He tried, but I don't know how far he was successful.

Prosecutor: Did he continue to have talks with the Italian general, as did Birčanin?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Was Moljević with you at Kolašin?

Defendant: Yes. But he came to Kolašin, I think, in the late autumn of 1942.

Prosecutor: Was he a member of your Central National Committee then?

Defendant: He was with Dragiša Vasić and belonged to the Central National Committee.

Prosecutor: Did Moljević go to Kolašin to attend a trial?

Defendant: Yes, I think that Dragiša Vasić and Hudson went too.

Prosecutor: Hudson? You said that Bailey went?

Defendant: I don't know. I had nothing to do with it.

Prosecutor: Who was tried?

Defendant: I don't know. Some communists were tried.

Prosecutor: Communists? And Moljević and Hudson, or Bailey, were present? Is that true?

Defendant: I think it is true.

Prosecutor: When did Živko Topalović come to you?

Defendant: Živko Topalović came to me when I was at Oraovica in Western Serbia.

Prosecutor: Why did he come?

Defendant: He came with certain political leaders and representatives, for talks.

Prosecutor: And what was decided?

Defendant: It was decided to hold a congress at Ba.

Prosecutor: Why did you need to hold this congress?

Defendant: I was very busy at that time. I saw that the former political parties had lost a lot of ground, and that I could not count on anybody's support. Therefore we elected a Central Committee composed of men whom we knew had clean hands and were less politically minded. We had men from various parties. Vasić was a Republican, we had Vujanac, and there were some Agrarians. The moment had arrived. On advice from Serbia and from abroad...

Prosecutor: Whose advice?

Defendant: The government's. The moment had come to hold the congress.

Prosecutor: Did you get a message from abroad in 1943 ordering you to attack the Germans?

Defendant: I don't remember having received a message.

President: (To the defence) Please, put your questions?

Counsel for the Defence (Džonović): Do you feel fit enough to answer my questions?

Defendant: I can speak.

Counsel for the Defence: Who was the organizer of the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: I think the Germans. The indictment also says so.

Counsel for the Defence: What was the aim of the Germans?

Defendant: I think their first aim was to clear a wide territory from the most important Partisan and Četnik groups, there where a landing might be expected, and then, they wanted to mix the Italians, whom they used as front-line troops, with their own troops, because they could not trust the Italians to defend the coast against an invasion. There was friction between the Germans and the Italians about the holding of certain territories. They negotiated about this. In such cases the Germans used to enter these territories and stay there.

Counsel for the Defence: You said in the investigation that the morale of your troops was very low because they felt they were waging a fratricidal war. Did your commanders think so?

Defendant: During the investigation I limited myself to a certain extent, and I said it depended on the commanders. The morale of the troops differed. I felt it especially when I was in Montenegro, where the morale was excellent. But when the battles were fought, losses and withdrawals took place. The Partisans succeeded in forming the troops in a way I did not expect, and carried out very good and powerful guerilla manoeuvres, which caused us considerable losses. These losses resulted in very low morale among the Četniks.

Counsel for the Defence: Was your idea to take over the territories from the Partisans, or to annihilate the communists as a social doctrine?

Defendant: My idea was to defend Dalmatia while awaiting a landing, because I thought that if I held it, the landing would take place just there.

President: You haven't given a direct answer. Be precise.

Counsel for the Defence: I should like the accused to answer. Because this was one of the most important points in the examination. We want to know exactly whether he wished to take the power from the Partisans on the territory, or whether he wanted to annihilate communism and its representatives.

Defendant: No, not annihilation.

President: Are you talking about the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: It was not annihilation, it was the gaining of terrain.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): In your letter to Baćović it is said: »Mop up the communists.«

Defendant: That is only a military expression. I mean to say, that is only a kind of expression you use in orders, that is, when you say — mop up — annihilate. It is said in every order. The orders of the Partisans were similarly worded. To mop up means to gain the terrain, to establish one's organization there.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Accused Mihailović, yesterday and today you talked about the sabotage carried out by your organization. Can you make a list of the sabotage carried out by your organization during the occupation, not today, but for later on?

Defendant: Yes I can. I must add that I paid special attention to the railway tracks and to the Danube river, whose course is important and therefore I asked for mines. I had very good information about the ships which were in the docks, and I asked that they should be bombed. I used to indicate the position of objects, and I can give a list of all sabotage. I can also say that not a single train, especially those running between Belgrade and Niš, escaped plunder. *(Laughter in Court).* The railway staff was loyal and organized. The railwaymen used to derail carriages so that later we could empty them. We took arms, and everything else which was transported. Once we took 1.800 watches. *(Laughter in Court).* I say that only to show that we did not know what the cases contained.

THE PART PLAYED BY GEORGE MUSULIN OF THE AMERICAN "SRBOBRAN" GROUP

President: Do you know about the enemy operation called the Fifth Offensive.

Defendant: I do not.

President: Do you know when the Fifth Offensive began.

Defendant: No, I don't. I think it began with the German ring round Zelengora.

President: Against whom was this directed?

Defendant: Against the Partisans.

President: Were the Četniks encircled too?

Defendant: The Germans encircled us as far as they could.

President: At the trial held last year, Keserović and Lukačević said that they were coming to your assistance, and they boasted that

they had managed to escape by telling the Germans to go against the Partisans. Where did you go then? When did Keserović come to you?

Defendant: I don't remember the date.

President: When did you go with Hudson to visit the Valjevo front, before your meeting with the Germans at Divci, or after it?

Defendant: Much earlier.

President: Was the first conflict with the Partisans concluded before Hudson's arrival?

Defendant: Which conflict?

President: In September, October?

Defendant: We had only one conflict, in November.

Prosecutor: And what about Požega?

Defendant: That happened during the liberation action, when we attacked the towns.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Was Hudson with you constantly till the end of the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: Yes, he was. Colonel Bailey arrived too.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Was there anybody else besides them?

Defendant: There were many of them, Lt. George Musulin came to Serbia as an Englishman. He was in the First Corps. There were other British Missions, attached to certain commanders.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Were they attached to certain commanders of yours?

Defendant: There were many of them.

Prosecutor: In connection with a certain question of the Counsel for the Defence I should like the accused to give me an answer: Whom did you call communists, in the course of the four years of war?

Defendant: There is nothing insulting about it.

Prosecutor: Did you call all the Partisans that? Was such a name in use? Was it your habit to call them so?

Defendant: I never stick to any habits.

Prosecutor: What did you mean, in your messages, by "Attack the communists"?

Defendant: I meant the Partisan units.

Prosecutor: The Partisan units. It means you never thought of annihilating communism as an idea?

Defendant: Never.

Prosecutor: The examining magistrate asked you whether the open collaboration of Lukačević, Bajo Stanišić, Barišić, Đujić, Ra-

dulović and others in the course of the Fourth Offensive had any influence upon the morale of your men?

Defendant: It must have had.

Prosecutor: In what sense?

Defendant: In a negative one.

Prosecutor: Was the fratricidal war your units waged against the Partisans the reason for the rout of your units in April?

Defendant: The reason was bad and poor leadership.

Prosecutor: Don't you think the other had some influence too?



Lieutenant George Musulin, member of the American Military Mission, wearing a Četnik cap with a royal cockade and with a beard, delivering a speech at the Četnik congress at the village of Ba, held with the knowledge and support of the Germans. From right to left: 1) Dragiša Vasić, 2) George Musulin, 3) Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, 4) and 5) unknown, 6) Stevan Moljević and 7) Živko Topalović.

Defendant: Yes, it had.

Prosecutor: When the capitulation of Italy was imminent, how many days in advance, and by whom were you informed that it was approaching?

Defendant: If you would remind me, I could tell you.

Prosecutor: Where did Lukačević go?

Defendant: He left with Bailey for Berane.

Prosecutor: What was their task?

Defendant: To win over the »Venezia« division to our side

Prosecutor: Who told you the capitulation would come?

Defendant: Bailey.

Prosecutor: You mentioned George Musulin. When did he come to you?

Defendant: In 1943.

Prosecutor: Did he come officially or as a private person?

Defendant: He came as a member of the British Mission, although he was an American officer.

Prosecutor: Was he subordinate to the chief of the British Mission?

Defendant: He was his subordinate, although he was not a member of the mission.

Prosecutor: What was Musulin's duty in America?

Defendant: He belonged to the "Srbobran" group.

Prosecutor: Was he in contact with the "National Defence"?

Defendant: He was.

Prosecutor: Where did his sister work?

Defendant: She was Fotić's secretary.

Prosecutor: What about Syde?

Defendant: He came with Armstrong.

Prosecutor: And when did Armstrong come?

Defendant: I somehow connect his coming with the attack on Višegrad. If I knew when Višegrad was attacked I could tell you.

Prosecutor: Did you try to establish contact with the Partisans at the end of 1943?

Defendant: On December 23, 1943, I submitted a written document to Brigadier Armstrong asking the British Government to mediate between me and the Partisans. He promised me his help, but on January 3 he informed me that the British Government did not want to mediate.

Prosecutor: That was what Armstrong told you. How did he get this order?

Defendant: By radio.

Prosecutor: Was there anything else? Was there anything else that prevented you from establishing this contact?

Defendant: No, in my records there is nothing else.

THE ČETNIKS, GERMANS, BULGARIAN FASCISTS, LJOTIĆ'S AND NEDIĆ'S MEN, AND THE UNITS OF THE RUSSIAN »WHITE GUARD« CORPS FOUGHT IN THE SPRING OF 1944 AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION DURING ITS OFFENSIVE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE TERRITORY OF SERBIA

President: Accused Mihailović, enumerate the corps and the names of the corps commanders in Serbia at the end of 1943.

Defendant: The Zlatibor Corps with Radović Kondor; the Požega Corps with Miloš, I can't remember...

President: Marković?

Defendant: Miloš Marković; the Valjevo Corps with Neško Nedić; the Majevica Group with Radić; the Mačva Corps with, I think, Vasić; the Cer Corps with Tufegdžić; the Avala Corps with Sveta Trifković; the Kolubara Corps with Komarčević; the Rudnik Corps with Topalović; the Homolje Corps with Ocokoljić; the Krajina Corps with Piletić, the Timok Corps with Ljuba Jovanović, called Patak, the Varvarin Corps — I can't remember the name; the Nišava Corps — I can't remember the name.

President: Perhaps Milanović?

Defendant: I was trying to remember during the inquiry.

President: The Deligrad Corps?

Defendant: The Deligrad Corps with Branimir Petrović; the Kopaonik Group with Keserović; Gordić had, I believe, the Rasina Corps. I don't know the names of the other corps.

President: The South-Morava Corps?

Defendant: The South-Morava Corps under Major Đurić.

President: Go on.

Defendant: The First Ravna Gora Corps with Vučković.

President: What is Vučković's christian name?

Defendant: Zvonimir Vučković. The Second Ravna Gora Corps with Predrag Raković. There were corps south of Vranje in the Preševo region.

President: Did a Javor corps exist?

Defendant: The Javor Corps with Cvetić. The First and Second Guard Corps with Nikola Kalabić.

President: And what were they called officially?

Defendant: H. M.-s King Peter II Mountain Guard.

President: Was there a Belgrade Corps?

Defendant: There were two Belgrade corps under the command of Saša Mihailović. I don't remember the names of the commanders.

President: Was there a Lepenica corps?

Defendant: The Lepenica Corps with Dušan Smiljanić.

President: Were there any other corps?

Defendant: In Serbia, I cannot remember.

President: In January 1944, did you order your units on the Višegrad—Priboj sector under the command of Major Zaharije Ostojić, to combine with the Germans and Ljotić's men in attacking the Second Proletarian Division?

Defendant: I can't remember this order.

President: Did your units take part in the fight against the Second Proletarian Division during its passage from Sandžak to Serbia?



At the congress at the village of Ba, Major Terzić, in British uniform, kissing the Četnik flag. Behind him is George Musulin.

Defendant: From Sandžak? They did.

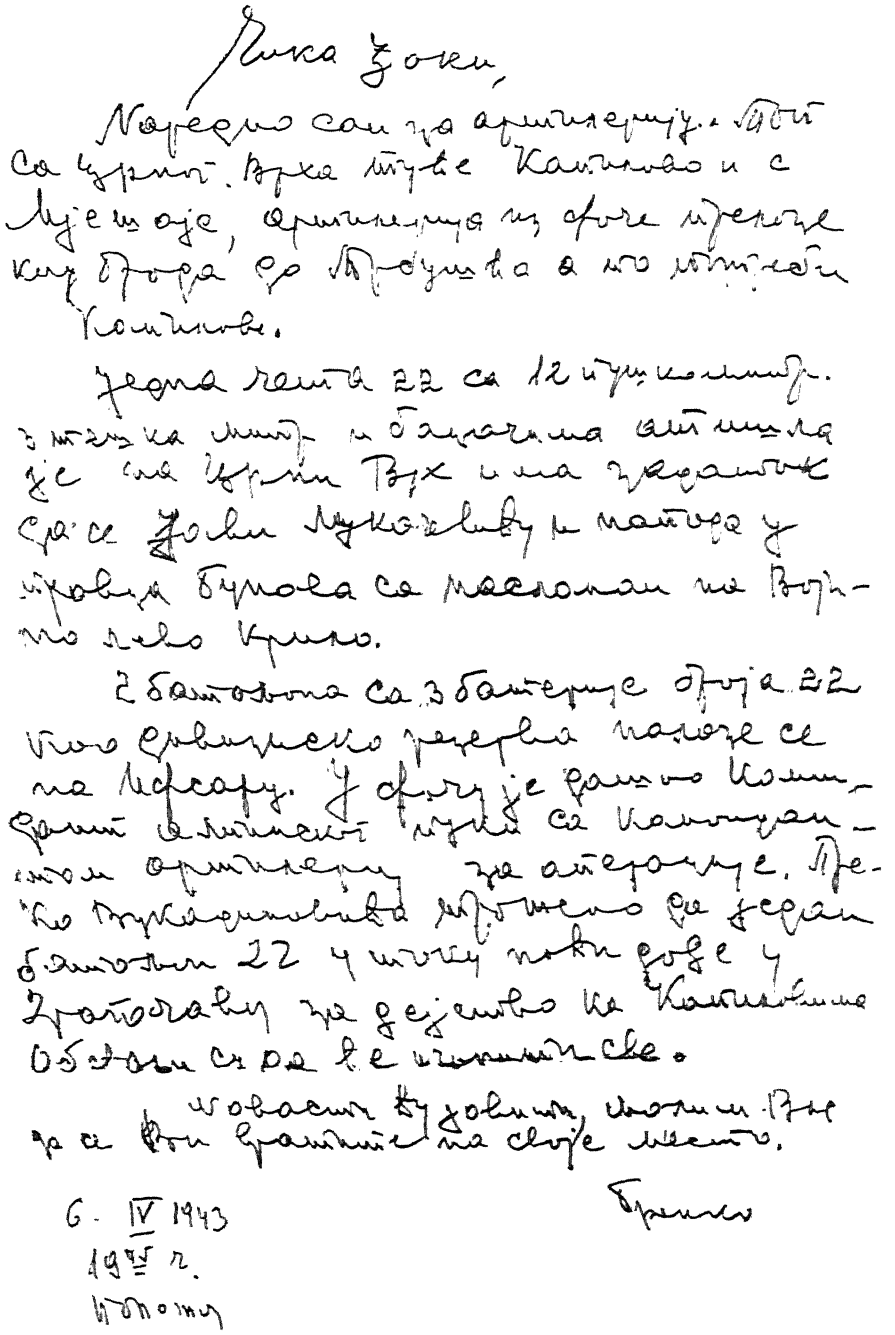
President: Which corps were they?

Defendant: The frontier corps: the Požega, Javor and Zlatibor Corps.

President: Did Bulgarian units take part with your units in the Brezovica battle?

Defendant: They did in that region, but they came later. I don't know the precise distribution of their forces.

President: Let me remind you that you have said that you were treated well during the inquiry and that you made your statements



Facsimile of »Branko's« (Zaharija Ostojić) letter to »Čika Đoka« (to Draža Mihailović) in which he informs him that he has ordered Italian artillery to take action against the Partisans by the river Drina near Ustikolina.

voluntarily. You said during the inquiry: »The Bulgarian units took part but I don't know their number«. Is that right?

Defendant: It is right. I have been thinking about the situation particularly because before I was not able to visualize it. At first my units fought and defended their terrain.

President: Were there Bulgarian units with your units?

Defendant: There were, but they came later. I don't know the distribution of their forces.

President: Can you remember who attacked near Ljubiš?

Defendant: That would be the Javor Corps.

President: And the Zlatibor Corps?

Defendant: If it was repulsed at Zlatibor, it might have.

President: Did German forces combine with the Zlatibor Corps?

Defendant: Perhaps on that sector, but I don't know at what distance.

President: Did Kondor inform you of the course of the operations?

Defendant: He certainly informed me; it is only a question of which period in January it was, because from January 23, to May, I was not at the Headquarters.

President: Did you have radio contact?

Defendant: The Staff kept radio contact.

President: Were you kept informed by the Staff?

Defendant: I was very busy with affairs.

President: Where were the Germans and the Bulgarians during the attack?

Defendant: At their garrisons.

President: At which garrisons?

Defendant: The Bulgarians at Požega and the Germans at the Užice garrison.

President: And who was at Čačak?

Defendant: The Germans were at Čačak.

President: Did General Trifunović inform you at that time that the Germans were near Katić village and the Bulgarians near Kokin Brod?

Defendant: I don't know. I am unable to remember such details. General Trifunović in January...

President: Very well, accused Mihailović, do you deny a joint action of Četniks and Bulgarians?

Defendant: I don't deny it. That was a contingency which arose.

Prosecutor: Were you holding Požega and Užice?

Defendant: I did not hold the towns.

Prosecutor: Did you defend the towns from the Partisans during your struggle?

Defendant: If they had first marched against Požega and Užice, I would not have resisted them. I only resisted such attacks of the Partisans which might deprive me of my territory. On this territory, in 1944, I had an airport near Čačak on which American airplanes were landing. Nobody could take our territory from us except the Partisans.

President: Please answer definitely. In January 1944 during the passage of the Second Proletarian Division from Sandžak to Serbia, was there collaboration among Četniks, Germans and Bulgarians?

Defendant: Only by chance.

President: Were you informed of the course of the operations?

Defendant: Only in general.

President: Can you remember the dispatch of Kalabić, commander of the so-called »H. M.'s Mountain Guard« copied down in your book, and sent on January 16, 1944, from Ras—Ras, which reads as follows: »Near Kušić and Katić on the Javor Mountain a fight is still going on between communists on the one side and Četniks, Field Guard, Germans and Bulgarians on the other. There are about 3.500 communists. They are encircled and they ought to be knocked out any moment.«

Defendant: Kalabić was not there. I consider that the style of a telegram should always be short; in the style and the composition of a phrase in a telegram essential details are often left out, and thus, different conclusions may be drawn. This is an unhappy coincidence.

Prosecutor: Did Lukačević attack Plevlje by your order?

Defendant: I should like to get things clear. When Lukačević went...

President: Why do you not say straight out: By my order or without my order?

Defendant: I let him decide according to the situation.

Prosecutor: Did you order the attack on Plevlje?

President: In January 1944 did you order your commanders Đurišić, Drašković, Kalaitović, Cvetić to make a combined attack, with the Germans and Ljotić's men, on the units of the Army of National Liberation near Priboj and Plevlje?

Defendant: I can't remember this order. I was at the congress at Ba, where I was very busy.

President: Whose forces were holding Priboj at the time of the Partisans attack?

Defendant: I don't know. Probably the Italians.

President: Who else?

Defendant: I don't know.

Bratu

Mati Matićeviću

Komandantu hrvatskih odreda u oblasti Vareša

Vareš

Veoma sam zadovoljan sa rezultatom prvih sastanaka sa Vama. Mnogo računam na Vašu snalažljivost i vašu ličnost kao čovjeka iz naroda koji je uspio da privuče tako velike snage oko sebe i da ih upravi pravim putem bratske zajednice i sloge.

Sada nam se otvaraju široki putevi da dosadašnji rad još pojačamo i da dođje do pune sloge i saradnje protiv zajedničkog neprijatelja.

Jedinice pod Vašom komandom će ubuduće nositi ime hrvatske jedinice u sastavu jugoslovenske vojske u otadžbini pod hrvatskom zastavom, a sa nazivom jedne od hrvatskih velikana prema Vašem izboru (na primjer "6. Hrvatski korpus Stjepana Radića").

Moj delegat brat Mustafa Mulalić stupio je u vezu sa komandantom muslimanske milicije Selamovićem. Čim ih razgovori budu završeni, nadam se da ćemo uskoro na zajedničkom sastanku moći riješiti ta pitanja onako kako bude najbolje.

Mi Vas, brate Mato, već sada smatramo u tijesnoj saradnji sa nama, a ako uspijemo da naša saradnja bude iskrena, biti će to od najvećeg značaja za cijeli naš narod.

Na našem sastanku riješiće se pitanje o Vašem nazivu i Vašem činu u vojsci onako kako Vam to po zasluzi Vašeg dosadašnjeg rada pripada.

Sa bratskim pozdravom

General

Dragoljub Mihailović

29. studen 1944.
Položaj

Letter from Mihailović to Mata Matićević, Ustaša commander in the Vareš region.

President: In the inquiry you said Četniks and Italians...

Defendant: There were forces which did not belong to us. I can't remember any details. If I have said so, it must be true.

President: Which of your forces took part in the fighting in April 1944, at the time of the entry of the Second Proletarian and the Fifth Shock Divisions into Serbia?

Defendant: The frontier corps were repelled northwards. They were the Javor, Zlatibor and Požega corps.

President: I am not asking you which forces were repelled, but which forces fought against the Second Proletarian and the Fifth Divisions of the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I did not carry out any concentration of forces, but the concentration came about by chance, owing to the fact that certain units retreated from the outside front and others came, in order to defend their sector. First the Javor, Zlatibor and Požega units retreated and later there arrived from the north Račić, Neško Nedić . . .

President: Please, mention your corps.

Defendant: The Cer, Valjevo, Corps . . .

President: And the first Ravna Gora Corps?

Defendant: Yes.

President: And the Požega Corps?

Defendant: I have already mentioned that.

President: With which of the invaders' forces did the Četnik units combine?

Defendant: When these units were retreating towards north, none of the invader's forces were engaged in the fight. The invader's forces had only arrived.

President: Which?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Do name them. Think.

Defendant: It is in the indictment.

President: Also in the records.

Defendant: Units from the Valjevo garrison.

President: No, I mean what kind.

Defendant: They were chiefly motorized units.

President: Actually, whose units were these?

Defendant: German motorized units.

Prosecutor: We must not waste time. Simply German motorized units.

Defendant: As you say.

Prosecutor: I would like to ask the question: When did the Četnik units attack the German detachments?

President: He has said that the Četnik units combined with the German motorized units.

Prosecutor: Some time before he said that the Germans attacked his troops.

Defendant: It wasn't in their interest *(Laughter in Court).*

Prosecutor: Well, so everything is clear.

Defendant: Otherwise they would have been able to crush me whenever they liked.

Prosecutor: Why wasn't it in their interest?

Defendant: I was engaged in fighting the Partisans.

Prosecutor: I beg you to explain this.

President: What interest had the Germans in defending you and why had they no interest in attacking you?

Defendant: Because they were defending Valjevo and they knew that the Partisans would certainly attack the garrison.

President: So, it wasn't in their interest. And had you any interest in attacking them?

Defendant: I could not have any because I would have been certainly beaten in that case.

President: Which of your units took part in the fight against both the Second and Fifth Divisions?

Defendant: They came later. I think they were Ljotić's men, but there was no direct contact between the front lines.

President: I ask you to tell me which and whose forces collaborated with the Četniks in the fight against the Second and Fifth Division?

Defendant: They were Ljotić's men.

President: You have said they were Germans and Ljotić's men. Who else?

Defendant: I don't know whether there were Bulgarians.

Prisedent: Try to remember.

Defendant: There were probably also Bulgarians.

President: Probably?

Defendant: I think there were.

President: Were there also Nedić's men?

Defendant: That wasn't an army at all.

President: Were there any?

Defendant: Perhaps.

President: Were there any white guards?

Defendant: I see from the evidence that there were also white guards.

President: When you were asked: »With what occupation forces did the Četniks cooperate?« You replied: «I did not call them. Ger-

mans, Ljotić's men, volunteers, white guards and Nedić's men were fighting together with the Četniks against the Partisans«.

Defendant: Yes, together by chance.

President: Did they fight together against the Partisans?

Defendant: Yes, they did and this is seen from Neško Nedić's words: »The Germans look on me with suspicion, but I am here«.

President: Which of your detachments took part in the fighting in the Ibar gorge?

Defendant: It may have been the Javor Corps.

President: Were they with the Germans and Nedić's men?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Did the Germans and the Bulgarians make use of artillery and what force did they use against the Second and Fifth Division of the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: How and from where were the Četnik units supplied with ammunition?

Defendant: We had enough ammunition.

President: I ask you how the Četnik units were supplied during the operations against the Second and Fifth Divisions?

Defendant: We had enough ammunition.

President: I will remind you of what you said during the inquiry: »The Četniks were supplied with ammunition and arms from Valjevo and Čačak. I want to emphasize that this had nothing to do with me because Mirko Lalatović was commanding the operations against the Second and Fifth division.« Is this correct and put into the records without pressure?

Defendant: This is correct and put into the records without pressure. But what I say is also correct. I cannot remember details.

President: In the opinion of the Court, details as to the source of supply of the troops are important. How were your Četnik units transported during the fight?

Defendant: It was said that certain units were transported by lorries which Kalabić had at his disposal.

President: And where had Kalabić kept these lorries?

Defendant: He got them to the terrain of Rudnik and Kosmaj.

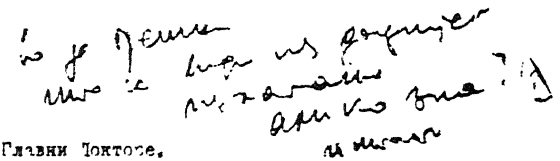
President: From where did he supply them with petrol?

Defendant: There was enough petrol. I think there is still hidden petrol near Čačak, that remained from 1941.

President: As far as I remember, all that was burnt or spilt. I must remind you that Ješa Simić reported to you differently about this transport.

Defendant: I don't know. But I can say that Jevrem Simić...

President: Answer definitely. I do not ask you what kind of a man Ješa Simić was, but were the Četnik troops transported, and



Драги мој Главни Доктоше,

Шаљем ти стање на целој просторији и оно је следеће на дан 17 априла:
Црвени дуж Брековo-Катићи-Кушиће снагама доста јаким у односу на мене.

Распоред Немачко-сателитских снага је:
Крчалиски други дух под командом Марисава у Чајетини,а један батаљон је 17 овог месеца отишао из Беле реке вероватно ка Катићима.
Немци:4.000 са нешто лаких топова,на простору Чајетина-Палисад-Краљеве воде-Кокин брод .
Бугари: На утврђеној Бобровој глави ову ојачавају и има их 1.500.
С.Д.С.: Них 230 у утврђењима села Рожанство.
Марковић: 360 људи затвара Високу.Одреди су истурени на Округлицу.
Кондор: Са 1340 људи на линији Клеково-Љубиш-Сирогојне.Групно затвара ове правце са резервом спремном за удар.
Калаит: Један батаљон са 80 Немаца у Штиткову,а две чете на Павлевина броду.Сам Калаит са осталим одредима је са Павлом.
Цветић: Са њим везе немамо.
Звонков одред под командом поручника Ненадића заједно са Немцима је у Негбини.
У току 17 овог месеца Марковић је до 11 часова водио борбу са црвеним нападнут од три њихове колоне.После борбе од три сата где је долазило и до борбе прса у прса,повукао је се .Црвени су заузели Катиће,Мању,Волиће,Шаренких и ту се задржали.
Резултат:Марковић има 6 мртвих и 4 рањена.Њихово је 21 мртвих код црвених.

За 18 април наредио сам Кондору:да из бригаде Коларевића оформује одред и да у току ноћи нападне са 120 људи правцем Клеково-Пресјека-Кушића,а Марковићу да са одредом од 60 људи са Округлице нападне Катиће.Оба одреда ово ће извршити у циљу насилног извиђања и прикупљања података.На простору који заузму имаће остати.После овог донећу одлуку за напад ако сам сигуран у успех.Овај напад извешће се у току ноћи 18/19 априла као препад.Прилог прилично заповести.

Толико о операцијама.

По доласку код Марковића и Кондора нашао сам на пуну сагласност у њиховом раду.На братску слогу и међусобну тесну везу.

По оријентисању на Округлици и састанку са оба команданта прикључио сам се Кондору због станице.

Мој долазак примили су и схватили како треба и неће имати никакве тешкоће у обједињавању.На против обојица су задовољни што си ме упутио,те да се и лично уверим о свима њиховим напорима у борби за савлађивање црвених.

Само би требало ојачати Марковића јер исти је морао одвојити снаге за чување и затварање прелаза на Моравици код Дивљане и оставити један део снага да затвара Мирославце те да се из Драгачева овде не пробију црвени.па је тај део мртав за активно дејство око Кучња.

Добро би било да Ненка пребацим у Крушчицу па да ми по предузетом насилном извиђању употребим и њега и нападнем са јачом снагом да одбацим црвене, који се овде налазе око Кушића у неугодној ситуацији.

Тако исто молим те да ме свакодневно телеграфски обавештаваш о стању на Чачку,Горњи и у Ваљеву колико ти имаш података.

Ја се пак старам да те преко станице свакодневно извештавам о свему што је овде.Да ли ти на време добијаш телеграфске извештаје?

Ако имаш да ми даш нових инструкција ти ми пошаљи.

Прими моје срдачне поздраве,воле те твој

18-Августа 1944 г
у 12 часова.

Letter of »Dr. Šk e« (of Lieutenant Ješa Simić), Gestapo agent and Mihailović's commander, to »the Chief Doctor« (to Draža Mihailović) concerning the disposition of German and satellite forces.

by whose vehicles in the course of the operations against the Second Proletarian and the Fifth Division of the Army of National Liberation.

Defendant: I know they were transported by the cars Nikola Kalabić had.

President: I remind you of Ješa Simić's message informing you that »the Germans last night transported Zvonko's troops to Bela Reka«.

Defendant: I would not have believed such a report, even had I received it.

President: You were shown a message stating that Vučković, after his meeting with Krüger, received 5.000 rounds from the Germans. Why would you not have believed it? If Zvonko Vučković received ammunition from the Germans for the struggle against the Army of National Liberation why shouldn't he use their lorries?

Defendant: He would not have done so.

President: Do you think it a fault of less importance to receive ammunition and fight than to be transported by their lorries?

Defendant: I think he never used them. As a matter of fact I did not direct these operations. I was only partly informed, but I believed that the transportation was carried out by cars driven by civilians.

Prosecutor: So you did not direct these operations?

Defendant: I had much work to do because propaganda was very important for me.

President: Who supplied your units with food?

Defendant: Nobody. At that time we had complete control of the terrain and we used to buy food. We had our stores, and supplied ourselves from them.

President: Was there sufficient food in that region?

Defendant: Each corps brought food from its own terrain.

President: I want to remind you of Cvetić's message. Was he one of your commanders called Bibi or Vivi? He reported to you »The Germans give us food and ammuntion«. Did Cvetić inform you of that or not?

Defendant: I was not informed in detail. This is the first time I have seen this message. I cannot remember whether he informed me or not. I was not at the Headquarters.

President: Where were the Četniks, who were wounded in battle, looked after?

Defendant: In Serbia we had many hospitals.

President: Were they treated at Užice and other towns?

Defendant: Some of them went where they liked.

President: Were the Četniks, who were wounded in the battles against the Second and the Fifth division of the Army of National Liberation, taken to the towns held by the Germans and Bulgarians?

Defendant: I know only of certain cases.

President: Were they treated there?

Defendant: They were.

President: Were they illtreated or killed by the Germans?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Did the Četniks go to the towns?

Defendant: Yes they did.

President: Did the Germans illtreat them there?

Defendant: After propaganda had been carried out against me, the Germans tried by all means to take advantage of this. They thought I would join them.

President: Which of your commanders participated in the operations against the Second and the Fifth division?

Defendant: Kalabić, Raković, Miloš Marković, Zvonko Vučković, Tufegdžić...

President: Who directed the operations?

Defendant: Mirko Lalatović. He was the chief of my Operative Section and directed the whole staff.

President: Did Mirko Lalatović inform you about the course of the operations?

Defendant: He did, only he could not inform me about events in the whole country. He had to pay attention to 60 other stations which I had throughout the country. He could only inform me superficially.

President: Did you direct these operations, as well as Lalatović?

Defendant: I cannot say either yes or no.

President: Or through Lalatović?

Defendant: Perhaps I did through Lalatović, but only as far as my work allowed me to.

President: So, you admit the possibility that you directed these operations against the Second and Fifth division through Lalatović?

Defendant: Yes I did, as far as I had the data. It is possible.

MEETINGS WITH THE INVADER, WITH AĆIMOVIĆ, LJOTIĆ, ILIJA MIHAILOVIĆ

President: What do you know about the meeting between General Trifunović, known as »Dronja«, commander of Serbia, and the German Starker at Vranići?

Defendant: I have to correct a mistake I made accidentally at the examination. As shown by the indictment I said that General Trifunović was not at Vranić. I thought it was Vranić, not far from Belgrade. But as this was Vranići in the Ljubić District, it is true that the meeting took place.

President: Tell us all you know about this meeting.

Defendant: I received a report that a German, a representative of the Austrians who wanted to separate from Germany, wished to meet my representative. I ordered General Trifunović to meet him. Živko Topalović is mentioned here, too. It's probable that he was also present, but I do not know for sure. When General Trifunović came, he told me that he left when he saw that quite a different question was to be discussed.

President: Can you remember whether Milan Aćimović was also present at the meeting between Trifunović and Starker?

Defendant: He was.

President: Can you remember when this meeting took place?

Defendant: It was after the Ba congress. And perhaps what is written here is correct. I must add that I made an incorrect statement about this.

President: We noticed that you got mixed up. Did you order General Trifunović to go to the meeting?

Defendant: I did.

President: What was General Trifunović in your organization?

Defendant: He was commander of Serbia.

President: What was the subject of the talks?

Defendant: What I said. The talks were interrupted when Trifunović realized that he had been called for other reasons than those for which he had come.

President: According to Trifunović's report was there any talk of German-Četnik collaboration in the fighting?

Defendant: I know only what Trifunović reported. That he had broken up the meeting.

President: Was it not a short time after this that the operations against the Second Proletarian and Fifth division of the Army of National Liberation began?

Defendant: There is no connection.

President: Don't you see that this was a joint operation against the Second and Fifth divisions? Was there another meeting between Trifunović, Živko Topalović and Raković on the one hand, and Starker and Aćimović on the other?

Defendant: I see from the indictment that there was another meeting with Starker at Trbušani. I did not know anything about that meeting.

President: Can you remember it?

Defendant: I don't remember it.

President: You spoke about that meeting at the examination...

Defendant: It was the Vranići meeting. I said that I didn't know about the Vranići meeting, thinking that it was Vranić in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. I know that he was not then in the Belgrade area, nor on Avala.

President: You got mixed up about Vranić.

Defendant: Yes, I got confused about the village of Vranić.

President: It was clearly put on record that you said it referred just to this meeting... *(Reads from the Minutes)* »The meeting at Miokovci near Čačak, at which General Trifunović, Živko Topalović, Aćimović and the Germans were present«... And you said you remembered the meeting at Trbušani, at Easter, and you added: »I think that was the meeting held at Miokovci...« Where is Miokovci?

Defendant: Near Čačak.

President: How far from Vranjići?

Defendant: I do not know. I only know I heard of it during the examination. I did not remember it, otherwise I would have said so.

President: Is it true that a meeting took place between Trifunović, Aćimović, Topalović and Starker, towards the end of April, at Trbušani?

Defendant: I do not think so. Maybe, but I don't know anything about it.

President: Perhaps it happened without your order?

Defendant: I cannot remember.

President: What do you know about the meeting between Trifunović, Dimitrije Ljotić and Ilija Mihailović?

Defendant: Perhaps it took place, I had no idea of it until I read it in the indictment, only I know that Ljotić was to be killed.

President: At this meeting?

Defendant: No, he was asked by Kondor to attend it under the pretext of bringing him to me.

И З Ј А В А

Ми доле потписани Устаички војници изјављујемо под својим потписом да су Четници Црногорских и ваших крајева са нама лепо поступали, да нисмо малтретирани и батинани, да нам није нигда од њих е приватне своје ствари и да смо по својој вољи путовали и имали слободу у Фочу.

Потписујемо:

Медић Ђуро из Врањца среза Фојница
Ђуро Медић.
Марић Вуле из Земље
Марић Вуле
Кулаја Иван из Просјека среза Прозор
Кулаја Иван.
Вашић Марко из Кочерина среза Мостар
Вашић Марко
Мујић Галиб из Вир града
Мујић Галиб
Вашић Вуко из Бистрана среза Високо
Вашић Вуко
Перо Маргита из Клипчина среза Мостар
Перо Маргита
Матијевић Јозо из Лобања среза Мостар
Матијевић Јозо
Маслов Иван из Дубровника
Маслов Иван
Брнос Мато из Сарајева
Мато Брнос
Княжевић Фрањо из Фојнице
Княжевић Фрањо
Дуретић Никола из Дубровника
Никола Дуретић
Чубрић Вид из Горњег Града
Чубрић Вид

Declaration of Ustaša soldiers that Četniks treated them well.

President: When you were interrogated you spoke of this meeting held in May 1944 between Trifunović, Ljotić and Mihailović?

Defendant: Maybe.

THE ČETNIKS REPORT DURING THE ATTACK ON DRVAR IN THE SEVENTH OFFENSIVE: "WE ENTIRELY OCCUPIED THE GRAHOVO AND LIVAN VALLEYS THROUGH WHICH THE GERMAN MOTORISED COLUMNS ARE PASSING"

President: Did you know that during the Seventh German Offensive the Četnik units collaborated with the Germans in Bosnia against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I have seen that from the indictment. I only know that Vranješević maintained only very weak contact. He did not want to maintain the contact.

President: With whom? With the Germans?

Defendant: No, but radio connection, because he wanted to be independent as far as possible. His radio-telegraphist told me that he did not want his accumulator to be refilled.

President: Do you consider that the Seventh Offensive against the Army of National Liberation was only a trifle, not worth remembering? What moment, what especially significant moment, was the Seventh Offensive connected with?

Defendant: I think the fall of Banja Luka was during the Seventh Offensive.

President: And what do you think about the descent on Drvar?

Defendant: I do not know about it.

Prosecutor: You sent news to the commanders that Marshal Tito was killed.

President: That was important for the descent on Drvar.

Defendant: I thought it was important for the descent by the Allies.

Prosecutor: Well, yes, your Allies: Germans and Italians.

President: No, we are speaking of the Seventh Offensive. Do you know anything about the participation of the Četnik units in the Seventh German Offensive?

Defendant: No. As far as Drvar is concerned I don't know that they participated.

President: And do you know about the operations on Drvar?

Defendant: It was largely featured in the press and it interested me.

President: Who was keeping connections with Baćović in spring 1944, April, May, June, July?

Defendant: In January 1944, Baćović went to Italy with Bailey.

President: And who remained in the Staff instead of him?

Defendant: His Chief of Staff. For the moment I cannot remember his name.

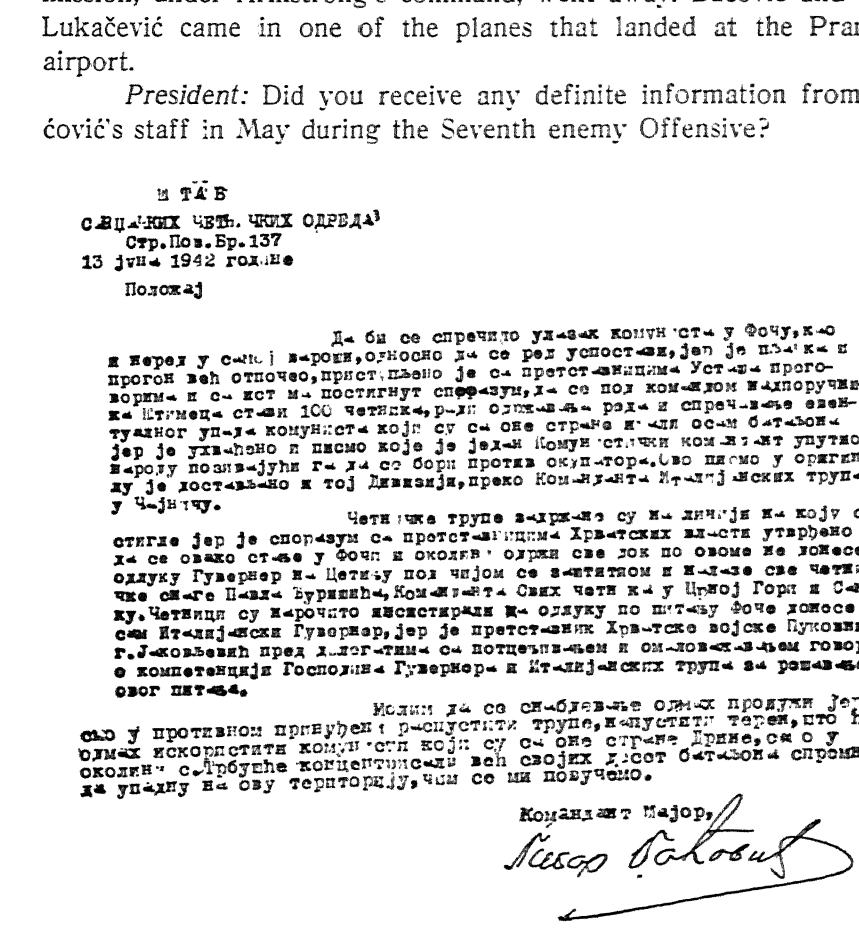
President: Salatić?

Defendant: Yes, Salatić.

President: And when did Baćović return from abroad?

Defendant: He came back just at the time when the Englisn mission, under Armstrong's command, went away. Baćović and Voja Lukačević came in one of the planes that landed at the Pranjani airport.

President: Did you receive any definite information from Baćović's staff in May during the Seventh enemy Offensive?



ш Т Ā Б

СЊЦ-КИХ ЧЕТН. ЧКИХ ОДРЕДА)
Стр.Пов.Бр.137
13 јун- 1942 годи-е

Полож-ј

Д- би се спречило ул-з-к комун'ст- у Фочу, к-о
и нерел у с-ко ј в-роми, односно д- се ред успостав-, јер је пр-'к- и
прогон већ отпочео, приступљено је с- претстављицима Уст-ш- прого-
ворим- и с- ист м- постигнут спф-зум, д- се под ком-ндом н-дпоручни-
к- Штмец- ст-ви 100 четник-, р-ди одм-ћ-ња ред- и спреч-ва-ње евен-
туалног уп-д- комуниста који су с- оне стр-не и-ли осм б-т-љон-
јер је ухв-ћено и писмо које је један Комун'стички ком-нд-нт упутио
н-роду позив-јући г- д- се бори против окупат-тор-. Ово писмо у ориги-и
ну је дост-вљено и тој Дивизији, преко Ком-нду-нт- Ит-лијанских труп-
у Ч-јничу.

Четн-ичке трупе в-рх-ње су м- линији м- коју су
стигле јер је спор-зум с- претст-вницим- Хрв-тских вл-сти утврђено
д- се овако ст-ње у Фочи и околи' одржи све док по овоме не донесе
одлуку Гувернер м- Цетињу под чијом се в-ритетом и н-лазе све четни-
чке сн-ге Пав-ћ Буришић, Ком-нд-нт- Свих чети к- у Црној Гори и С-нџ-
ку. Четници су м-рочито инсистирали м- одлуку по питању Фоче донесе
сам Ит-лијански Гувернер, јер је претст-вник Хрв-тске војске Пуковник
г. Ј-ковљевић пред д-лег-тим- с- потцртив-њем и ом-ловж-вањем говорио
о компетенцији Господин- Гувернер- и Ит-лијанских труп- за реш-ва-ње
овог пит-ња.

Молим д- се сн-бдев-ње оли-ом продужи јер
сво у противном принуђен- р-спустити трупе, н-пустити терен, што he
ови-ом искористити комун'сти који су с- оне стр-не Дрине, сак о у
околи' с-рбуће концентрисати већ својих д-сет б-т-љон- спремних
д- упадну н- ову територију, чим се ми повучемо.

Командант Мајор,

Report of the Četnik commander, Petar Baćović, which shows that in 1941 he approved of the agreement between Četniks and Ustašas in Foča.

Defendant: Certainly. I think so. Information was sent...

President: In your staff telegram book it is registered as No. 6898 from "Nar-Nar"... Who was Nar-Nar?

Defendant: »Nar-Nar« was, I think, Salatić.

President: His telegram No. 914 of May 25, 1944 reads: "Offensive against Tito's Republic is being continued successfully. The Germans launched it suddenly. We had planned it according to informa-

tion we received. We crossed the Dinara Mountains before them and marched into the Republic. Our main forces are attacking from Grahovo towards Čičevo, Štakor and Staretina. We have entirely occupied the Grahovo and Livanj Valleys, through which the German autocolumns are passing."

Defendant: I do not remember the report. I suppose it was so. They wanted to take advantage of the situation and to win the terrain.

President: Now then, accused Mihailović, how do you explain that in the Seventh Offensive, when, with the object of annihilation, from five, six or seven directions, a concentrated attack combined with an air attack was made on Drvar — seat of the headquarters of the Army of National Liberation and of the foreign missions, i. e. American, English and Soviet — the Četniks took advantage of this offensive to gain terrain. What do you think of such an act?

Defendant: This is a matter which is not clear to me. If they participated with the Germans, it would be a very wrong act. I think that by the date of the telegram it may be seen that it happened later, perhaps when the operations were finished.

President: But this telegram is dated May 29. I shall read it again to you. The attack on Drvar was made on May 25, and this is the 29th.

Defendant: It is a matter of days. If I am to give a definite answer, I must know the position of the enemy, the position of both of them, I think that it had to do with the winning of terrain, and that it happened after the German offensive.

President: No. The struggles were still going on just here at Čičevo.

Defendant: I do not know the details of this struggle.

President: (Reads the beginning of the telegram again).

Defendant: I consider that it was a question of winning the terrain and if so, there was no real fighting between the Četniks and the Partisans.

President: I asked you what you call such an act of common action with the Germans.

Defendant: I would condemn such an act and I would call it a bad act.

President: And would it be collaboration with the enemy?

Defendant: It would be collaboration.

Prosecutor: And treason to the country? *(The accused does not answer)* You don't answer this question?

SECRET MEETING OF THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ WITH THE QUISLING MILAN NEDIĆ AT WHICH THE SUPPLYING OF THE ČETNIK UNITS WAS ARRANGED

President: What were your connections with Nedić through the mediation of Milan Aćimović in the course of the summer of 1944? I do not mean actually your personal connections, but the connections of your organization with the organization of Milan Nedić?

Defendant: The organization in Belgrade killed Masalović, Nedić's secretary, who was our bitter enemy and committed great evil, persecuting everybody he could. He threatened us by saylng everything he knew about us. At that time General Damjanović came from a prisoners' camp and informed me of this through the Belgrade organization. He also informed me at the same time that he had been offerred the post of Nedić's secretary. In my answer I told him to accept this post; he did so, and from that time onwards I knew everything that was being done in Nedić's cabinet.

President: I mean the materïal connection between your organization and Nedić's.

Defendant: I had no material connection with him. I "undermined" the State Guard and attracted their rank and file to my side.

President: Was your commander Predrag Raković in Belgrade at that time, in the middle of summer 1944?

Defendant: Yes, he was.

President: Was he with Milan Aćimović?

Defendant: I don't know whom he visited in Belgrade, I do not know such details.

President: Did he go to Nedić?

Defendant: I know he went to Damjanović.

President: Did Damjanović send you arms and ammunition?

Defendant: He sent me everything he could get.

President: What was Damnjanović?

Defendant: Damnjanović was Nedić's secretary.

President: Had you a meeting with Damnjanović, or with Nedić?

Defendant: There was a meeting with Nedić of which I must give my own version.

President: This is later. Was there an understanding between you, Damnjanović and Nedić?

Defendant: There was a purely secret understanding between myself and Damnjanović.

President: Was Nedić informed of this?

Defendant: I do not believe he was.

President: Through whom was this contact established? And what part did Aćimović actually play?

Defendant: I was rather indefinite about this at my examination. I was indefinite, because this meeting came upon me unexpectedly. I did not want it at all. It took place one afternoon, when I decided to come to the meeting to see what they wanted. At that time I was in the village of Skakavci, and the meeting took place in the evening. I repeat I didn't want it. I really don't know what induced me to go.

President: Why did you want to attend this meeting?

Defendant: I wanted to make it as easy as possible for Damnjanović. To satisfy that fool. I said, I want to appease this fool.

Counsef for the Defence (Joksimović): What fool?

Defendant: Nedić.

President: Who attended this meeting?

Defendant: Luka Baletić, Mirko Lalatović, and Kalabić, Račić, Damnjanović and Nedić, are also mentioned here.

President: Did Dragi Jovanović attend it?

Defendant: I do not remember his being there. If he had been there, I would have recognized him when I was confronted with him during the examination.

President: What happened during the negotiations. What had to be decided at this meeting between you and Nedić?

Defendant: Nothing or, shall I say, everything. I needn't have ever said a word to Nedić. I had everything in my hands. I took everything I wanted from various places. I had already taken one billion and a hundred million dinars from the National Bank.

President: What, then, was your definite aim at this meeting?

Defendant: Nothing. My desire was, as I said before, to appease the fool and to make the work of Damnjanović easier in every possible way, and to get everything I could.

President: And what were the results?

Defendant: None. Those who arranged the meeting blabbered something. And this meeting was brought about by Račić, who exercized pressure on me. Well, I don't know whether Račić was really the man who exercized pressure on me, or whether it was somebody else through Račić. I only know that I finally decided to go to the meeting, but I considered that I had made a mistake.

President: Did you reach an agrement that he should not disturb you nor you him?

Defendant: I told him not to hamper me. But we didn't trust each other.

President: What precisely was his promise?

Defendant: He very often denounced the Intelligence Service and persecution often ensued. One could see from the quisling press that the persecution was very great and that he hampered me in this way. Perhaps, he wanted to hamper Damnjanović in his work.

President: Did Nedić promise anything? Did he promise any help?

Defendant: I did not need anything. He only said that he would give me money so that I should not take any more from the National Bank. But I had already finished with the National Bank.

President: Did he undertake to give to your units the same that the "Serbian State Guard" and "Serbian Frontier Guard" were receiving?

Defendant: It may have been so. I was only careful not to give him anything. My conversation with him had to be empty, because I thought I should not say anything definite to him.

President: And what did you decide that he should give you?

Defendant: Nothing. He offered money for the salary of my officers and I told him that my officers had no salary.

President: And equipment and clothing?

Defendant: He gave what his guard was receiving.

President: What do you mean?

Defendant: Our method was to send people into Ljotić's and Nedić's detachments to enlist voluntarily.

President: Now, please, you said at the inquiry that Nedić stated your units should receive everything the Serbian State Guards and the Serbian Frontier Guards were receiving, that he would supply your organization?

Defendant: It all comes to the same. I agree with the record. It is a question of the way I expressed myself. When I thought it over, when I saw the indictment, and my health had improved...

President: Still, let us make it clear. Did Nedić undertake to supply your organization?

Defendant: To supply it. I believe that everything he said at his examination was invented.

President: Accused Mihailović, answer the questions directly. You like to deviate from the matter in hand. Did General Milan Nedić at the meeting held in August 1944, undertake to supply your organization with clothing, footwear, arms and everything necessary?

Defendant: I cannot remember the details.

President: Is this statement of yours, which you gave, correct? (He reads that footwear, etc. were promised).

Господине Министре 3/2/1943

Пре пар недеља, разговарали
смо о акцији у Грчкој и вези са Пуковником
Зервас-ом. Том приликом сам обавестио
оног колегу у Грчкој, да је одговор, који је Грчки
Пуковник Ваша ујутро после Вашег повратка
нашег госпе, негде залутао, ми нисте још
ни добио. Сада сам добио из оног колеге
поруку од Пуковника Зерваса који каже

Молим Вас да будете добри да предате
Господину Генералу Михајловићу братске
поздраве у име моје и Слободне Грчке владе
и Грчког Краљевог Двора. Желим што скорије
добити своје ране учвршћивања планова за
заједничку акцију уз сарадњу Енглеза

Моји су ми послали и нека предлоге за
извођење рада, односно између Ваших,
Грчких и наших представника. О свим
горњим подробније ћу разговарати садашњем
Вашем шефу. За сада сам хтео да Вам одмах
изручим поруку

Предао Господина Московљина примио сам,
а већ у чему потврдан Коријк код, оборио

Извољите, Господине Министре, примити
израз моје особите почитовања Вашег Господина

Facsimile of letter from Colonel Bailey, chief of the British Mission with the Četniks, in which he communicates to Mihailović a message from Zervas, traitor of the Greek people.

Defendant: That is right. That was because we later transferred men to the Frontier Guard, and later they came out of it.

President: Since no conclusions whatsoever were reached at that meeting, since it consisted of a barren conversation, what did you need this meeting for?

Defendant: It was quite unnecessary. I believe that it happened because I was bored at being pressed to do so, otherwise, there was no reason. I had no reason, because I knew everything that Nedić was doing. Damnjanović informed me of everything. He was there and informed me and I knew everything.

President: Who was appointed, at the meeting, as the agent to receive these promised supplies?

Defendant: Raković was in contact with Damnjanović, and he spoke to Damnjanović as soon as he became Nedić's secretary.

President: Did Raković go to Belgrade and did he stay there?

Defendant: Yes, he did.

President: Was he under your command?

Defendant: Yes, he was.

President: From whom did Raković receive instructions after his arrival in Belgrade?

Defendant: I do not know whether he used to come to me. He had instructions for keeping contact with Damnjanović.

President: Who gave him these instructions?

Defendant: I gave them to him.

President: Was this connected with Raković's stay in Belgrade?

Defendant: He was not to stay in Belgrade, but to find access into Belgrade.

President: How?

Defendant: Secretly.

President: Did Raković live in Belgrade secretly?

Defendant: How do you mean?

President: How was it that he went to Belgrade without taking off his Četnik insignia?

Defendant: It is by no means rare among the Serbs, that everybody carries out his own policy.

President: Did Raković report on his results?

Defendant: Probably.

President: Was any material help received?

Defendant: We introduced our soldiers into Nedić's detachments and thus got some help.

President: How was this help delivered? In what way?

Defendant: We introduced our men into Nedić's units and so we obtained arms. We sent our men into their units and then took from them the arms they got in those units.

President: And did you get it in any other way?

Defendant: I do not know.

President: I ask you this. It is on record that you said to the examining magistrate: "There was a lot of material but I cannot say in what quantities"; and later you said "it was transported in trucks."

Defendant: It might have been in trucks. We transported 30 carloads of wheat by train to Bosnia, from the Central Wheat Office. This was sabotage.

Prosecutor: For Bosnia, you say?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Was it after the arrival of Todor Perović to Nedić in Belgrade?

Defendant: I did not work with Perović, but with Tomo Maksimović.

Prosecutor: All right. We shall confront you with him.

President: Did Nedić, at the meeting of which we spoke, about August 20, 1944, undertake to arrange to supply you through the Germans with considerable quantities of arms and ammunition?

Defendant: No such thing. I neither wanted him nor asked him to undertake any such obligations. I only wanted him not to disturb me.

President: Can you remember? This is a very important point.

Defendant: I know it is important, but there is no need for me to remember.

President: Shall I remind you of what you said at the inquiry? The examining magistrate asked you: "Did Nedić tell you, or better, undertake, that he would succeed in supplying you, through the Germans, with considerable quantities of arms and ammunition? Your answer was: "Yes".

Defendant: It happens that at certain moments when I feel tired I say "yes".

President: Are you tired now?

Defendant: No.

President: If you are tired we can have an interval.

Defendant: No, I am not.

Prosecutor: Was that statement forced from you?

Defendant: No, not a single one of my statements was forced from me. I have said so already.

Prosecutor: Does the accused remember, if he was tired at the moment referred?

Defendant: It is all the same to me. I can say — yes — now. I say as I think, as I remember.

President: No. If you feel tired, we can have an interval.

Defendant: I don't want to delay your work.

Prosecutor: Let us have an interval.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): It has not been made clear: Did Nedić offer, promise, or undertake to help?

Defendant: In my opinion, there is no need for me to answer this question of the Counsel. I ask the President kindly to allow me to say just a few words. Nedić and I were bitter enemies. As a colonel I was twice given 30 days jail. Personally, I considered him absolutely senile.

President: Ten minutes interval.

AFTER THE MEETING WITH NEDIĆ 10.000 GERMAN RIFLES WERE DELIVERED TO MIHAILOVIĆ

President: Let us continue about your meeting with Milan Nedić in August 1944. Did Nedić promise you or undertake that he would succeed in supplying you, through the Germans, with greater quantities of arms?

Defendant: No.

President: I remind you that you answered "yes" to this question at the investigation. Explain this contradiction to the Court.

Defendant: I did not ask to be supplied by the Germans.

President: And did he promise you?

Defendant: I did not ask.

President: Did he promise you? The Court asks you whether Nedić promised or undertook this.

Defendant: I said I did not want anything from them...

President: Were you willing to receive supplies from the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: Always. That is why I took from them all the time.

President: Who supplied the Serbian State Guards with footwear and clothing?

Defendant: The Germans supplied everything.

President: Well, then, what is the difference?

Defendant: There is a difference. Because I took the arms from those whom we organized.

President: Is it true that the Serbian State Guards and the Serbian Frontier Guards were at that time supplied by the Germans with food, clothing, footwear, arms and ammunition?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Were the arms of German origin?

Defendant: There were Yugoslav, Dutch and other arms.

President: Did they come from the hands of the Germans?

Defendant: Yes, they did.

President: How does it appear to you?

Defendant: It appears to me as a trick, in war trickery is allowed, and everything is allowed.

President: Well, you said, as you expressed it, that you "undermined" the Guards, and that you could take anything.

Defendant: Yes, we could.

President: Then, why was contact with Nedić necessary at all?

Defendant: It was absolutely unnecessary.

President: What do you think about this act?

Defendant: It was a very bad act, which could only do me harm.

President: Was the financial help which Nedić was to give you, discussed at the meeting between Nedić and yourself?

Defendant: He said that we should not attack the National Bank any more. He offered to pay my officers.

President: Did he offer or promise?

Defendant: He offered, and I laughed. We had taken a billion and a hundred million dinars earlier.

President: Did he offer a monthly contribution of one hundred million?

Defendant: I didn't take seriously what he said. I did not need money, I only answered that I didn't pay salaries to my officers.

President: And why did you ask money from the emigrant government in the course of 1942, 1943?

Defendant: I asked for it, for other things, not for salaries. With me no officers received salaries. There were the families of the officers and soldiers, whom we suplied and helped with money.

President: After the conversation, did you receive a certain quantity of arms from the Germans through Nedić?

Defendant: I received everything I was getting from Belgrade through Raković, who really worked by my order with Damnjanović.

President: Was it from the German stores?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: How many rifles did you receive?

Defendant: I do not know.

President: Large quantities? Approximately.

Defendant: I do not know.

President: Was it 2, 20, 30?

Defendant: No, I do not know exactly.

President: You received some.

Defendant: Some were received.

President: You see, you received 10.000 rifles.

Defendant: Perhaps, I do not know the number.

President: Do you think it possible?

Defendant: No, I do not know the figures.

President: Perhaps, 7, 11 or 15.000?

Defendant: Maybe 10.000.

President: How did you arrange to get these 10.000 rifles from Belgrade?

Defendant: They may have been carried from Belgrade in trucks which were for the transport of armaments to the Serbian State Guards.

President: How many troops had the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: I think 20.000 altogether.

President: This means that you shared the rifles equally.

Defendant: No, they probably made the excuse that Damnjanović had to add 10.000 men to the ranks of the guards.

President: How did Raković send the arms from Belgrade, and by what means of transport?

Defendant: He could have done so by supplying the Guards, he could have sent them by any means of transport.

DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ AGREES THAT THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION HE RECEIVED FROM NEDIĆ WOULD NOT BE USED AGAINST THE GERMANS.

President: (Reads the statement of Milan Nedić, given at his examination, about the meeting with the accused Draža Mihailović, concerning the supplying of the Četniks with arms, ammunition, food, etc.) I must show you what Milan Nedić says about this meeting: »Draža asked me to explain the general situation to him, and the trend of future events, and I told him that the Germans were losing and that they would have to withdraw from our country, and I told him about the danger from the communists who were penetrating from all sides, and that it was therefore necessary to form a Serbian

Front of my units and the Četniks, in order that, thus united, we might quickly and efficiently save Serbdom and Serbia from the communist attack. Draža listened to me and accepted my explanation. He, for his part, said that he had good contact with London and

'ВАШЕ ВЕЛИЧАНСТВО,

Са искреним задовољством сазнао сам из Вашег телеграма да су на Вашу веридбу са Њ.Кр.Височанством принцезом Александром пристали Ваша узвишена мати,Њ.В. Краљица Марија,Њ.В.принцеза Аспазија,мајка принцезе Александре,Њ.В.грчки краљ и кум Вашег Величанства,Њ.В.краљ Велике Британије.

Са истим задовољством примио сам к знању да су се претседник владе и министар спољних послова сложили са Вашим кораком с тим да је потребно да причекате са венчањем све док се ситуација у земљи и у изгледу на добар исход рата не промени.Срећан сам да чујем од Вашег Величанства да су изгледи на сигурну и скору победу уједињених народа добри.

Пристанак Њ.Е.господина Черчила,претседника владе Велике Британије,у погледу Вашег корака,а који Вам је у томе био од велике помоћи, као и његово мишљење да Ваша женидба може донети само добра,јер би учврстила споразум и савезништво између Југославије и Грчке,примио сам исто тако к знању као саопштење од великог значаја.

Захвалан сам Вашем Величанству што се,поводомсвоје тако судбоносне одлуке,обратило за моје мишљење зато што сам у непосредном додиру са народом.

Ја,пре свега,молом Ваше Величанствода верује изразима моје искрене радости поводом Ваше веридбе са Њ.Кр.Височанством принцезом Александром,ћерком ~~братног~~ друга Вашег блаженопочившег оца краља Александра I,и да заједно са Њ.Кр.В.принцезом Александром примите моје срдачне честитке.

Што се тиче самог венчања,које из сасвим оправданих разлога и само Ваше Величанство жели да буде скромно и без церемонија,мишљења сам:да оно не би требало да се обави све док народ,који га за сад не очекује,не буде од мене за то припремљен те да би га прихватио како са разумевањем тако и са одушевљењем.Ово припремање намеран сам да ~~при~~ преко својих команданата,који ће имати задатак да народ увере о користности корака који Ваше Величанство предузима и за његово добро.За ово ми је потребно одобрење Вашег Величанства,после чега ћу ~~б~~ дати потребна упутства за целу територију.

Захваљујући у име наших хероја и своје лично на поздравима које сте нам упутили,молим Ваше Величанство да верује да ћемо ми нашу свету заставу по планинама Југославије носити све до крајње и потпуне победе.

Да живи Њ.Кр.Височанство принцеза Александра!
Да живи Ваше Величанство!

Генерал.

Mihailović expresses his joy at the engagement of the former King Peter with a Greek princess.

the English, and that he was receiving first-hand reports on the situation. Further, he said that the English would land on the Adriatic Coast, that he would establish contact with them, and that they would come into our country in order to keep peace and order. To the question of the examining magistrate as to what Draža Mihailović had

asked of him and what agreement was concluded, he replied: "arms, ammunition, money, clothing, footwear and food". We agreed to arrange for arms and ammunition through the Germans, since Raković was also going to work on this, and Draža said that Raković was working in Belgrade and that he would inform him if the Germans would give arms and ammunition. I do not remember now, how large the quantities of ammunition were. I know that there were large quantities of rifles, rifle and machine gun rounds, machine guns, mortars and grenades. Draža gave me a list. Regarding money, it was decided that my government should pay the non commissioned officers and officers of Draža Mihailović salaries amounting to a hundred million dinars monthly. Further, we agreed that all the armed formations of the government *(Nedić's government: "The Government of National Salvation")* should place themselves under the command of Draža Mihailović, for the sake of coordination in the struggle against the communists. Draža Mihailović, for his part, undertook not to use the arms and ammunition, he was to receive, against the Germans«. To the question of the examining magistrate: »Which parts of the agreement concluded between you and Mihailović were carried out and to what extent?« — he answered: »The agreement was only partially carried out. A hundred million dinars, footwear, clothing for 10.000 soldiers, and certain quantities of food from the stores of the Serbian State Guards were handed over. Regarding the arms and ammunition, I applied to Neubacher and handed him the list I received from Draža. Neubacher remarked that it was excessive. Colonel Boško Pavlović, who worked in the presidium of the government, went with Raković and took the arms and ammunition. What quantities of arms and ammunition the Germans gave, I do not know. I only know that Raković was not satisfied with the quantities received. I think that the Germans gave only 10.000 rifles.« What do you say to this statement, given by Nedić at his investigation, accused Mihailović?

Defendant: Impossible.

CAPTAIN RAKOVIĆ, DELEGATE OF THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ, WITH MILAN NEDIĆ

President: Well, I shall show you also the deposition of Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, who gave the Court an entirely independent, entirely separate statement on the same matter. Regarding this meeting he said the following:

»How did the negotiations between Nedić and Draža Mihailović develop? Draža turned to Nedić and said to him: »If you please?«

At this Nedić spoke shortly as follows: »Very serious times have come. The communists are again beginning to exert pressure on all sides. The Germans have no forces to resist them. Our national forces are regularly giving unsatisfactory results. I have come to propose that we unite efficiently and save Serbdom and Serbia from the Red Scourge«. Draža Mihailović gave a short answer to this: »I completely agree with you, the most important factor, however, is absent. This is arms, arms, ammunition, ammunition. This is most important for us now. I have man-power, but I lack what I have just mentioned and clothing as well. What can you offer me? I, for my part, can say, that 50.000 rifles would not be enough, considering the number of men I have.« One of the officers present added: »Even more.« Then Nedić again began to speak and said: »I came here because I am willing, that is, my government and I are willing to help you«.

To the question of the examining magistrate as to what understanding on this was concluded between Nedić and Draža Mihailović, Jovanović replied: »Nothing was written, nor any agreement formally composed, but Nedić formulated an agreement on five points, which Draža Mihailović accepted. The following were the points of the agreement:

1) The government places immediately at the disposal of General Draža Mihailović, for the salaries of the officers, non commissioned and others, 10,000.000 dinars, on condition that the plundering of State Post Offices and other institutions is discontinued.

2) General Nedić, for his government, undertakes to arrange with the Germans to supply immediately 30.000 rifles, 3,000.000 rifle and machine gun rounds, 500 machine guns and 500 mortars.

3) General Mihailović guarantees to Nedić and Nedić guarantees to the Germans that these arms will in no case be used against the Germans.

4) He, Nedić, and his government, are willing, if the invader will allow it, to place all the armed formations of the government under the command of Draža Mihailović, for the sake of coordinating the action against the communists.

5) The government is willing to place immediately at his disposal an indefinite quantity of uniforms and footwear as far as they can be provided."

"Within what period was this agreement to be put into effect"? — this question was asked by the examining magistrate. Dragomir Jovanović answered as follows: »As far as money is concerned, a hundred million dinars for August should be paid out at once, and on the first of every following month, a hundred million dinars. Concer-

ning arms, at the request of all those present, September 10 was fixed as the final date, on condition that gradual supplyng should begin at once, and that the Germans should be informed that in case they did not deliver the arms by September 10 to the organization of Draža Mihailović, he would leave it to his commanders to provide themselves with arms as best as they could. Nedić answered that he agreed to this and that it would be well for their coordination and contact that one delegate of Draža Mihailović should be appointed, that he should be all the time in Belgrade, receive ammunition, money and the rest, and maintain contact with the government. Draža Mihailović declared that he agreed, and said that the delegate would come on the following day. Captain Raković was appointed as delegate. Nedić stated that after this all the requests of individual commanders were to cease and that only requests coming through the appointed delegate were to be fulfilled, and the distribution of supplies was left to General Mihailović.«

"Was this agreement between Draža Mihailović and Nedić carried out?" Dragomir Jovanović answered this question from the examining magistrate as follows: „I do not know. I know that a 100,000.000 dinars was paid out for August and September. I know that about 5,000 rifles and a small quantity of machine guns were received from the Germans, and handed over to Raković; but how much ammunition, I do not know, or whether there were any mortars. Colonel Boško Pavlović, Acting Secretary of State, was entrusted with receiving arms from the Germans and handing them over to the delegate of Draža Mihailović, Raković. I also know that 20.000 uniforms were bought for 76,000.000 dinars, and that they were sent through Raković."

To the question as to whether the Germans were informed in advance about the meeting at which he and Nedić were present in August 1944, Jovanović said that the Germans were not informed immediately, but that he informed them later.

Prosecutor: Will you please, Comrade President, read the two passages that come after that, because they form a whole with the preceding one.

President (Continues): "To the question of the examining magistrate as to whether the Germans knew about the meeting of Draža Mihailović and Nedić, and the agreement concluded — Jovanović answered:" The Germans did not know about Nedić's departure to the meeting with Draža Mihailović. Later, immediately after Nedić returned from the meeting, the Germans were informed by Nedić both about the meeting and the agreement itself. I know this, because a few days later, when I was with Neubacher and he asked me about

the meeting, I wanted to keep it secret, but he said: »All right, you need not tell me. I heard the detalls from Nedić." The examining magistrate asked: »Was this meeting and the agreement made with the Germans, to be hidden from the people, and did Draža Mihailović and Nedić speak about it?" „Mihailović particularly emphasized it and drew attention to it", answered Jovanović. "He insisted, particularly that the meeting and the conversation should remain absolutely secret."

Prosecutor: Would you be so kind as to read the passage about the arrival of Captain Raković.

President (Reads) »Some time after this meeting, Captain Raković, as delegate of Draža Mihailović, arrived in Belgrade. He was accompaned by an officer in civilian clothes, and another armed Četnik; he himself was in peasant clothes, with a beard, with all the badges and arms. I saw him attired in this way a few days later in the Parliament bulding, with General Damnjanović, and I was introduced to him then." Accused Mihailović, did you hear that?

Defendant: Yes, I did. Nedić attributed too much importance to these conversations and to his explaining to me the general situation, and that the Germans would be defeated.

President: Here, actually the agreement is being discussed.

Defendant: I believe that the only possibility is that Nikola Kalabić, Račić and Raković arranged all these points, that it is possible that such a thing existed, but I believe they acted without my knowledge.

President: The fact is that such a meeting took place. Do you admit the possibility that Kalabić, Račić and Raković arranged it?

Defendant: I do. Račić said that meeting must be held.

President: How is it possible that Nedić's and Jovanović's statements agree so fully?

Defendant: He could not remember such details. Judging by his mentality, he could not remember them.

President: Did you insist upon the meeting being secret?

Defendant: Of course I did. I said: I am going to appease that fool.

Prosecutor: The Defendant says now that he insisted upon the meeting being held, and some time before he said he did not attend it.

President: Accused Mihailović, how long did you live in Belgrade before the war?

Defendant: I was brought up in Belgrade.

President: Had you ever heard about Dragi Jovanović?

Defendant: Yes, I had heard of him.

President: Did you see him before the war?

Defendant: No, never. I knew him only from the Quisling papers.

President: Did you recognize him when he came to the meeting?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: The Court is in the possession of the records of the examinination of Boško Pavlović who, in accordance with this agreement, delivered ammunition to the accused.

Defendant: No, not to me.

Prosecutor: To your delegate.

President: Did your delegate receive the rifles according to the agreement? Were you informed about it?

Defendant: I don't know about the agreement. I know what Damjanović was to deliver to me through his skill and work.

President: And what were the functions of Damnjanović?

Defendant: To follow every step of Nedić, to hinder him and to keep us informed of his activities.

President: What were his functions?

Defendant: He was his secretary, but really he was my agent.

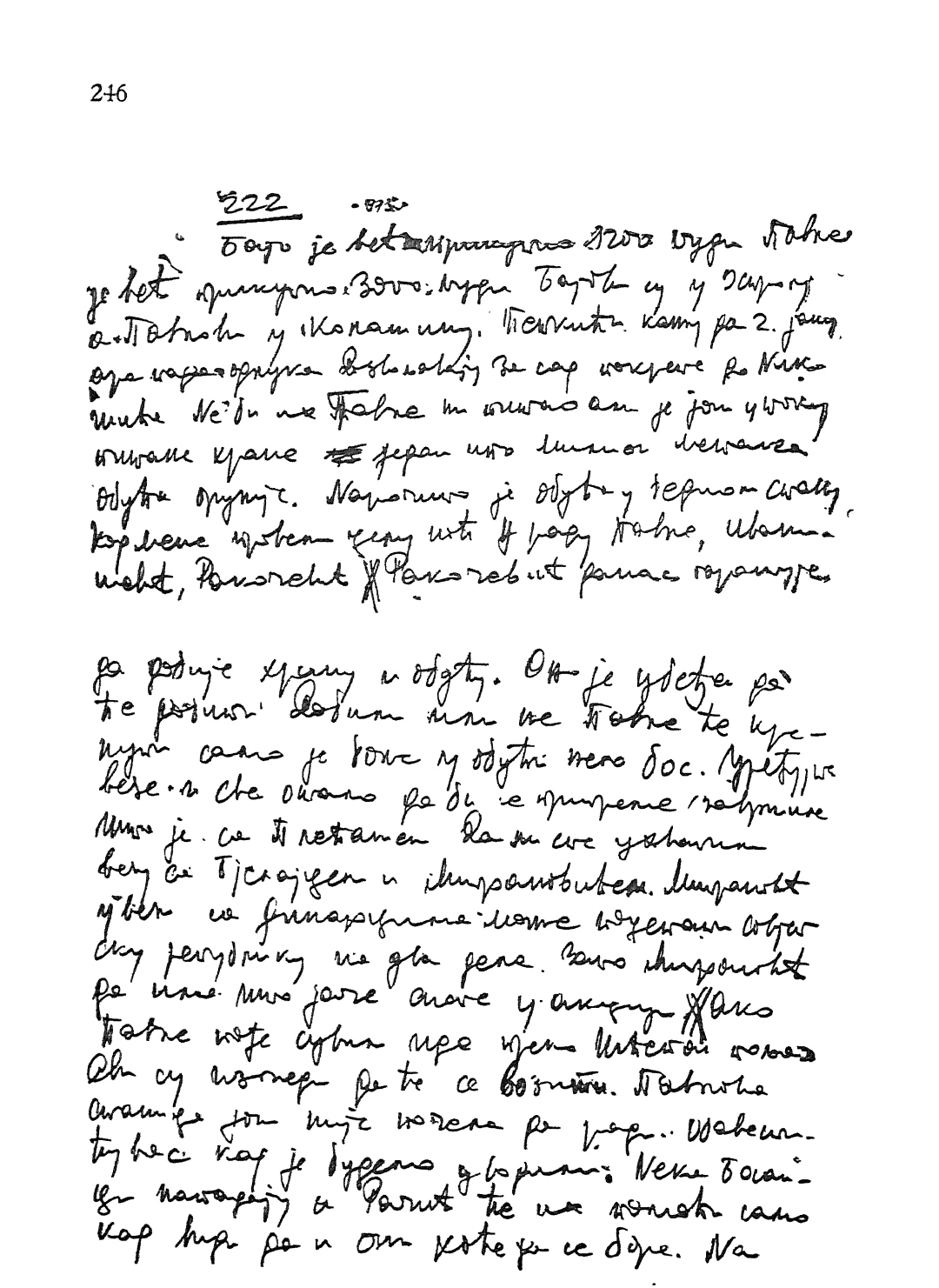
President: Do you think that a secretary can carry out such important matters without the knowledge of his superiors?

Defendant: If he could carry out the mobilization and strengthen Nedić's guards, i. e., introduce our people there, so that we got as much as possible, then he could.

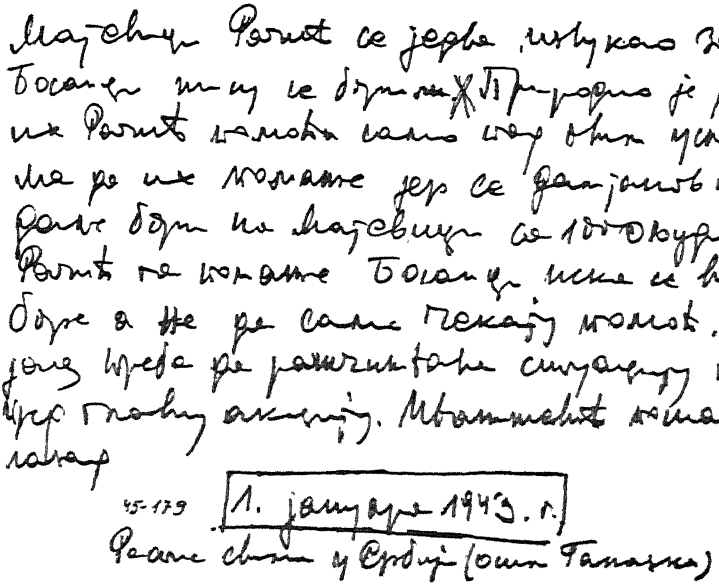
THE FORMATION OF THE FOURTH GROUP OF SHOCK CORPS — RESULT OF EXPERIENCE AFTER THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SECOND AND FIFTH PROLETARIAN SHOCK DIVISIONS

President: What was the Fourth group of Shock Corps, which is spoken about in point 29 of the indictment?

Defendant: After the Second and Fith divisions left Serbia, I held a meeting of my commanders; I do not know exactly where. I think in a village somewhere between Požega and Čačak. Then I saw from the proposals of certain commanders, that I should reorganize the command, to to put it in order, i. e., form the flying brigades which at first had quite a different function, of which we shall speak later, and from these flying brigades to form the shock corps. The first group of corps consisted of the Cer, Ravna Gora, and Zlatibor corps, but I shall not speak about that because it is mentioned exactly here. I think there were four corps, and three are mentioned here.



Facsimile of a telegram from Mihailović, written in his own hand, in which he informs Number 222 (the Advance Section of the Supreme Command) that the »Tetkići« (the Italians) should decide on January 2 about the disposition of the Četnik forces.



End of telegram from the preceding page.

President: Was it the guards?

Defendant: Those were two corps. This is quite a different matter. I realized that I could not do anything with a stationary territorial army, and that I needed a mobile army.

President: You had flying brigades?

Defendant: Two corps can provide two flying brigades, i. e., one shock corps.

President: What did the fourth group of corps comprise?

Defendant: The shock corps of the guard: the flying brigades were formed into flying corps. The Cer — Mačva, Majevica group, with their flying brigades, belonged to the First, Second, Third and Fourth corps, which were not called guards any more. The corps inside the group of shock corps received new names.

President: I asked you: Which corps entered into the fourth group of the shock corps?

Defendant: The guard, the First and Second Ravna Gora, Zlatibor and Javor corps.

President: Which commanders commanded these corps?

Defendant: The commander of the whole group was Račić and the Chief of Staff, Neško Nedić; it was really a whole army, but I

did not want to use this name. The guard was led by Kalabić. Raković led one shock corps, and Keserović another.

President: And who was the commander of the group?

Defendant: Račić.

President: And Zvonko Vučković?

Defendant: In 1944 he was not here.

President: When was the Fourth Group of the Shock Corps formed?

Defendant: After the Second and Fifth Partisan division left Serbia.

President: Where? At what place?

Defendant: It first went towards the Zlatibor region.

President: Where was the meeting of the commanders held, at which this group was formed?

Defendant: In a village in the area of Požega to the northeast.

President: At Dobrnja?

Defendant: At Srednja Dobrnja.

President: Did the formation of the Fourth Group of the Corps come as the result of the experience gained in the struggle against the Second and Fifth Proletarian shock divisions of the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I think it did. I felt earlier that I could not have 100.000 armed men in the whole country, whom I could not move, who were not mobile enough, but were, on the whole, stationary. In order to avoid this, I was of the opinion that I should take younger and unmarried men and form from them on all territories flying brigades, which would be constantly under arms, and in thinking about it, I later came to the conclusion that, since I had these brigades, I could now form a shock corps, and since I could form a shock corps, I could also form a group of shock corps, and this meant forming an army. I purposely did not want to give it this name.

President: Did it come about as the result of your experience in the strugghe against the Second and Fifth Proletarian divisons?

Defendant: Certainly, and besides, I had to prepare for future events.

President: What was the task of the group of shock corps, put shortly and definitely?

Defendant: The group of the shock corps was to fight, but before this it had to carry out another task, it had to bring the commanders to heel, and discharge those who were detrimental and whom I could not dismiss earlier.

President: Did the fourth group of shock corps begin to carry out its tasks?

Defendant: It could not. At that time the Partisans were attacking Toplica. Keserović was driven into an angle between the West Morava and the Ibar. After this the group of shock corps was ordered to go to help Keserović. I considered that Račić, as the leader, and Neško Nešić, as an officer who had finished High School, would be able to fight, and I sent them there and placed Keserović under their command. This hurt him greatly.

PRESIDENT: "IS THIS TREASON AGAINST THE PEOPLE?" — DEFENDANT MIHAILOVIĆ: »IT IS HARD FOR ME TO SAY SO... YES...«

President: What was their task?

Defendant: Their task was to help Keserović and win back the terrain which Keserović had lost.

President: Who gave them this task?

Defendant: I gave it to them.

President: To purge the terrain?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Which areas?

Defendant: To purge the terrain. It was the area between the Ibar, all of Kopaonik, and Toplica.

President: And Jablanica?

Defendant: Jablanica came in question later.

President: And was Jablanica to be purged, after the purging of the first area was completed?

Defendant: The situation was developing in this direction.

President: Did you issue the order for the actions of the Fourth group of shock corps?

Defendant: I was informed of them. But they engaged in their operations quite freely. The commander of this group, Račić, had complete freedom of action. I gave him directions, so to speak, from time to time, but they often did not follow them.

President: The chief directions for the action?

Defendant: No. They acted on their own. I gave the order that they should meet with the forces of Đurić, coming from the south, when they occupied Toplica.

President: Do you remember at what time in 1944 this operation took place?

Defendant: I cannot remember it exactly.

President: Perhaps April, May, June, July — spring, summer?

Defendant: I cannot remember the time.

President: Was it in summer?

Defendant: Yes, it was in summer. Here it says that it was in July. I think that is right.

President: Were you informed about the intended direction of the advance, and the action by Račić, i. e., the Fourth Group of Corps, during the development of the operations?

Defendant: Probably. I cannot say anything now.

President: You spoke of it a minute ago.

Defendant: I said I was informed of the course of events, and the results.

President: And that you helped them in giving directions.

Defendant: I helped them. I helped them concerning coordination with the other corps, for instance the South Morava group, and I told them to go in this direction and the others to go in that, although they kept in direct contact with each other.

President: Did Keserović and his forces take part in these actions?

Defendant: Yes.

President: With what forces?

Defendant: I do not know the exact number, but he had two corps, the Rasina and the Kopaonik.

President: Apart from the Četnik forces, did Keserović's forces operate with any other forces in the struggle against the Partisans in this operation?

Defendant: I think that in certain directions there were German troops, but very few; and that later, when Račić returned from the terrain, Ljotić's forces and others arrived on the terrain. Račić left the terrain and went back.

Prosecutor: How did it happen then that the Germans mixed with the Četnik forces?

Defendant: I know that precisely. When Ljotić's men arrived, Račić left the terrain and went to Župa. At this moment the Partisan forces crossed the Kosovo. I knew it, and I was already informed by our radio station in the Raška area. I ordered him to go immediately and keep Kopaonik in his hands. He remained at Župa however, and did not carry out my order. He lost a day, and then he suffered very serions losses in the battles, on a foggy day. I am speaking of the Fourth Group of Shock Corps. After this, without any reason, he directed the military situation himself and did not obey me. He went away, but he was in touch with the others, although

I never allowed the commanders to keep in touch with each other. He received direct information about the penetration of the Partisans from the area of Zlatibor and elsewhere, left his terrain, and without my approval, led the whole group. And I considered that he ought to have kept Kopaonik.

President: At that time did some of the Germans go with Račić's group?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Was there a German liaison officer in Račić's headquarters then?

Defendant: I didn't know about it.

President: Did you know that at the time of the attack of the Četnik units of Keserović and Račić against Toplica and Jablanica, the German—Ljotić—Bulgarian punitive expedition really started?

Defendant: No, I had no knowledge of it. Keserović and Račić advanced towards Toplica and, without completing the operation and although they put the Partisans in a very difficult position, they left the terrain before they had completely finished the operation and brought about the complete breakdown of all the Partisan units. Račić returned and took a rest at Župa. I ordered him to go to Kopaonik. He was a day late. So he suffered losses. After this, he left the whole area and without my authorization went in a different direction. All this had no sense.

President: Who held Trstenik?

Defendant: Trstenik was often without a garrison. It is a small town, I do not know who was at Trstenik then. Otherwise the whole line of the Valley of the West Morava was held by me.

President: You see, Račić issued an order, dated August 25, 1944.

Defendant: His own order?

President: Yes. And I think your reply of some moments ago is in contradiction with such an order. Let me show it to you, and you will remember better, especially because you were well informed. It is said in it: "The Staff of the Fourth Group of the Storm Corps O. No 18, August 25, 1944, Velika Drenova." Is that near Kruševac?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: The order goes on: »To the commander of the First Storm Corps . . .« The situation is such and such, and then: »Our troops and the troops of Lieutenant Colonel Keserović, with the support of one German battalion, will attack in the early morning on the 26th the Fifth division, with the object of beating and routing it . . "

Did Račić only partially repel the Partisans and then return to Župa for a rest?

Defendant: He was not at Župa.

President: And how do you explain the participation of this German battalion?

Defendant: We are speaking of Kopaonik in June 1944, and this was August. The operation lasted a month and a half. He first went southeast, returned to Župa, and received an order to go to Kopaonik. He stayed behind and was beaten. Perhaps it took place when he was forced back to Župa.

President: But you see, from that moment he went again with the German battalion.

Defendant: I do not know whether he went.

President: Here is the order.

Defendant: He did not want to go. I didn't know that he went to Župa again.

President: And what do you think of the participation of the German battalion with Račić and Petrović.

Defendant: This is the first time I have heard of it.

President: Was this treason?

Defendant: Certainly. Račić took it into his head that he should become the commander of Serbia. He was a brave fighter, but unable to lead units. He afterwards inclined that way and I know that he left Toplica and went to another region.

President: Was your commander of Serbia, General Trifunović, informed about these operations, and did he contribute anything to them by collaborating with the invader, or coordinating his activity in the direction in which the invaders were advancing?

Defendant: General Trifunović was sent to east Serbia. I had another idea. I thought of forming another storm group, when the Partisans were taking Toplica and Kopaonik from Keserović. I wanted to transfer from the north the Timok, Krajina and Homolje men, and to form another group from them. But both the leadership and the quality of the men were poor. They were originally to be sent to Toplica, and not the Fourth Storm Group. But when I realised their inefficiency, I ordered the Fourth Storm Group to go to Toplica. General Trifunović had the task of uniting these forces. They were going very badly. Miletić was the commander of this group, Ocokoljić the Chief of Staff, Ljuba Jovanović the commander of the corps. Miletić and Ocokoljić did not get together, and this idea could not be carried out at all. He went to unite the Varvarin and Deligrad forces, and generally to work in east Serbia.

Уважени господине ми-истре,
наглашавам поновно да имам импресију да моји курирски извештаји не дол-
лазе у ваше руке.Разлоге томе не знам.У вези са садашом ситуацијом у...
зони Динаре,Лике и Западне Босне хоћу по трећи пут да своја опажања
синтетизирам:

Сис ће учинити да олакшам тај транспорт ако буде одобрен.Напомињем да су
сви моји извештаји о кретању немачких дивизија као и хрватских обис-
тињи,то сад потврђује и партизанска ...
Ujedno vas izvještavam,da mi je danas saopćila vrhovna talijanska komanda,da
je dovršen veliki plan o generalnom napadu ...a partizane u kom će da učestvu
... talijanske njemačke i vatrke trupe i naše snage u saradnji sa talijanskim.Po
moje pitanje potvrdili su mi ,da ima izgleda da u toj operaciji unme učešća i
crnogorske trupe.O ovom sam vas izvestio i depešom.Na osnovu ovog sve više
dolazi u pitanje da se ostvari naš plan o akciji,a mi da budemo samo jedan deo
trupa u opštem planu italonemačkom za uništenje partizana.Da se ne može ostvari
-ti naš plan nezavisno od njihove akcije ,ja sam uvek naglašavao vojvodi Birla
-nimu ,a to sam pominjao i u mojim izveštajima vama ,tim pre ,što su pravci
nastupanja italonemačkih snaga od Banjaluke i od ...ke podudarni sa pravcima,
kpje smo mi namenili našim trupama.O ovom se mora voditi računa ,da se kasnije
ne bi doživelo razočaranje bez vale krivice ,jer ste krojili plan na osnovu
vama dostavljenih netačnih izveštaja ne samo netačnih u pogledu broja ,nego
što je još važnije u pogledu samostalnosti ovdašnjih naših odreda.Ja lično bih
voleo da oni unište partizane bez naše pomoći.kako i izgleda da će ih uniš-
titi sa obzirom na zamašnost snaga sa kojima raspolažu,a mi bi se sačuvali od
odlusak da uništavamo srpske krajeve.No sa druge strane ako se okupatorske tru
-pe krenu bez naših ,a zona je operacije etnografski pretežno srpska oni će da
uniš... sva srpska sela i sav srpski živalj pod izlikom da je partizanski i

Oprostite za tehničku stranu ovog izveštaja jer ga pišem po brodovima i po
železnicama ,jer sam stalno na putu.

Najodaniji Vam

Onaj radiotelegrafista koga sam doveo sa podmornice bio je godinu dana u
Splitu ,vojvoda g je tek sad prvi putvo primio kad sam ga poveo ,a ranije
su tražili od mene d a ga odevedem u Hercegovinu i ubijem ga ih ne oda.

Report of Jevđa (Dobrosav Jevđević) in which he tells Mihailović that he was informed by the Italian Supreme Command of a general attack against the Partisans (the Fourth Offensive). At the end is Mihailović's note: »Mirko (Lalatović) has answered Jevđa«.

President: Was General Trifunović the commander of Serbia?

Defendant: Yes.

President: He directed the operations. He ordered the troop movements, he coordinated the work with the Germans, and informed you. »First to Victor«. Who is this Victor?

Defendant: These were false names. I think that was the Nišava group.

President: (Continues reading)... »I ordered Victor to send the group for the action on Jastrebac and Morava, unless he had already done so. With the other forces he had to close the passage across the Morava from Niš to Leskovac and, likewise, to find a way of collecting arms and ammunition, because we had to beat the communists and we should utilize the German action. I ordered him to launch such attacks against the communists as would best work in

with the actions of the Germans. I ordered Orel (Keserović) to utilize the action of the Germans to come to Jablanica and Toplica, and to place at his disposal the Knjaževac and Deligrad corps, as well as to find a way of getting ammunition... I ordered Minčo to help Orel in the action on Jastrebac, etc.«

Defendant: I only gave general orders.

President: Well, accused Mihailović, Račić, Keserović, General Trifunović, commander of Serbia, Minčo and the other commanders, you see...

Defendant: As far as this goes, they received instructions from me only for the principal work, and nothing else.

President: What principal work?

Defendant: For the principal work. Only where the operations were to be carried out, and nothing else. It was like this: my telegrams always gave general instructions.

President: Was the work done by Trifunović, Keserović, Račić in the Spring 1944, and by Neško Nedić, Zvonimir Vučković, Lalatović; Ostojić — was such work treason against the people?

Defendant: It was bad work.

President: Was it treason?

Defendant: This is hard for me to say.

President: Is it true?

Defendant: Yes, it is.

Prosecutor: Although I have not asked anything else to be put on record, I ask this to be put down.

President: It has been put on record, because the stenographers of the Court put down every word. It is on record.

THE POLICE HIRELING, QUISLING AND WAR CRIMINAL MILAN AĆIMOVIĆ, ORGANIZES THE MEETING OF THE GERMANS WITH THE ACCUSED DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

President: In the beginning of September 1944, in the vicinity of the village of Pranjani, did you meet Neubacher's delegate, Starker?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Who arranged the meeting?

Defendant: Milan Aćimović.

President: Which Milan Aćimović?

Defendant: From the commissar government.

President: Had Milan Aćimović any functions in the Draža Mihailović organization?

Defendant: No, he had not.

President: Was he perhaps on the Civilian Staff of General Trifunović?

Defendant: Later, when he went to Bosnia in 1945.

President: And who put him on the Civilian Staff?

Defendant: General Trifunović.

President: Was this in recognition of his previous work?

Defendant: No; it was something else.

Prosecutor: What else?

The Defendant began to answer, but stopped.

President: I think we shall discuss that at a later period. You can make a note of it. *(Addressing the Defendant):* Who attended your meeting with Starker in 1944?

Defendant: In the beginning of September Milan Aćimović came from Belgrade. He sent word to me, and said Neubacher wanted to have a meeting with the American representative.

President: Which representative?

Defendant: With the representative of America.

President: What was his name?

Defendant: Colonel McDowell.

President: All right.

Defendant: I told him I would ask the Colonel, and I brought Aćimović to Colonel McDowell. He told McDowell that Neubacher wanted to have a meeting. Colonel McDowell told me that Neubacher might come, that he agreed to the meeting. He said to Aćimović: It is all right. A short time after he had given his approval for Neubacher to come, Starker, brought by Aćimović, came to the meeting. We were alone at that meeting — Colonel McDowell, myself and Starker.

President: What was the subject of your talks?

Defendant: The subject of the talks was, — I gave it in my deposition... I would ask you to remind me...

President: We are here, near the end, remember.

Defendant: Please, remind me.

Prosecutor: Are you tired?

Defendant: I would like to finish this.

Prosecutor: If you are tired, just say so.

Defendant: I know what it was. His tendency... Starker first offered excuses for Neubacher, saying that he had to leave urgently and that he could not come to the meeting. His suggestion was that Germany wanted to speak with the western Allies. Our meeting lasted three quarters of an hour. It was not long.

President: Did you have a meeting with Neubacher personally at Rošci village in August 1944?

Defendant: I could not receive him without McDowell who was with me. Col. McDowell wanted Neubacher to come, and I could not suggest any reason for opposing this meeting.

President: Explain this: Your just said: first Aćimović came to you to arrange a meeting between yourself, McDowell and Neubacher.

Defendant: Yes, he brought an offer from Neubacher to the American representative.

President: ... Now, a few days later, the meeting took place, and instead of Neubacher, Starker came and offered excuses that...

Defendant: That Neubacher had left for Greece.

Prosecutor: And who took the letter to Col. McDowell?

Defendant: There was no written offer.

Prosecutor: What did Aćimović take along with him?

Defendant: He took an oral approval that he could come...

President: Well, here you have to explain something. You say: This meeting was held... Did it happen unexpectedly?

Defendant: How do you mean unexpectedly?

President: You said that it was arranged, unless I am wrong *(he reads to himself)* It is not clear here either. You have given the same statement here as the one you gave at the investigation.

Defendant: I was not asked about Neubacher.

President: You were asked, and you gave a categorical answer.

Defendant: Yes, because really, if Neubacher had come, he would have been received.

President: To the question of the examining magistrate: »Do you remember the meeting held above the Caganj School, in April?« You answered categorically: »It is an absurd invention, I never was there«. At the investigation, weren't you influenced by the feeling that even if this meeting was held, it was bad, because Neubacher was mentioned...?

Defendant: No, I think at the inquiry I gave the explanation that Neubacher would have been received had he come.

President: You said, he would have been received by McDowell.

Defendant: Well, the same is said here.

President: Did this meeting take place?

Defendant: It is out of the question.

President: Accused Mihailović, can you remember?...

Defendant: I was shown the material concerning this. A certain meadow is mentioned...

President: Do you know where Rošci is?

Defendant: I know, I was there.

President: Do you know where the school is?

Defendant: No, I was never in the Caganj School.

President: Well, then, did you see the meadow above the school?

Defendant: I know exactly. I was at Rošci for a certain time. It is by the stream that flows towards Čačak.

President: Do you know a certain Vladimir Jovanović?

Defendant: I cannot remember. Perhaps I do.

President: He worked as a police clerk.

Defendant: If I get more details, perhaps I may remember.

President: He was in the vicinity of your headquarters.

Defendant: I am not sure.

President: Regarding your meeting with Neubacher, we must show you the deposition of the witness Vladimir Jovanović, who is now alive. He will be examined at the trial.

Defendant: I would like him to explain the meeting.

President: (Reads the deposition of Vladimir Jovanović) »What do you know about the meeting held above the Caganj School, and who attended it?« — »This meeting«, answered the witness, »took place somewhere in August 1944. I cannot say precisely when. Just before the meeting I received a letter from the commander Raković, ordering me to go immediately to the cross-roads at Trbušani, near Muševa Café, to meet the car in which Aćimović would come from Belgrade. After they came, I was to take them in the twilight on the Prijevorski road and bring them to the Caganj School, where they would wait. I acted according to the letter, I waited at the cross-roads, where two automobiles arrived before sunset. In the first car was Aćimović, with a man whom I did not know; but I learnt later that it was Neubacher. In the other car was Starker, whom I knew, and with him another man, unknown to me. They were all, even the driver, in plain clothes. I informed Aćimović about everything Raković told me. I sat in the first car, next to the driver, and took them to the Caganj School. Here we were stopped by one of Raković's soldiers. We got out of our cars and crossed the street with this soldier, and there Raković came to us and took us further. We went on for a kilometre, came to a meadow and stopped there. In that meadow we met Draža Mihailović and Col. Baletić. We exchanged greetings, and all shook hands. I was a few metres away. The others, Draža, Baletić, Aćimović, Neubacher, Starker and Raković, began to talk. Immediately after this, we were told to withdraw, and so we did, Raković Starker and myself, while Draža, Baletić, Neubacher and Aćimović were left speaking. After a short time, I saw there men cross-

ing the meadow and approaching the group where Draža was. It was moonlight. One of the three stayed behind and the other two hurriedly joined the group of Draža and Neubacher. These two were the Americans, Col. McDowell, and his companion Captain Lalić, an American too. Immediately after this, after the two joined the group, one of them separated from it and joined us. This was Captain Lalić, the others went on speaking with Draža, Neubacher and the others. Captain Lalić began a conversation with Raković and Starker.

I heard in the car, from Raković, that McDowell was the man who came to this meeting and remained with them. They talked for a little over an hour. Then they separated, in the following way, one group — Draža, Baletić, McDowell and Lalić went together, and the other group, we others, were joined by Raković.

The next day I asked Raković what it was all about and Raković said to me in the house of Milojko Vučićević at Prijevor, that it had turned out well and that it was a good thing that McDowell had spoken to Neubacher and asked that the Germans should evacuate the territory and arm us. Neubacher answered, however, that he could not do it on his own, but that he had to report to Hitler, and would let us know later...«

Defendant: Although this would be in my favour, it is not true.

President: All right. Are you tired?

Defendant: We might have an interval.

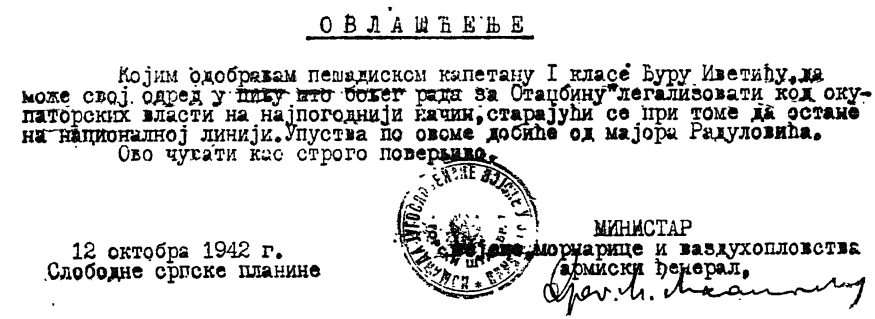
DURING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE GERMANS FROM SERBIA, MIHAILOVIĆ FLEES WITH THEM BEFORE THE FORCES OF THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

President: (After the interval) The trial is re-opened. Ten minutes allowed for photographing.

Accused Mihailović, where did the main Četnik forces withdraw to, during the arrival of the forces of the Army of National Liberation in Serbia in September 1944?

Defendant: I can reconstruct the situaiton of the Fourth Group of the Storm Corps from memory. I was in the area around Pranjani. In one direction, the Partisan forces were moving towards Jelova Gora. Against this advance stood Račić, with the Fourth Group of the Storm Corps. I was not expecting such a bad situation, when I suddenly got a message from him asking me to take Ravna Gora at once because it was necessary to retreat on the Bukovik Line, which was connected with Ravna Gora. Before this, he had been badly beaten on Jelova Gora, because he led the operations of the Fourth Corps badly. He

found himself in a narrow space where he suffered great losses from mortar fire. In the meantime, in east Serbia, and in the area round Deligrad, the armed units were retreating, and did not offer enough resistance. In such a situation I decided to cross Ravna Gora and to go into the area round Struganik. After certain experiences I had with Račić, concerning the direction of operations, I knew in advance that he was incapable of leading a hundred men, although he was a brave man. Neško Nedić, who was his Chief of Staff, was a capable man, but an adventurer. With such a command, nothing could be done. I possessed Ravna Gora with very small forces, and that night, I left for Struganik, expecting to find him there. However, he was already west of Valjevo. In view of this I ordered a retreat in the direction of Draginje. My intention was



ОВЛАШЋЕЊЕ

Којим одобравам пешадиском капетану I класе Буру Иветићу, да може свој одред у циљу што бољег рада за Отаџбину легализовати код окупаторских власти на најпогоднији начин, старајући се при томе да остане на националној линији. Упуства по овоме добиће од мајора Радуловића.

Ово чувати као строго поверљиво.

12 октобра 1942 г.
Слободне српске планине

МИНИСТАР
српске морнарице и ваздухопловства
армиски генерал,

Authorization from Mihailović to Četnik Captain Đura Ivetić to »legalise« his detachment.

to transfer the whole of my Staff, by manoeuvering, behind the rear of the Fourth corps, because, being the staff, I was not a fighting force. I came to Draginje by forced marches. The battle was developing before me.

Prosecutor: Is this the Draginje, near Koceljevo?

Defendant: Draginje is to the north to Kosjerić. I went towards Cer and came up behind the Fourth Corps in Mačva. In Mačva he informed me: »I cannot hold out any longer. Cross the Drina immediately, I am sending Tufegdžić's corps after you.« I crossed the Drina, Tufegdžić's corps did not. I then relied upon the Mačva corps of Leka Damnjanović. During this time, all the operations failed. I remember that he appeared in the area of Čačak.

President: Where did you withdraw with your troops?

Defendant: I told you. I crossed the Drina.

President: Did any units go in your direction, apart from the Četniks.

Defendant: In the indictment it says that the German troops were there, but they were not, nor were the Guards, only my rear and certain troops from the terrain, which were in Mačva. I do not remember the names of these commanders with their small groups. We crossed at Badovinci.

President: And the main Četnik forces?

Defendant: The main Četnik forces did not exist. There was the Fourth Group of the Storm Corps of General Mirko Trifunović. In east Serbia Keserović was in his place.

President: Where did you withdraw to?

Defendant: I ordered Trifunović only to move from Čačak towards the south.

President: Where did you withdraw to after that?

Defendant: Trifunović informed me that he could not keep control over his commanders. They formed some kind of military council, but they could not agree. They deserted Ivanjica, before small Partisan forces. All this was converging towards Sandžak, although I did not want to go from Serbia, because I knew, I had the information, that the Red Army was only passing through. My one desire was no to fall into any awkward situation. They retreated alone, and entered Sandžak. From General Trifunović I received the following report: »These are fugitives, one can do nothing with them«. At this time Pavle established contact with Račić, a brief contact for the sake of rallying their forces. Pavle called him to go to Montenegro where he had food for 50.000 soldiers, where there was everything; but confusion arose between the commanders, in spite of their military council, about what was to be done. Their withdrawal from Sandžak represented a kind of refuge, without any command, after the defeat. My idea and that of General Trifunović was to take them away from the road where the Germans were, for their units often got mixed up with the German units. I ordered Trifunović, who informed me that these were fugitives, to direct them towards Goražde—Jabuka, into the areas where there were no troops of the invader. I did not suceed in this. They withdrew into deficiency areas where they could not hold out. I decided to transfer them into more fertile regions, towards Posavina. I ordered Trifunović to transfer all his forces from Serbia — they wanted to go to the sea — to move them towards the north, and he did so. I first met them at Knežina in the Rogatica District and I took them under my command.

ШТАБ
ЛИМСКИХ САНЏАЧКИХ ЧЕТНИЧКИХ ОДРЕДА

Стр. бој Број 23.
10 — I — 1943
ПОЉОЈАЈ

НАЧЕЛНИКУ ШТАБА ВРХОВНЕ КОМАНДЕ

Акција на десној обали Лима у срезу Бјелопољском завршена је. Иста је изведена тачно по утврђеном плану. Резултат ове борбе је:

1) потпуно су уништена следећа муслиманска села (Сеницје. Плевље. Сјеница, Пећ и Колашин):
Вољавац, Губавача, Радијеља, Усаковићи, Пресечењик, Батуриће, Доња Влах (сеницја Плевље), Муровићи, Шоља, Радијева Глава, Побрђиће, Медиће, Доња Костеница, Стубло, Врх, Змијињац, Шиповице, Негобратина, Османбегово село, Дуњаци, Јасен, Костиће, Кашевар, Ивање, Годијево, Жилици, Горња Црнча, Горњи Радулићи, Врба, Црхаљ, Краденик, Смање, Личине (Сеницја Сјеница-Пећ)- Укупно 33 села.

2) Жртве: Муслимана бораца око 400 (стотине)- Жена и деце око.....1000

Наше жртве: 14 мртвих и 26 рањених

До овољиког броја наших жртава дошло је не услед неправилног вођења од стране старешина, већ очигледног нечувања самих војника и њихових херојских јуриша на муслимане, који су били затворени у својим кућама.

КОМАНДАНТ, мајор

Report of the Četnik commander Pavle Đurišić to Mihailović about the conclusion of the action against the Moslem population on the right bank of Lim.

President: Do you know that a Četnik group was withdrawing, headed by Pavle Đurišić?

Defendant: Pavle, who did not obey me after his return from the prisoners of war camp, put great pressure on me, to send all the troops to go to Montenegro, because there was food. I told him that there might be food for six days. Then it came to open hostility between the officers and the commanders. I told them to remain on their terrain.

President: And did Pavle Đurišić withdraw?

Defendant: Contrary to my order, he withdrew with the Germans.

President: Was it clear to you then that Germany was capitulating?

Defendant: Absolutely.

President: Did you issue an order for a general attack against the Germans?

Defendant: With the troops I had it was impossible.

Prosecutor: This was the favourable moment.

Defendant: Not at all favourable. It is easy to say that, but one should understand the situation.

President: You said in the course of the trial that the favourable moment was when the Germans began leaving our territory. And you retreated with them, and during the retreat the Četnik units fought against the Partisans.

Defendant: I am telling what happened.

President: Is it true that the Četnik units, on their way, while retreating, fought against the Partisans, together with the Germans?

Defendant: That was very bad. The most important point is this. Before this breakdown, Ostojić sent a telegram to me and asked me to begin an action against the Germans and I answered him: »Act according to the situation«.

President: Did the Nedić and Ljotić troops go across Sandžak with the troops which were under the command of General Trifunović?

Defendant: All the Nedić troops, but not one Ljotić man. The Nedić troops were reformed and came to Novi Pazar. General Trifunović informed me that they wanted to go to Greece. General Trifunović persuaded them to come there. They were formed in three divisions: the First, Second and Third division. The First and the Second divisions were composed of the Serbian State Guards, and the Third division was the Frontier troop. They all formed the Serbian Storm Corps.

President: Was the Serbian State Guard under your command during the retreat?

Defendant: Not all of it. From these guards and the Frontier troops we had previously formed the worst troops in the world. I realized that later, when we tried to use them at Knežina for fighting against the Partisans. I wanted to take my troops into the area of Spreča river. It was suggested to me that I should take my troops there.

Prosecutor: Tell me, what suggestions did you receive?

President: When did the Serbian State Guards place themselves formally under your command?

Defendant: When they came to me in the Rogatica District. Immediately after that I tried to reach the Spreča river, which was more fertile than Posavina. These troops, however, fled after the first clashes. They caused a serious crisis among the other Serbian forces, so that they came out of it with great losses. They went further towards Zavidovići, surrendered to the Germans, and were taken from there to Germany.

President: Tell us clearly: in 1944 during the penetration of the forces of the Army of National Liberation into Serbia, vas there collaboration or parallel action of the Četniks, Nedić and Ljotić troops and the Germans in the struggle against the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Unless I have the disposition of troops I cannot answer either yes or no to this question.

President: All right then. Do you know where Jelova Gora is?

Defendant: Yes, I do.

President: Do you know were Užice is, and Karan?

Defendant: Yes, I do.

President: Do you know the Požega—Visoka—Trešnjevica line? Do you know Čačak?

Defendant: Yes, I do.

President: You see, on this front there are the Četniks, the Germans, the Ljotić and the Nedić troops.

Defendant: There are two lines here. The Četniks are in the last line.

President: Which is the first line?

Defendant: The first line is the communication line held by the Germans, through Užice, Požega, Čačak, which they defended strongly.

President: It says here: »Facing it, there were the forces of the communists which penetrated into the Užice area and held the Zlatibor District, the town of Požega and all the area west of Užice up to the Drina.«

Defendant: They held it.

President: Explain to us from the military point view: Did there exist on this side, facing the Army of National Liberation, a front of two lines, composed of the Četniks, the Germans, the Ljotić troops and the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: The Germans held it; in the following way:.

President: Were there two fronts?

Defendant: No, there were not.

President: That's your opinion.

Defendant: I am explaining.

President: It is clear to everyone who knows his military ABC.

Defendant: I consider that the first line is of no importance to me in the defence of the terrain which I wish to defend.

President: Did you wish to defend the terrain of Serbia?

Defendant: Yes, I did. The first line represented only a few points which by themselves represented points of resistance, but the Partisans could always pass between them and attack Račić. It usually happened that the Četnik units were attacked first, with the intention of occupying the terrain. In this case the first line consisted of several points of resistance held by the Germans, which were very difficult to take because they were superior in armament both to us and the Partisans, and the Germans, whenever they had to withdraw, took their own line.

President: During the liberation of Valjevo by the forces of the Army of National Liberation, who resisted the Army of National Liberation at Valjevo?

Defendant: I think the Germans.

President: With whom?

Defendant: There were no Četniks at Valjevo.

President: And around Valjevo?

Defendant: Račić was on Medvednik with his troops.

President: And after Jelova Gora and Medvednik, when did the Četnik forces pass through Valjevo?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: When you had a narrow escape, half an hour before the Army of National Liberation came, and your supply column was left behind.

Defendant: That was part of the supply column. On Medvednik, Račić defended his terrain facing Kosjerić. This was the southern boundary of his terrain.

President: Now then, this was the first Valjevo line.

Defendant: Yes.

President: And who was at Valjevo?

Defendant: The Germans were at Valjevo.

President: Is it clear to you now, that the Četniks defended the German garrison?

Defendant: Not the garrison, because the German garrison at Valjevo might have been defeated and Medvednik still hold out.

»I FORMED A JOINT STAFF WITH THE GERMANS«

President: There is a document enclosed, from which it can be seen that the Serbian State Guards were formally placed under your command much earlier than you admitted.

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Did you receive Steva Radovanović, the commander of the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: Never. I never saw him before Knežina, in the Rogatica District.

President: Did he place himself under your command?

Defendant: I don't think so.

President: Did you form a new corps from his units?

Defendant: Trifunović did this in Sandžak only.

Prosecutor: Why didn't you try Steva for the crimes he committed?

Defendant: There was plenty of time for that.

Prosecutor: So you waited?

President: Did you have any more meetings with Starker and Aćimović during your retreat from Bosnia?

Defendant: At the village of Draginje in the second half of September.

President: Was he accompanied by anybody?

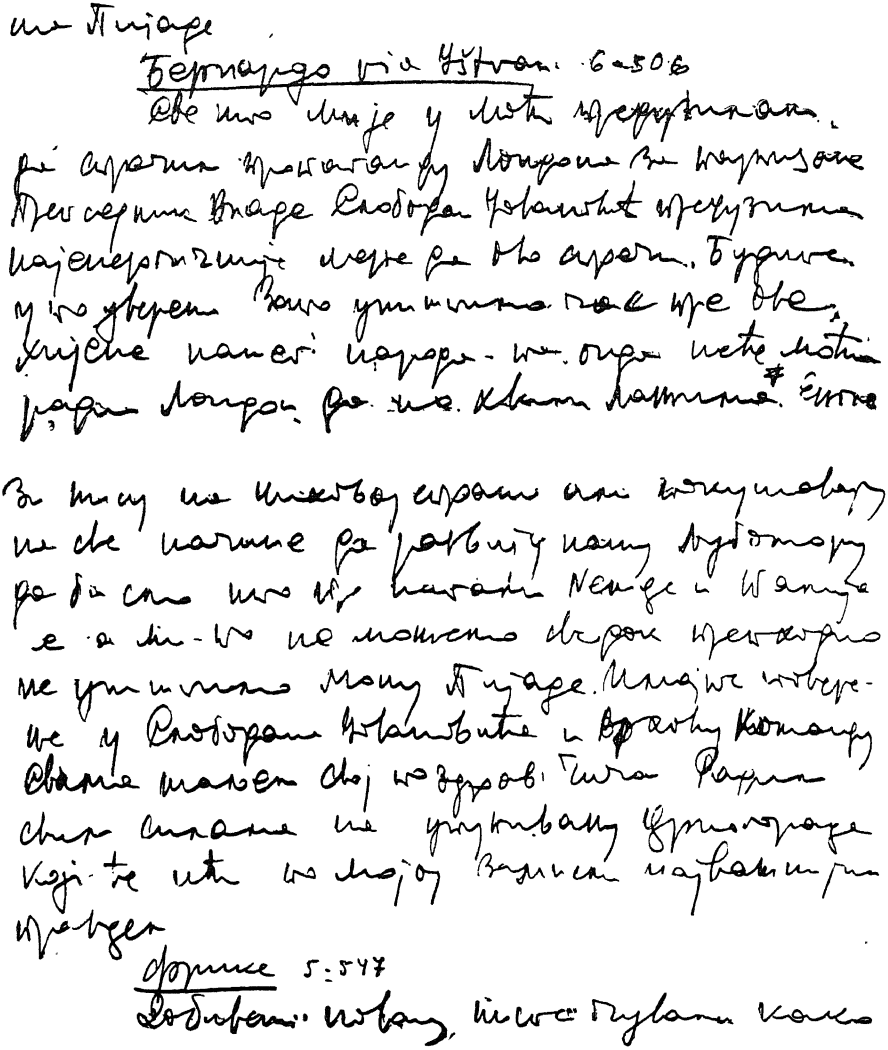
Defendant: I don't know, but the first meeting is explained.

President: Was he accompanied by Milan Aćimović?

Defendant: Neither at the first nor at the second meeting could Aćimović have been present. This meeting was held at Draginje village, or rather, in a house to the south of the village. At this meeting Starker submitted an elaborate survey written in pencil, and he tried to read it, but he was very excited and could not translate it into French properly. He began to critisize the Red Army.

President: Had you any other meetings with Starker?

Defendant: I had a meeting in the area of Srednji. I came to Bosnia over Badovinci. I crossed all north Bosnia and descended to the Sarajevo area, where he sent me a massage about the meeting in November. I approved of it.



Mihailović's telegram to »Bernard« (Father Đujić) through »Ištvan« (Baćović) about the support which the emigrant government of Slobodan Jovanović was giving to the Četnik organization.

President: November?

Defendant: I think November 1944.

President: And who sent you the message?

Defendant: I do not know how I received it, but I think it was through Borota.

Prosecutor: Who was Borota?

Defendant: Colonel Borota, commander of the corps in the area of Sarajevo.

President: Was Borota in contact with the Germans at Sarajevo?

Defendant: No, he was not.

President: Did Borota visit Löhr?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Did Borota get food, arms and ammunition for you, from the Germans?

Defendant: No. I only know that he had a channel at Sarajevo through a certain village called Radinja, something like that.

President: You said something different at the investigation. It is on record, that you were informed of this meeting ...

Defendant: These are details I do not know.

President: Just this is not a detail.

Defendant: I'm not sure.

President: Perhaps the Belgrade organization informed you of the meeting?

Defendant: Perhaps, most probably.

President: And how do you explain that the Belgrade organization could do this and where was it at that time?

Defendant: It could do it because it was in contact with me by radio.

President: Where was your radio centre at that time?

Defendant: In Belgrade.

President: Was Belgrade liberated at that time?

Defendant: There were two radio stations of mine in Belgrade, constantly, all the time from 1942 onwards. These were two secret radio stations in Belgrade.

Prosecutor: Was one of them at the Special Police?

Defendant: I do not know.

President: Where did Starker come from, when he came to that meeting?

Defendant: From Sarajevo.

President: Did he come from Germany to Sarajevo, or from Sarajevo itself?

Defendant: From Sarajevo.

President: Did he come from Germany to Sarajevo, or from some other direction?

Defendant: I don't know. I think he came from Zagreb.

President: Who else came to this meeting?

Defendant: Milan Aćimović.

President: In whose name did Starker come?

Defendant: He came in the name of their command in Zagreb.

President: Did he come in the name of Neubacher?

Defendant: Most probably. He was his representative even earlier.

President: Why did Starker meet you?

Defendant: On a matter which greatly surprised me when I heard of it, and which I am going to tell about in my further explanation. I had the best opinion of my own men. But one group gave me great trouble. On this occasion I learnt things that amazed me. Baćović, using the signatures which I gave him on blank forms, and I actually did this, submitted to the Germans an offer with my signature, through Sarajevo, saying that the Četnik organizations would place themselves at the service of the Germans. They saw my signature, and Starker came and said: »We have received this document«. He did not bring it along with him; if he had I would not have allowed him to go away with such a forged note, but with my original signature. Starker asked: »Is this your wish?« and I said: »We were and still are enemies. It is a sad coincidence that I am, like you, fighting against the Partisans. This is a sad coincidence which I regret.«

President: Explain, when you and the Germans fought simultaneously against the Partisans? Was that collaboration?

Defendant: Call it what you like.

President: Answer the question of the Court. When you fought against the Army of National Liberation together with the Germans, was it collaboration or was it not?

Defendant: I had to defend myself.

President: Answer the question: when you fought against the Army of National Liberation together with the Germans, was it collaboration or not?

Defendant: For me it was not. Whenever I was free, I always tried to go into action. To defend myself.

Prosecutor: Why did you not defend yourself from the Germans?

Defendant: They were on the terrain.

President: Did such facts help the invader?

Defendant: Yes, because it brought about a mutual fight.

President: Was this helping the invader?

Defendant: I did not think it was helping the invader.

President: And was it that in fact?

Defendant: Perhaps, but I did not think. It was not my intention to help the invader.

President: Was it your intention, judging by the actual events, by the facts which were developing, to help the invader?

Counsel for the Defence: It helped him.

President: Please, I must seriously warn the defence to keep in order and not to do such things, not to act as prompters. It is, to say the least, incorrect. Was this helping the invader or was it not?

Defendant: No.

President: And when the invader fought side by side with you against the Army of National Liberation? Did the invader help you then?

Defendant: The invader took advantage of our mutual fight.

President: It can be deduced from this that you helped each other, you and the invader, against the Army of National Liberation.

Defendant: I think not.

President: Was participation of the German battalion in the Toplica offensive, collaboration with the invader?

Defendant: I did not want it.

President: Was this collaboration?

Defendant: The Partisans attacked the terrain which I held.

President: All right, they attacked it. Was this collaboration?

Defendant: My aim was not to take and control all the communications. My attack was in the form of sabotage. I shared the terrain. I had suggestions from the government and from the Allies. »Hold out on the terrain, keep Serbia and when the Germans begin to break down, attack«.

Prosecutor: Did you receive such suggestions from all the Allies?

Defendant: It is in the indictment. Col. McDowell told me to hold the terrain.

President: Who was Ljubiša Đorđević?

Defendant: Ljubiša Đorđević? I don't know.

President: Commander of the Serbian State Guards and Nedić's Major. And who was Marko Muzikravić.

Defendant: Marko Muzikravić was the commander of the brigade at Gruža.

President: And whom did the brigade belong to? Was it yours?

Defendant: Yes, it was.

President: On October 6, Ljubiša Đorđević wrote to Muzikravić (he reads) »Dear Marko, hold out for a little. German aircraft is bombing the area around Vrbava, there are sufficient arms and machine guns. I have formed a joint staff with the Germans. The Chief of Staff is comming to lead the Germans.« What was this?

Defendant: This was treason.

President: Was this collaboration with the invader?

Defendant: Yes, it was.

President: And was it collaboration when Neško Nedić and Račić fought with the Germans against Toplica?

Defendant: I didn't know of such a situation.

President: Was it collaboration when they went to Sandžak with the Germans?

Defendant: I have explained that.

President: The Court asks you whether it was collaboration with the Germans?

Defendant: These were fugitives, no longer soldiers; my troops were being pushed hither and thither, and in the general confusion, intensified by propaganda, the commanders got out of hand and began to follow their own high policy. This happens to every army which is losing.

DEFENDANT MIHAILOVIĆ SENDS THE GESTAPO AGENT INTO LIBERATED SERBIA GAŠPAREVIĆ TO ORGANIZE DIVERSIONS AND ACTS OF SABOTAGE, AND TO MURDER PEOPLE WITH NOISELESS RIFLES

President: When did your second meeting with Starker take place?

Defendant: The second meeting was at Vučjak.

President: When?

Defendant: I think I have answered that — in April or the end of March 1945.

President: Who else was with Starker?

Defendant: I do not know, nobody was there. He came unaccompanied.

President: And Aćimović?

Defendant: Aćimović, yes.

President: Was it a German delegation, or were these his followers? Who attended the meeting between you and Starker?

Defendant: Only he and myself.

President: What was the aim of Starker's visit to Vučjak, and what was decided at this meeting?

Defendant: He came to hand me an offer from Löhr, the commander of the German troops in Yugoslavia. He brought me an offer to hand to the Allies, to place himself at their disposal, with his

troops, and to separate Austria. In addition to this, he drew my attention to the fact that I must communicate this matter under a most secret cipher, because Löhr was afraid he might be caught by the Gestapo, as my cipher was compromised, because the cipher with the English had been in use for several years. I answered as follows: »This does not concern either myself, or my movement, or Yugoslavia. This matter concerns Central Europe. Please send one of your representatives, who is authorized to speak from the radio station. After the conversation, he will be at liberty to return any way he likes over Partisan territory.« I sent it by radio.

President: This means that you did not inform the Allies of Löhr's message.

Defendant: I said I did so.

President: Isn't it clear that you did not send Löhr's message?

Defendant: I personally coded this telegram and sent it. I considered that something might come of it.

President: What?

Defendant: I do not know what.

President: Can it be concluded from it that in doing so, you tried to keep Löhr safe?

Defendant: Never.

President: How do you mean never?

Defendant: Never. I left it to the Allies to judge it.

President: To judge of what?

Defendant: Whether they needed it.

President: But you did not send Löhr's message to the Allies at all.

Defendant: I informed them in that way. I did not send anything else.

President: It can be concluded from this that you concealed the fact that you were protecting Löhr.

Defendant: I hid him from the Gestapo.

President: That means that you were protecting Löhr.

Defendant: I am sorry that this expression should be used, but I did not protect him.

President: Were you in contact with the Gestapo agent, the leader of the terrorist group, Gašparević?

Defendant: Yes, I was.

President: Explain your connection with him.

Defendant: Gašparović appeared in the area of Sarajevo and there he was received, with about 50 to 60 men. I said that he should be received, because I was not at Sarajevo then, I was at Trebava.

He came to Col. Pavlović, who was authorized to form the command. Gašparević came, and I saw him only after he came there. My intention as far as Gašparević was concerned was, after I heard that he had arms, to use him until he crossed into Serbia, and after that to

Господине Министре и драги брате,

Срећан сам што нисам далеко од Вас и што ћу се можда са Вама усгоро видјети.

Ваш изасланик, а мој пријатељ Пера Бањевић извршио је мисију коју сте му поверили на веома спретан, озбиљан и савестан начин. Заиста нисте могли наћи подеснијег за овај посао.

Бањевић је обишао самном већи број четничких формација у Херцеговини, да би добио јасну слику о вредности истих.

О свему другом он ће Вас интелигентно обавестити, јер је он човек који уме стварн да види и осети.

До скорог виђења Господине Министре и драги брате.

Одани Вам

Гацко, 16 јула 1942 године.

Birčanin's short report to Mihailović about Baćović's visit to Četnik units in Hercegovina.

Драги чича!

Слизини главнога. Војводе је изрекло дозволу од италијанске команде да се на овој територији може задржавати 6 до 7 дана. Замолио ме да Вас о свима стварима које сам запазио на терену обавестим.

Сви четнички одреди на територији Херцеговине материјално обезбеђени су код Италијана, добијају храну, оружје и муницију. Плату не примају само им се по неки пут у виду помоћи деле одела. Бројно стање организованих четника на територији Херцеговине износи од 6 до 7. 000,-Наоружање пушкама око 6000 ком. са доста аутоматског оружја. дисциплин

С вером у Бога за Краља и Отаџбину.

16. јула 1942 год.
Слободне српске планине

М А Ј О Р:

Petar Baćović reports to »Čiča« (to Mihailović) on his visit to Četnik units in Hercegovina.

kill him and take over his men. For this purpose, I ordered a group to accompany him. This was Captain Topalović's group and Milovan Nedeljković was also there. Topalović attempted to disarm them earlier and this caused a great quarrel. He should have waited a little longer. Only Nedeljković remained, with a group of men he was

leading. Gasparević had plenty of material. I did not want to use these men, because they were mostly men from war prisoners' camps, who chose to return to their country in this way; and thus it came to this. My intention was to pass on the message to Nedeljković, that Gašparević should be killed when he crossed the Lim. The order to that effect was issued to Topalović, and he was to pass it on to Nedeljković.

President: How did you come into contact with Gašparević and his group?

Defendant: I don't know exactly.

President: Through whom? Who brought you together?

Defendant: I think Aćimović could answer this. Gašparević presented himself to me, when he came, as a renegade Ljotić man.

President: Did Borota perhaps bring you together?

Defendant: I don't know exactly.

President: I will remind you of your deposition at the investigation. To the question: »How did you become connected with Gašparević and his group« you answered: »Borota brought me in touch with Gašparević. As a matter of fact Borota informed me in a telegram about the arrival of Gašparević and his group from Austria, and asked me whether I would receive Gašparević.«

Defendant: Yes, that's quite right.

President: And now, what is right, what you said before, or now?

Defendant: I cannot give you an exact answer. I can only repeat, I was so much pressed with business. I must reconstruct how things happened.

President: You know that you received him. Only a few facts are left to be cleared up. Did Gašparević inform you of the tasks he was given before his departure from Austria to Serbia?

Defendant: He did not tell me everything. But Topalović was exactly informed.

President: Accused Mihailović, please say, did Gašparević tell you of the task he was given?

Defendant: No.

President: Did he tell you he had been given a task? . . .

Defendant: No. He explained things to me in this way . . .

President: I shall read to you the statement you made at the investigation in answer to this question. »He was given by the Germans the task of commanding a terrorist group, to carry out diversionary and sabotaging acts in Serbia . . . «

Defendant: It may be so . . . I . . .

President: Who brought you in touch with Gašparević then?

Defendant: Borota.

President: Does it mean that the Germans sent Gašparević to Borota?

Defendant: Certainly.

President: Was Borota under your command?

Defendant: Yes.

President: What order was given to Gašparević's group?

Defendant: I did not look at it. He told me about it at the time when I was too busy. He said he had two noiseless rifles.

President: Had he any explosives?

Defendant: He had plenty of material.

President: What uniforms had Gašparević's group?

Defendant: They had English and German uniforms.

President: Why did Gašparević's group wear English uniforms?

Defendant: In order to cross Serbia more easily, to be better received by the people.

President: Didn't that strike you as strange?

Defendant: The Germans obviously thought that Gašparević's group should be dressed, not in German uniforms, but in English.

President: Does it mean that Gašparević's group presented itself to the people as English, or perhaps as appointed by the English?

Defendant: They could not present themselves as such, because they did not speak English, they spoke Serbian.

President: Was this according to the instructions of the Germans?

Defendant: Probably.

President: Who provided the channel for the crossing of Gašparević and his group into Serbia?

Defendant: He demanded to go across the Majevica terrain.

President: I ask you definitely: Who made the channel for the crossing into Serbia of Gašparević and his group?

Defendant: The channel was made by the staff of the commander Dragoslav Topalović.

President: Was he part of your command?

Defendant: Yes, he was in my command.

President: Did you order Topalović to secure this channel?

Defendant: There was no strictly defined channel. He was sent from one corps to the other, as on the Drina. He knew the situation best.

President: Did you give the order that they should be helped and transported into Serbia?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: All right.

Defendant: But I issued the order that he should be killed.

Prosecutor: How can you prove it? You will have an opportunity to prove it if you can.

President: You said recently that you attached some of Topalović's men to Gašparević.

Defendant: Yes, I did. Captain Topalović as well. He also went.

President: Under whose command was all this group?

Defendant: Under the command of Topalović.

President: Can it be deduced from that, that Gašparević was a simple fighter?

Defendant: So long as he was allowed to live.

President: Was he an ordinary fighter?

Defendant: He led his group.

President: Did he have his group inside Topalović's group?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Did you maintain contact with these groups?

Defendant: Perhaps I did.

President: Yes or no.

Defendant: Yes.

President: How?

Defendant: Through radio communication.

President: With Topalović separately?

Defendant: No, it was like this: there was a code for Topalović, that is, only Topalović had the code.

President: And had you a code with Gašparević?

Defendant: I don't think so.

President: Remember, this is important.

Defendant: I don't think so.

President: Remember.

Defendant: I don't think so.

President: You said something quite different in the record. Had you radio connection?

Defendant: Yes, I had.

President: And had you personally a code with Gara?

Defendant: Perhaps, probably.

Prosecutor: Was it an open telegram?

Defendant: I never communicated openly.

President: The telegrams were submitted to you at the investigation.

Defendant: There were several telegrams. Dragoslav Topalović received them.

President: Did you personally send these telegrams, with your signature, to Gašparević?

Defendant: Perhaps.

President: Yes or no?

Defendant: I cannot say precisely, I would not like to contradict the record.

Prosecutor: I think it is clear to everybody. When a difficult matter comes up, when Mihailović's treacherous activity is in question, he can not remember anything.

IN THE COURSE OF DECISIVE BATTLES FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE FATHERLAND MIHAILOVIĆ SENDS COMMANDOS BEHIND THE FRONT TO DESTROY, KILL, AND MAKE PROPAGANDA FOR THE KING.

President: Did you establish a school for commandos anywhere?

Defendant: The first was at Srednji and the second at Modrić. We took over the latter after the retreat of the Ustašas. The commandos were headed by Col. Pavlović.

President: What did the commandos learn in this school?

Defendant: They learned everything necessary for commandos; propaganda in the first place.

President: Well, and then?

Defendant: Handling arms.

President: What else?

Defendant: Diversionary groups to act entirely separately on the terrain, and the most important aim of the commandos was that their zones did not coincide with those of the corps.

President: All right, this is purely territorial. And the chief aim?

Defendant: To prepare our return to Serbia.

President: In what way?

Defendant: Through the inclination of the people, in the first place.

President: You mentioned that they had to do diversionary work. What, exactly?

Defendant: Diversion could be made by hampering the roads.

President: How do you mean »hampering«?

Defendant: Hampering the traffic. They had to be fit for everything.

President: Was the task of the commandos to destroy railway lines, bridges?

Defendant: I did not think like that. I did not want to destroy a single objective in my country; but they had to know everything.

Prosecutor: Were they given the task of beheading the members of Peoples Committees?

Defendant: Such a task was never given by me.

President: Was Gašparević under Topalović's command? If Gašparević's task was diversion, sabotage and attempts against the leaders, does it mean that he could not do any of these things without Topalović's order?

Defendant: He could not do anything without Topalović's order.

President: Under whose command was Topalović?

Defendant: Under the command of the commandos.

President: And who was the commander of the commandos?

Defendant: Colonel Pavlović.

President: And the commander of Pavlović?

Defendant: Myself.

President: Did Gašparević inform you through the code he had with you, through his radio station, of his movements?

Defendant: I think the maximum I received was two to three telegrams.

President: And did you answer the telegrams?

Defendant: I believe I did.

President: Please do not say »I believe« or »I do not believe«, but yes or no.

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Did you send telegrams to Gašparević informing him of the situation?

Defendant: I would not have sent such telegrams to him. I would have sent them only to Topalović.

President: But still, you informed him?

Defendant: No.

President: To the question of the examining magistrate: »Do you admit that you also sent Gašparević telegrams informing him of the situation?« — you said: »that's right, I admit it.«

Defendant: I do not want to contradict myself.

President: Did you receive telegrams from Gašparević, in which he informed you of the battles between the Četniks and the Partisans?

Defendant: Perhaps. I do not know the contents of these telegrams.

President: Did you receive such telegrams?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: It is rather incomprehensible that you were in such close touch with Gašparević, and at the same time the order was given for him to be killed.

Defendant: This was only a trick.

President: Was Gašparević killed?

Defendant: He did not even cross the Drina, and later I lost contact with him.

Prosecutor: Why did you not kill him at once?

President: Yes. That is a good question. Accused, when did you learn that he was a Gestapo agent?

Defendant: I thought he was a Ljotić man. That was my belief. He said that he came as a renegade Ljotić man.

President: Did he tell you that he had been through the diversion school?

Defendant: No. He told me that he did not want to remain with Ljotić, and that was why he came to us.

President: Were the forces of the Army of National Liberation at war with the German fascists at that time?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Were you at the side of the troops on the German fascist front?

Defendant: No.

President: Where were you?

Defendant: I was in Bosnia.

President: Were the Germans in Bosnia?

Defendant: I had no troops there at all, except for the Bosnian forces.

President: At that time, In January, February, March, you knew about these battles on the Srem front, between the Germans and the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I must have known of it.

President: How do you mean »must have known«?

Defendant: They were known to me.

President: Were you aware of the fact that the Army of National Liberation was exerting the greatest effort to drive the invader from the country?

Defendant: I was.

President: Were you aware of the fact that you were sending the diversionary, espionage, Gestapo group of saboteurs, who had

been through the Gestapo school, behind the back of the Army of National Liberation which was fighting against the invader?

Defendant: That group could not do anything. I knew that it would not execute any of its tasks.

President: Were you still aware that you were sending such a group behind the Army of National Liberation lines?

Defendant: The soldiers were war prisoners and wanted to return to Yougoslavia at all costs. I did not look upon these men as Gestapo men. Only Gašparević could be a Gestapo man.

ОВЈАШЊЕЊЕ

За резервног ваздухопловног капетна 11 класе Г.Дражила Вемића, који се упућује у Грчку ХХХХХ са задатком да ухвати везу грчким националним снагама, које се налазе у слободним грчким планинама под командом ђенерала Г.Длиаса.

Капетан Г.Вемић отпутоваће што пре у Грчку, и чим тамо стигне предузеће потребне мере да дође у везу са ђенералом Длиасом са којим успоставити сталну везу по мојим усменим инструкцијама.

Капетан Г.Вемић успоставиће из Грчке самном директну радио везу, и обавештаваће ме о тамошњим приликама, у првом реду о резултату постигнутих веза са грчким ђенералом Длиасом. Команданту грчких националних снага капетан Г.Вемић саопштиће моје поруке, и нарочито инсистирати да ђенерал Длиас успостави са нашом врховном командом директну радио везу

5.фебруара 1944 године
Положај

Начелник Штаба врховне команде, и
министар војске, морнарице и ваздухопловства/југословенска војска у отаџбини/
Армијски ђенерал,

Authorization issued by Mihailović to Captain Mihailo Vemić to establish contact with Greek »national forces«.

President: Were you aware that by the departure of Topalović's group behind the lines, by sending Topalović's group to the rear of the front, which was fighting against the enslavers of your country, you were sending a group of men with the task of undermining, creating unrest and disorders, with the object of weakening the front against the fascist invader?

Defendant: No, the front could not be weakened like that, because no action was to be undertaken in Serbia. I wanted these men to come to Serbia and prepare the return of the Serbian troops.

President: At the investigation you said that Topalović's task was to rally the Četnik units.

Defendant: Yes.

President: Look here, if at this time a general mobilization for the struggle against fascism, against the Germans, was being carried out, and you send behind the lines men to organize units, to rally fighters, who ought to be fighting against Germany, what would that mean?

Defendant: It was a political struggle which had to be. It is in the indictment itself; and after what I gathered from Col. McDowell, I considered that my duty was to hold my position among the people, and this did not mean engaging in any battle, a battle which, so to speak, I could not engage in.

President: Then, what kind of propaganda was Topalović engaged in?

Defendant: I considered, that concerning the political organization, a compromise should be arrived at.

President: What was written in the leaflets, what slogans were written?

Defendant: The King, and various slogans.

President: Please, mention them.

Defendant: I don't know them.

Prosecutor: And you forgot about the struggle against the Germans. You considered that it was not yet time.

Defendant: I did not forget.

President: You did not forget. Was there an order to Raković to write slogans?

Defendant: I don't remember.

President: So, the only slogan was the King.

Defendant: Yes.

President: It is short, it can be written, and erased. All right. Do you know that your commander Borota collaborated with the Germans?

Defendant: No.

President: Shall I remind you of one of your telegrams? *(reads)* »№ 11 urgently announces the following: All requests for ammunition will be fulfilled and a delegate will be sent to arrange with you that things be put in their place. They suggest that we throw the troops on the terrain and destroy in the rear«. The telegram was sent to you on January 25, 1945, that is when you were in Bosnia.

Defendant: I don't know.

President: You didn't receive such a telegram?

Defendant: No, I don't know about such a telegram.

President: Let me remind you of one of your telegrams, dated January 13 which reads: »...№ 11 Command (which means Ger-

man) places at your disposal a group of 64 excellently armed saboteurs under the command of Gara. I repeat Gara, with one or two radio stations... already 29 have arrived in Sarajevo... All are Serbs... Gara informs me that they have placed themselves entirely at the disposal of our organizations... Gara informs that he has specialized teachers and he will place them at our disposal if we want them... Gara wants an urgent meeting with me... № 11 places himself at our disposal«...

Defendant: At this moment, January 13, I was not there. The headquarters were in Sarajevo area and I was on Trebava.

Prosecutor: How is it that you were on Trebava, and the headquarters at Sarajevo?

President: And you said to us that you had established contact through Borota.

Defendant: I don't know the details.

Prosecutor: Borota sent a telegram to you and here is your answer in short *(he reads)* »... Call Col. Pavlović and establish contact with Gara... Tell them that I have nothing against accepting Gara at our command. Col. Pavlović is to accept the specialist teachers. Let them be utilized...«

Defendant: The telegrams were sent through Lalatović, who received them, and he gave me only a summary of them and probably he sent the answers. I do not remember this telegram, because he gave me only a summary. Borota informed me of one thing or another and I sent the answer.

President: This means that both the one telegram and the other are authentic. What would have happened to Topalović's men and to Topalović himself, if they had not carried out their task of writing slogans, etc?

Defendant: That was provided for in the instructions to the command. There was a special plan dealing with that.

President: And what would have happened to them? Would they be dismissed, or what?

Defendant: The order was in the files.

President: This is your order, № 230, marked strictly confidential: »The Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland. Order of January 13, 1945, for special tasks. On the territory of Serbia it is urgently necessary to place at the disposal of the command of the royal commandos suitable persons, who will join as volunteers, and who have the right kind of character and other moral qualities. These persons must know that if they do not accomplish their tasks they will be sentenced to death, so that people whose only object is

to return to Serbia cannot join. Chief of Staff, Army General Drag. Mihailović.« Did you kill people for not writing the slogan »The King« ?

Defendant: In the instructions severe punishments are provided for. The intention was that the best men should be chosen as commandos. There were many who really were not fit for this

THE LAST RESORT: AGREEMENT WITH LJOTIĆ AND THE FORMATION OF THE ČETNIK DETACHMENTS ON FOREIGN TERRITORY UNDER GERMAN CONTROL

President: Which troops had you under your command in Bosnia, besides the Četniks?

Defendant: There were Moslem units.

President: All right. And were there the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: They all fled with their commanders to the Germans. They went to Zavidovići and I received a letter from Radovanović saying that they had decided to surrender to the Germans.

President: And what about your link with the Ljotić men?

Defendant: I received Ljotić's proposal to place himself under my command. My intention was to re-form the troops in Italy and I expected an influx of men from the war prisoners' camps. The addition of the former war prisoners would enable me to strenghthen the troops, to unite them and bring them closer. I did not believe in Ljotić's forces. Thus I would have a nucleus and thence I could, at a given moment, undertake operations against Slovenia.

President: Did Ljotić offer to unite his forces with the Četniks? Did you accept this?

Defendant: Yes, he offered this and I accepted it. I sent General Jovanović to Slovenia to receive these troops. I gave him his instructions.

President: Was this the so-called advance section of the General Staff?

Defendant: Yes.

President: And whom else did you send?

Defendant: I sent General Jovanović, Ocokoljić and Ljuba Jovanović-Patak.

President: And where were these detachments?

Defendant: I do not know exactly. Some were in Italy.

Prosecutor: Is the Julian March in Italy?

Defendant: Then, it was.

President: Where were they at Milano or Padova or at some other place, tell us.

Defendant: Across the former Yugoslav frontier.

President: It means the Julian March, Rijeka, Istria, somewhere there.

Defendant: Yes.

President: This means that the unification of the Četnik and Ljotić forces under the command of General Damjanović was made on foreign territory. Well, tell us, how did this Staff, and under what conditions, find itself with the Germans on the territory of Italy?

Defendant: By every means. False papers were used; everything possible; and we could get false papers.

Prosecutor: Did Ljotić also have false papers?

Defendant: No, he had not.

President: Please, be precise: who allowed them to use all these means? And even to move into Italy?

Defendant: Ljotić did not use all these means.

President: This has nothing to do with Ljotić. Perhaps the question has confused you. I asked you how and under what conditions your Staff happened to find itself on the territory of Italy, together with the Germans?

Defendant: I think it went by train.

President: Did you allow this?

Defendant: Yes, I did.

President: Wasn't it the last resort?

Defendant: Well, yes, it was.

Prosecutor: Was the Šumadija Division illegal?

Defendant: I didn't know it was called the Šumadija Division.

President: Which forces entered these groups?

Defendant: The forces of Đujić, Ljotić and Jevđević.

MIHAILOVIĆ ADMITS COLLABORATION OF HIS COMMANDERS WITH THE INVADER

President: When we sum up all that has been revealed to the Court, that the Četnik commanders in Bosnia, in Lika, etc. collaborated with the invaders, with the Germans, the Italians, can you mention to the Court a single one of your commanders who never collaborated with the invader?

Defendant: There were some.

President: Mention their names.

ODBOR CRNOGORSKIH NACIONALISTA IZ PODGORICE I DOLINE ZETE

sa svoje strane obavezujese

1) - Da ce voditi bezkompromisnu borbu protiv komunizma i komunista u Crnoj Gori - tog najvećeg medjunarodnog neprijatelja

2) - Vodja Odreda Crnogorskih Nacionalista iz Podgorice i Doline Zete, Pukovnik Bajo J. Stanišic, bilo licno ili preko osoba koja on delegira, biti u stalnom kontaktu sa Glavnom Komandom Italijanskih Trupa u Crnoj Gori za sve sporazume izvodjenju zajedničke akcije u borbi protiv komunizma u Crnoj Gori;

3) - Da ce iz pokreta potpuno iskljuciti svaku politiku a jedino ostaje borba protivu komunizma u Crnoj Gori;

4) - Italijanske Trupe održavatce red i poredak u varošima, po selima ovaj zadatak ostavlja se crnogorskim nacionalistima. Sto se tice sigurnosti komunikacionih arterija, sporazumno će se podjeliti zadatke;

5) - Crnogorski nacionalisti bez obzira na konacni ishod rata, neće upotrebiti nikad oružje protiv italijanskih trupa.

Uz uzajamno poštovanje, povjerenje i lojalnost striktno ce mo se pridržavati primljenih obaveza.

P o d g o r i c a , 6. Ozujka 1942.

Bajo J. Stanišić
- vojvoda -

IL COLONNELLO
CAPO DI STATO MAGGIORE
(G. Baglione)

Fascimile of the original contract concerning cooperation between Bajo Stanišić and the Italians.

Prosecutor: Let him mention the names, and tomorrow I shall find telegrams proving that they collaborated.

President: It is not enough to say that there were some. You must mention the name and surname, the corps, and in what territory they commanded.

Defendant: I cannot remember the names of the corps.

President: All right, if you cannot remember the names of the corps, remember the names of the commanders.

Defendant: I can't remember their names just now.

President. I shall remind you of those you mentioned at the investigation as your chief commanders, here, in Serbia. Mention which did not collaborate. Piletić?

Defendant: No, he didn't.

President: Keserović?

Defendant: He didn't either. *(Laughter in Court).*

President: Father Perišić?

Defendant: I had no information about him.

President: Baćović,

Defendant: From this evidence, I see he did.

President: Bjelajac?

Defendant: He did.

President: Glišić.

Defendant: He did not.

President: Voja Lukačević.

Defendant: He did.

President: Đurišić.

Defendant: He did.

President: Blažo Đukanović.

Defendant: He did.

President: Bajo Stanišić?

Defendant: He did.

President: Neško Nedić?

Defendant: Neško Nedić belonged to the Fourth Storm Group. He did.

President: Predrag Raković.

Defendant: He did.

President: Todor Gogić.

Defendant: He didn't.

President: General Trifunović?

Defendant: He did.

President: Kalabić?

Defendant: He did.

President: Mladen Bojović?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Sveta Trifković?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Živan Lazić?

Defendant: Živan Lazić belonged, I think, to Nedić's organization before he came there. He did.

President: Alexander-Saša Mihailović?

Defendant: I had no details before this indictment. I did not know he had done these things.

President: You cannot say definitely?

Defendant: He did.

President: General Đukić?

Defendant: He did.

President: Komarčević?

Defendant: I had no information about him.

President: And what do you think?

Defendant: I think he did not.

President: Neško Nedić?

Defendant: He did.

President: Dragomir Topalović?

Defendant: Never.

President: Zvonimir Vučković?

Defendant: He did.

President: Miloš Radosavljević?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Dragoslav Račić?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: Please, what does »he did« mean?

President: »He did« means he had connections with the invader, and »he did not« means he had no connection with the invader. Dimitrije Lazarević?

Defendant: I do not know who that is.

President: Radović-Kondor?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Bora Mitranović?

Defendant: He didn't.

President: Stevan Damjanović?

Defendant: I had no data about him. He didn't.

President: Father Sava Božić?

Defendant: He did.

President: Todor Cvijetin?

Defendant: If you count his connection with the Ustašas, then he did. Otherwise, with the Germans, never.

President: Slavoljub Vranješević?

Defendant: I had no proof that he did.

President: So you are not sure about him. Borota?

Defendant: He didn't.
President: We have just read a telegram about it.
Defendant: I didn't know.
President: Had he contact or not?
Defendant: He had.
President: Sergije Mihailović?
Defendant: I don't know. He was killed.
President: Jezdimir Dangić?
Defendant: He did.
President: Boško Todorović?
Defendant: I did not know that he did.
President: And did he?
Defendant: I am not sure.
President: Uroš Drenović?
Defendant: I don't know. I had no contact with him.
President: Perović?
Defendant: He didn't.
President: Rade Radić?
Defendant: He did.
President: Manojlo Perić?
Defendant: He didn't. He was not a commander.
President: Petar Baćović?
Defendant: He did.
President: Father Stevan . . . ?
Defendant: I thought he didn't.
President: And now?
Defendant: I think he didn't.
President: Jevđević?
Defendant: He did.
President: Birčanin?
Defendant: He did.
President: Momčilo Đujić?
Defendant: He did.
President: Mlađa Žujović?
Defendant: I don't know about him. I sent him to Dalmatia.
President: And where did he live?
Defendant: I don't know.
President: Bjelajac?
Defendant: He didn't.
President: Kapetanović?
Defendant: I don't know.
President: Mišić?

Дра г Бајо

Извештен сам да на територији старе Црне Горе влада керенштини-ма у погледу уништавања комуниста и зеленаша,а нарочито на територији Никшићког среза.

Тако:недавно четници су ухватили два балетина,два опасна комуниста,у Рчањима,недалеко од Никшића.Један од ових комуниста пуштен је исту вече када је и ухваћен,а другог зликовца након три дана отели су комунисти у Стубу од националиста четника.

Кључар Националног затвора у Никшићу Крсто Минић,родом из Пјешиваца,у јулу ове године пустио је у вече из затвора пет разбојника осуђених на смрт,и са њима побјегао,а сви разбојници требали су бити сјутра изјутра стрељани.Тај кључар Минић доцније ухваћен и данас живи а народни суд и кола издајника и његових штићеника,каже: Уредбом није предвиђен овакав случај.Мора сачекати крај рата,па у срећеним приликама судити му.

6.новембра тг.петнаест разбојника пуштено је из националног затвора у Страшевини.Пустили су их бивши комунисти,а данашњи националисти.Вероватно је да неће ни овде бити никакве одговорности.

Активни наредник Николић-четник четничког батаљона држао је целу ноћ конференцију у селу Кличчинима,са комунистима.

Недавно четници у шумама више Горњег Поља среди су се и споразумно разминули са комунистима те нису пуцали један на другог.Такав исти случај догодио се у Злој Гори и два пута у Будошу.

Једном приликом у Злој Гори седам националиста састале се са једном комунистичком тројком и после споразума братски се растали и дали заверу да неће пуцати један на друге.

Из једног реферата Националног пододбора у Грахову,кога вероватно имате у рукама,можете видети још много других појединости које,документоване чињеницама,откривају слободно кретање комуниста. И тако даље.

Сем тога из свих срезова стране Црне Горе траже да се стаде под команду Павла Бурћића,налазећи да се тамо сувише благо поступа са комунистима и да би он врло брзо расчистио са керенштином.

Знам како вам као правим националисти сваки случајеви,тешко падају на срце и колико вам је стало до тога да се униште ови зликовци који су немилосрдно мучили најгорим мукама и убијали наш народ.Зато и сматрам да ћете имати довољно одлучности да продужите своју досадашњу националну борбу.

Само,молим вас,да једно увек имате у виду,да се ми налазимо не само у рату него преживљујемо и револуцију под најтежим околностима - под окупатором.Сем тога комунисти стално и много рачунају на нашу„буржоаску сентименталност."Зато и ми морамо стегнути срце и немилице уништавати народне крволоке,као што би то они радили,ђ раде тамо где се још терором одржавају.

Молим вас известите шта сте по предњем случајевима предузели.

20.јануара 1943 г.

Поздравља Вас
Драг. Михаиловић

Letter from Mihailović to the Četnik commander Bajo Stanišić about the »Kerensky atmosphere« prevailing in Montenegro regarding the question of the annihilation of communists.

Defendant: He did not work at all.

President: Karlo Novak?

Defendant: I had no information, I don't believe he did. He was arrested.

President: Janjić?

Defendant: The one who was in Slavonia? He did.

President: Žarko Todorović?

Defendant: He never did.

President: Alexander Nikolić.

Defendant: He did.

Glišić's Counsel: What about Glišić?

President: I asked about him at the very beginning. Do you know if Glišić had contact with the invader? The Counsel wants to know.

Defendant: Yes, he had.

President: (Addressing the Counsel) Are you satisfied?

THE CONNECTION OF THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ WITH PAVELIĆ AND ARCHBISHOP STEPINEC FOR THE PURPOSE OF A JOINT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FORCES

President: Now please tell me, accused Mihailović, who is Ranko Brašić?

Defendant: I did not know Ranko Brašić until he came with General Trifunović. He was a lawyer from Belgrade.

President: From Belgrade? Was he at your headquarters?

Defendant: Not at mine, but with General Trifunović. I had never seen him until he came to see me one day, at Trifunović's suggestion.

President: Did you ever send the lawyer Brašić, to Zagreb?

Defendant: I did.

President: Who managed the sending of Brašić to Zagreb?

Defendant: I think Father Savo.

President: Why was Brašić sent to Zagreb?

Defendant: He himself asked to go. He came with General Trifunović and he made the suggestion, as I needed very badly to get in contact with Zagreb. He told me that it was not right that I should be so little in touch with Maček, and then he told me that he could go to Zagreb. When I mentioned that he had a spot on his face — he had a big red spot — he said that he could go because he had friends there and that he would certainly be able to live in Zagreb.

I then allowed him to go to Zagreb. I gave him the task of establishing contact with the Maček men and of renewing this contact because I lost it when I went to Bosnia.

President: With which Maček men?

Defendant: With those who were with Maček; because there were three kinds of Maček men?

President: Actually, with which of the prominent Maček men?

Defendant: With Košutić, an engineer.

President: Was he to establish contact with anybody else?

Defendant: I probably gave letters too. I cannot be certain. I often sent these letters to various former guard officers whom I had known before, and I specially gave him an introduction to Nikola Čanić, a lieutenant-colonel.

President: To which officers did you send him?

Defendant: To General Mirko Opačić and Avgustin Marić. I said so at the inquiry.

President: And to Defar?

Defendant: Yes.

President: To whom else.

Defendant: The exact details are in my statement. I would ask you to help me.

President: Perhaps to Ćiril Dando?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Did Brašić go to Zagreb?

Defendant: Yes.

President: What report did he send in?

Defendant: He informed me that he had established contact with the Maček men, that they were very vague, that they demanded that the Central National Committee should send representatives for talks and they also demanded that they should be Serbs, and not from other regions.

President: And what report did he submit to you regarding contact with the former guard officers?

Defendant: I do not remember what he sent me. I only remember that, as he had to legalize his position, he probably had contact with Matija Čanić, through his brother Nikola Čanić. Matija was in the Ustaša staff.

President: Did Brašić ever go to Zagreb again?

Defendant: I gave the exact details at the investigation. He used to come and go.

President: When he went for the second time, what was his task?

Defendant: He had to carry on with the job. He had told me that it was possible to create in the northern regions on the Slovene-Croatian frontier... I had one idea, to bring the Home Guards over to my side and to protect them, together with Maček's supporters; I gave them instructions in the course of 1943 through a special delegate of Maček's men, as to how they should work.

Prosecutor: What was the name of this delegate?

Defendant: Belanić.

President: Did you send anybody to Zagreb, before Brašić, to make contact with Maček's men?

Defendant: I did.

President: Whom?

Defendant: Barac was to work, but he was not sent.

President: Perhaps you sent Predavec?

Defendant: I don't know who went first and who went later, perhaps they went together.

President: All right. When Brašić returned from Zagreb what uniform was he wearing?

Defendant: A German uniform.

President: Did Brašić bring anything to you from Zagreb?

Defendant: I don't remember.

President: Was he to establish links with anybody else but Maček's men and the Home Guards?

Defendant: With nobody else. Absolutely. The statements of the indictment that he was told to establish connections with Stepinec and Pavelić, are untrue.

President: How, untrue? Explain.

Defendant: He was not given this task. Even if I had told him to establish connections with certain Ustašas, it could only have been in order to legalize his stay in Croatia. As he was in the intelligence service, I considered that all means were permissible to him.

President: Did he get in touch with the Ustaša headquarters?

Defendant: He did. It was not quite clear, but it seems he did. I considered it normal for a man in the intelligence service to use all possible means.

President: Did you send anybody else besides Brašić to Zagreb?

Defendant: Predavec went earlier. Others were to go, not to stay in Zagreb, but to pass through there on their way to the place where we were to organize General Trifunović's headquarters, and with him was to be Vasa Ristić, Central Committee member. I don't know whether engineer Stanković was to be there too.

President: Did you send Račić or Neško Nedić?

Defendant: Yes, that was it.

President: In whose hands was Zagreb?

Defendant: In German hands.

Prosecutor: Did Neško Nedić and Račić go there?

President: Yes. The accused says they did. But were the Germans and the Ustašas in Zagreb and what happened?

Defendant: Nedić and Račić insisted on going to demand the surrender of the army from Löhr.

President: Did the army surrender?

Defendant: No. The collapse of Germany was obvious. That was in April 1945. It was with this request that they went there.

President: What month was that?

Defendant: April 1945.

President: Had you any forces in Bosnia?

Defendant: Yes, I had.

President: Was it an act of military courtesy to ask the enemy to capitulate?

Defendant: I could not prevent it. It was no act of military courtesy. They went because the break-down of the German army was imminent.

Prosecutor (addressing the President): Please ask him what they reported.

President: Let us first get this point clear. Did they surrender to Löhr?

Defendant: They did not.

President: What did Neško Nedić and Brašić report when they returned from German-fascist Zagreb?

Defendant: That they had not succeeded.

President: Did they establish contact?

Defendant: They were in contact with Löhr's Chief of Staff.

President: Did Löhr know they were Četniks?

Defendant: Certainly.

Prosecutor: And nothing happened, they just parted like good friends.

Defendant: Yes, they did.

Prosecutor: They asked him to surrender and he answered: »I don't want to«.

Defendant: Yes. just like that.

President: In March and April 1945 when you sent Brašić to Zagreb, did you entrust him with the task of establishing contact with Pavelić and Alojzije Stepinec?

Defendant: Never.

President: You were shown a letter which you sent, and which is addressed »To His Eminence Dr. Alojzije Stepinec, Archibishop of Zagreb and Metropolitan Bishop of Croatia — Zagreb.«

Defendant: I was shown it.

President: And what have you to say about this?

Defendant: It was not my letter.

President: Wasn't it?

Defendant: I have already said so.

President (addresing the Prosecutor): He denies this letter.

Prosecutor: Well, I didn't write it!

Defendant: Neither did I.

Prosecutor (Showing the accused the letter which he wrote to Stepinec): Have a look please. Is this your signature?

Defendant: The signature is mine, but the letter is not.

President: (reads a letter) »The Supreme Command, April 15, 1945, to Mr. B. U....« Who is B. U.?

Defendant: We have discussed that. It could be only Brašić.

Prosecutor: Brašić the lawyer?

President (Continues to read the letter): »I thank you for the information you sent me about the results of your talks with His Excellency, with the aim of entering on a joint struggle against the Partisans. In a separate letter, enclosed herewith, are to be found all the necessary decisions as regards the object of these negotiations and the concluding of a favourable arrangement. My desire is to draw your attention to the proposal, and to my proposed personal visit to His Excellency. Therefore I ask you to be kind enough to inform His Excellency of the contents of this letter. 1) In the first place please thank His Excellency for his kind invitation, which he sent through you. For reasons of principle, expressed in the course of these four years, I cannot, unfortunately, accept his kind invitation. 2) But you must assure His Excellency that it is not because of my personal safety, since I am convinced that His Excellency would give me absolute protection in his area. 3) In the course of these four years I have never been separated from my troops. My commanders also, when I acquainted them with the proposal of His Excellency, pointed this out, and expressly begged me not to break this tradition and thus cause uneasiness among my ranks. While asking you to convey truly these reasons to His Excellency, I take the opportunity of asking His Excellency to trust completely the officers whom I have sent to negotiate, and thus make possible a successful conclusion of this undertaking for the benefit of both our peoples. Please emphasize to him my determination that I and all my subordinate commanders and

troops, in putting into effect the projected agreement, shall keep strictly to the conclusions accepted by the delegates in the name of the Supreme Command. For my part, I express my hope and deep conviction that His Excellency and his commanders and troops shall also be permeated with the same spirit of keeping to their word. In conveying the contents of this letter to His Excellency, please express to him my respects. I thank you for the efforts you are making in carrying out this nationally useful work, and I believe that in future also, everywhere and in all circumstances, you will know how to serve the interests of our Fatherland, which, I hope, will give you due recognition. Cordial greetings, yours, General Dragoljub Mihailović«

President: Is this your letter?

Defendant: Tell me the date.

President: April 15, 1945.

Defendant: On January 10, 1944, I began to fight against the Ustašas.

President: Is this your letter?

Defendant: No.

President: And the signature?

Defendant: The signature may be mine, but the letter is not.

President: You said to the Prosecutor that it was yours.

Defendant: The signature is mine.

Prosecutor: Is it yours or can't it be yours?

Defendant: Excuse me, but I do not know how to express myself as lawyers do, the signature is mine.

President: Here is another letter: »The Supreme Command, April 15, 1945, to His Eminence Dr. Alojzije Stepinec, Archibishop of Zagreb and the Croat Metropolitan — Zagreb.

Your Eminence, The communist wave, after flooding Serbia and other Serbian regions, nas begun also to flood the regions inhabited by the Croat people. It is getting bigger every day and threatens soon to flood your regions, as was the case last year here in Serbia. At his first meeting with you, the bearer of this letter had the opportunity to inform Your Eminence about all the sufferings which communism caused the Serbian people during the recent months. Thinking that it is my duty at this moment to draw the attention of Your Eminence, as the spiritual leader of the Croat people, to all the horrors of an eventual communist conquest of the Croat territory, I have the honour to enclose herewith, a report which will show Your Eminence my views on the present military and political situation. The bearer of this letter will be at the

disposal of Your Eminence and can give you any further information. Regardless of the factors and circumstances which used to separate us and which might still do so, I consider it my duty to ask Your Eminence to use all Your influence and efforts to engage

Vrhovna Komanda, 15 aprila 1945

Poštovani gospodine B-u,-

Zahvalan sam Vam za obaveštenja,koja ste mi učinili o rezultatu Vaših razgovora sa Ekselencijom,u cilju vodjenja jedne zajedničke borbe protivu partizana. U posebnim aktima, koji su Vam zajedno sa ovim pismom uručeni, sadržane su potrebne odluke u pogledu dovršenja ovih razgovora i zaključenja jednog željenog aranžmana. Meni je, medjutim, želja da se ovim pismom pozabavim isključivo pitanjem učinjenog mi predloga od strane Ekselencije za moju ličnu posetu i direktnog uredjenja ovog narodnog posla, te Vas lepo molim, da budete ljubazni i da Ekselenciju upoznate sa sadržinom njegovom.

1 - U prvome redu Vas molim,da u moje ime zahvalite Ekselenciji na ljubaznosti i pozivu, koji mi je preko Vas uputio. Čisto principijelni razlozi, izgradjeni tokom ove četiri godine, ne dopuštaju mi,nažalost, da se ovome ljubaznom pozivu odazovem.

2 - Svakako mi je stalo,da Ekselenciju ubedite,da u konkretnom slučaju moja lična bezbednost ne dolazi pod pitanje. Jer, ja sam apsolutno uveren,da bi mi Ekselencija, na svome području, pružio bezuslovnu sigurnost i obezbedjenje.

3 - Tokom ove četiri godine, ja se nijednom prilikom nisam odvajao od svojih trupa Tu okolnost su moji komandanti,koje sam odmah upoznao sa sadržinom predloga Ekselencije, istakli i izričito me molili da ni u ovoj prilici ne otstupam od ustaljene tradicije trupa i da izbegnem svako unošenje nemira u njihove redove.

Moleći Vas da budete veran tumač ovih razloga pred Ekselencijom, ja koristim ovu priliku, da preko Vas Ekselenciju umolim, da gospodi oficirima,kojima sam vodjenje pregovora poverio, pokloni puno poverenje i da na taj način omogući uspešno završenje ovoga posla na korist oba naroda. Molim Vas isto tako,da podvučete moju rešenost,da se u provodjenju projektovanoga sporazuma,zajedno sa svojim potčinjenim komandantima i trupama, striktno pridržavam svih utanačenja,koja gospoda delegati u ime Vrhovne komande budu prihvatili Sa svoje strane, ja izražavam svoju nadu i duboko uverenje, da će tim istim duhom držanja vojničke časne reči biti prožeti Ekselencija, Njegovi komandanti i trupe.

Saopštavajući sadržinu ovoga pisma Ekselenciji,molim Vas da Mu izvolite izraziti moje poštovanje.

Vama zahvaljujem na požrtvovanju i naporima,što ih unosite u ostvarenje ovoga po narod korisnog posla i verujem da ćete i u buduće u svakoj prilici i na svakom mestu umeti da poslužite interesima naše otadžbine,čije Vam priznanje,nadam se, ne će izostati

Srdačno Vas pozdravlja

Vaš,

Jenerał Drag. M. Mihailović

Letter from Mihailović to B (to Ranko Brašić, agent) in connection with the talks of Četnik representatives with »His Excellency« — the bloodthirsty tyrant Ante Pavelić.

all the national forces of the Croat people in the struggle against the Bolseviks.

In sending you this letter I assure you of my belief that Your Eminence, following the great examples of your predecessors, will

fulfil all the duties and tasks which confront Your Eminence in these difficult days. The place in history which Christian posterity, and the Croat people will accord to Your Eminence, will depend upon how Your Eminence interprets these duties and tasks.

In that conviction and hope I recommend to you the bearer of this letter and ask Your Eminence to accept the expression of my highest esteem.

Signed, Army General,
Drag. M. Mihailović

Is this your letter?

Defendant: It is not mine.

President: Is the signature yours.?

Defendant: The signature is mine but I think both letters are forged. Tell me the date please.

President: The trial will be continued tomorrow at 7 a. m.

PRESIDENT: IS THERE A SINGLE ONE OF YOUR COMMANDERS WHO DID NOT SOIL HIMSELF BY COLLABORATING WITH THE GERMANS?

DEFENDANT: I CAN'T SAY.

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, yesterday you enumerated your commanders who collaborated with the invaders, and you mentioned some of your commanders who, you said, did not collaborate. I must call your attention to telegrams sent to you and ask you whether you knew about them when you made your deposition yesterday. You said that your commander Radović did not collaborate with the invader. What was his pseudonym?

Defendant: Kondor.

Prosecutor: In № 11014 (it is document № 162) he informs you: »Communists were arrested the last two nights according to a list made by myself... I am informed that during the night of the 21 st — 22nd several were shot.« Have you seen this telegram?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Do you see now that Kondor collaborated with the invader?

Defendant: I do.

Prosecutor: Did your commander Raković collaborate with the invader.

Defendant: I think I said that he did.

Perosecutor: All right, then I shall not read his telegrams. Did Ješa Simić, called Drška, your colonel, collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: I didn't know about his work. What the indictment says about his activities, I didn't know. He was killed by Raković.

Prosecutor: He killed Simić. When?

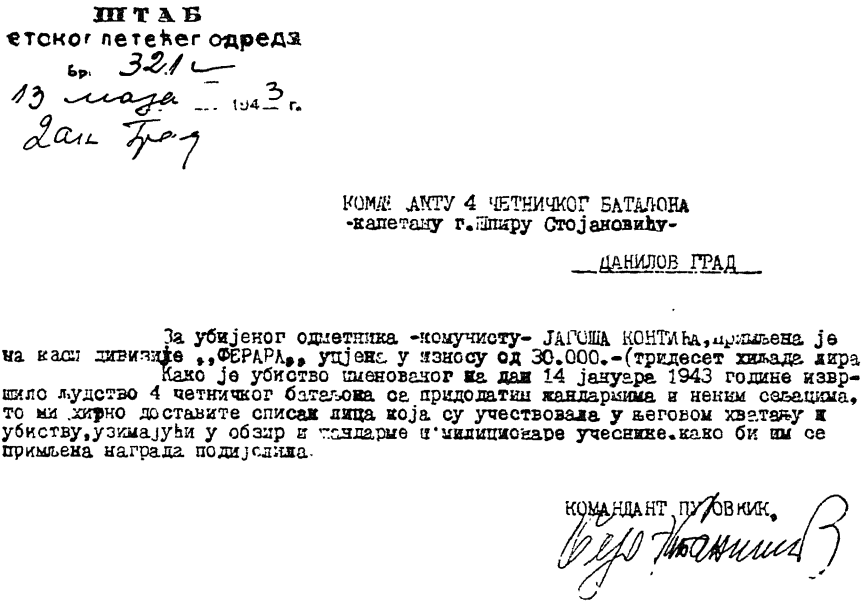
Defendant: In 1944, although he was my fellow-student at the Military Academy.

Prosecutor: Then you did not know that Simić collaborated with the invader?

Defendant: I said I didn't know.

Prosecutor: Did Radmilo Grđić collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: Too much. *(Laughter in the court-room).*



ШТАБ
етског пегеħег одреда
бр. 321
13 маја 1943 г.
Дан Град

КОМАНДАНТУ 4 ЧЕТНИЧКОГ БАТАЉОНА
-капетану г.Шпиру Стојановићу-

ДАНИЛОВ ГРАД

За убијеног одметника -комуњсту- ЈАГОША КОНТИЋа, примљена је на касу дивизије „ФЕРАРА„ уцјена у износу од 30.000.-(тридесет хиљада лира)
Како је убиство именованог на дан 14 јануара 1943 године извршило људство 4 четничког батаљона са придодатим жандармима и неким сељацима, то ми хитно доставите списак лица која су учествовала у његовом хватању и убиству,узимајући у обзир и жандарме и милиционаре учеснике.како би им се примљена награда подијелила.

КОМАНДАНТ ПУКОВНИК.

Facsimile of report from the Četnik commander Bajo Stanišić regarding the distribution of 30.000 lire received from the Italian invader for the killing of Jagoš Kontić, a communist.

Prosecutor: Then I shall not read about him. As for Voja Lukačević, we have established that he collaborated with the Germans, Italians and others.

Defendant: He had an agreement with them.

Prosecutor: Sava Vukadinović was your delegate, wasn't he? The delegate of the Supreme Command in Montenegro?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Here is his report to you about the assassination of Bajo Stanišić and Blažo Đukanović at Ostrog. Do you know this? He says: »For the assassination of Bajo and Blažo I asked our men at Podgorica to request the Germans to shoot more than 300 communists«.

Defendant: I didn't know this.

Prosecutor: This telegram reached your command?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: You see that Sava Vukadinović asks the Germans to carry out reprisals for the killing of Blažo and Bajo. Did Blažo and Bajo collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: They were traitors?

Defendant: I said they collaborated.

Prosecutor: It is painful for you to say that they were traitors?

Defendant: It is unnecessary.

Prosecutor: The Partisans were killing traitors, and because of this he asked for the shooting of 300 communists.

Prosecutor: (Reading a telegram sent to Draža Mihailović in which it was said that 18 lorries of Ljotić men left for Ivanjica) The telegram says »It is confirmed from several sources that Tito is in the Moravica District«. You received a report about your commander Cvetić from Armstrong. Who was he?

Defendant: A British brigadier.

Prosecutor: What was his function?

Defendant: Chief of Mission.

Prosecutor: Here is what he has to tell you. It was transmitted to you by Hans. That is an assumed name. Who was he?

Defendant: »Dronja« General Trifunović.

Prosecutor: (Reading the telegram in which Armstrong informs the Minister): »I followed Cvetić to Negbin. But Cvetić's area was more to the west. I did not see that the communists attacked the Četniks. I saw nothing terrible. There are no burnt villages. It is clear that the Partisans attacked the Axis forces at Ivanjica, and the Partisans were afterwards pursued.« In the continuation of this telegram. No. 958, of February 1944, it is stated: »It is clear that the Četniks, Germans and Bulgarians are attacking the Partisans near Zlatibor. Cvetić's subaltern officers have forgotten the Germans. Instead of the Germans, they look on the Partisans as their enemy.«

Defendant: Brigadier Armstrong asked that a bridge should be destroyed south of the village Polumir. I agreed and ordered preparations to be made for this. But I was informed by the inhabitants

that at Polumir there were 1.000 Bosnian refugees. I asked Armstrong to destroy a bridge south of Raška, because it was just the same whether the bridge to be destroyed on the Belgrade—Skoplje line via Kosovo, lay more to the north or to the south. He stubbornly refused. For this reason I told Cvetić to leave him, in order to postpone the matter until we agreed to another plan; and during that time the Partisans attacked.

Prosecutor: Here is something about Novak. It is No. 146. Novak asked you something and you answered as follows: »Some of the talks with Italian commanders were not desirable, but if you can utilize the Italians in a suitable manner, do so. But don't compromise the movement or yourself; in the severe fighting which is going on we have to use one enemy against the other. The organization of the Yugoslav army is in your hands. Strengthen it, in spite of all obstacles«. Is it not giving a free hand to Karlo Novak, in his collaboration with the Italians?

Defendant: It was only an intrigue.

Prosecutor: I don't understand this intrigue of yours. Doesn't this mean: collaborate secretly but be careful not to compromise yourself.

Defendant: In my opinion he was not to compromise himself but he could intrigue.

Prosecutor: I shall read your telegrams to Drenović, written in your own hand, which prove that he collaborated with the Germans, Ustašas and Italians, with all kinds of invaders.

Defendant: I only learnt about it later.

Prosecutor: Did you still look on him as your commander?

Defendant: I never appointed him, and I could not remove him.

Prosecutor: Let us find your order dealing with this.

Defendant: Ostojić got a number of my signatures which he could use as he liked.

Prosecutor: I don't know how will you be able to prove that.

Defendant: I shall prove it by the telegrams of my commanders, who said they had lost my signature.

Prosecutor: Here is another document which says... »The general has come, he will decide . . . with faith in God, for King and Fatherland — commander Drenović«. Here is another document, No. 324, in which it is said that No. 11 sends the following urgent message: »All requests for ammunition fulfilled, and will be sent to their destination.«

And now let us speak about Borota. Do you recognize this? It is the original signal book of Borota with the seals. The Court

can see it if it wishes. I shall hand it to the Court. Here is a telegram from Borota which reads: »No. 11 sends the following urgent message: All requests for ammunition fulfilled and will be sent to their destination. They want an understanding with you, and one of your representatives should come to make the arrangements. They propose to scatter our troops in the area, for destructive purposes, and they will give ammunition and other supplies. They want to have a radio link. They want to give us a wireless transmitter. They ask a wireless operator to be sent to them. Please send urgent insructions. Colonel Borota.« This is the telegram.

Defendant: I don't recognise it.

Prosecutor: Had you contact with Aćimović in Bosnia?

Defendant: With which Aćimović?

Prosecutor: With Milan Aćimović.

Defendant: He came to the first and second meetings, one at Srednje and the other at Vučjak.

Prosecutor: What was Aćimović getting for you in Vienna?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: I shall remind you of your telegram No. 13 of January 12, 1945: »Aćimović has sent three telegrams. Vaccines and the most necessary medical supplies will arrive at Sarajevo one of these days. I promise help, ammunition and clothing... Borota should continually ask for what you want, he should press your requests every day . . .

Defendant: I was buying supplies.

Prosecutor: It seems that you were buying from the Germans both arms and ammunition: Was General Trifunović buying flamethrowers from the Germans?

Defendant: I don't know, you can see in my cash — books that I was buying ammunition too.

President: Comrade Prosecutor, how long are you going to enumerate all these commanders?

Prosecutor: I wanted to submit proofs concerning every one of them.

President: In that case you would have to go on the whole day. This point is already clear. The Defendant is unable to quote a single one of his commanders who did not collaborate with the Germans.

Prosecutor: I want the Defendant to admit that there was not a single one of his commanders who did not collaborate with the enemy.

President: You see, accused Mihailović, yesterday you said, »I don't know,« but later when I asked you whether there was a single one of your commanders who had not collaborated with the Germans, and when the names of your commanders and original dispatches were read, it was proved that they had all collaborated. Now we are losing time asking you the same question. Is there a single one of your commanders who did not soil himself by collaborating with the Germans?

Defendant: I can't say.

Prosecutor: Did you know that some of your commanders freed Germans who had been captured by the Partisans, and then returned them to the Germans?

Defendant: I didn't know.

Prosecutor: You see that your commander from Paraćin informed the Četnik command that he was sending by courier two Germans who were recaptured from the Partisans. The date of the letter is August 30, 1944, and it is signed by your Paraćin commander. Is this a betrayal of the fatherland, is this serving the invader?

Defendant: Certainly.

Prosecutor: Here is another document. It is No. 275. The brigade commander of Azbukovina District, you remember him from the Pocer group ...

Defendant: I remember him.

Prosecutor: He sent you a letter informing you that the German command at Šabac requests the repair of the road for Krupanj. *(Prosecutor Minić reads the document which says that the German command at Šabac requests the repair of the road and necessary labour for it. The letter also states that, according to certain information, the Germans are preparing an action against the communists in Bosnia. For that reason they ask that the commanders of the Rađevina and Azbukovina districts put at their disposal the necessary labour).* And now let us clear up the question of the holding of territory. Is this what you call »holding territories«, did your troops hold territories in Serbia in this manner?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Is it treason?

Defendant: Yes. But it also proves another thing. The Germans did not dare to come into our territory without asking our permission.

Prosecutor: And the third thing that this proves?

Defendant: (Looks questioningly at the Prosecutor).

Prosecutor: Doesn't it also prove that the Germans and Četniks didn't fight each other; isn't that so?

Defendant: Yes, but at the same time it is a proof of the wilfulness of my commanders.

Prosecutor: That is to say that it was clear for a long time that the Četniks did not fight against the Germans?

Defendant: It was clear, but it also proves that the Germans had to ask permission to enter our territory.

Prosecutor: It is clear that they collaborated. You said that the Germans had to ask your permission when they wanted to come out of the towns. Now it is clear how you held your territories. Now let us speak of another matter. Did you appoint Pavle Đurišić as your commander? I shall read you a letter from Pavle Đurišić. He sends you a copy of a speech he made at Kolašin, at the reception of Pirzio Biroli. His speech to Pirzio Biroli, Governor of Montenegro, begins like this: »Your Excellency, gentlemen, dear brothers and sisters. The fate of the great European nations differs from that of small nations. The small nations have always been exposed to various dangers and obliged to spend their physical and mental powers in assuring their existence, while the great nations were able to devote themselves to cultural and educational activities. The communists who had gathered in Montenegro from all parts of Yugoslavia exploited the revolt of the Serbian people, by leading the people to slaughter in the fight against the invader. The people in Montenegro, although always faithful to their national traditions, through bad policy became a tool in the hands of the communists, who threw them into a whirlpool from which they have not yet extricated themselves.« Do you agree with this?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: (Continues) »At the time when the people of Montenegro found themselves in a difficult situation, we were fortunate, because at that very moment there came to us a great friend of the Serbian people, a former fighter on the Salonica front and possessor of the order of the White Eagle with Swords, His Excellency Army General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli. He became governor of Montenegro. And his task was to clear Montenegro, with the help of the Italian army and Italian arms, of those monsters and Jewish henchmen, and to introduce peace and order in Montenegro. For the sake of peace and order in Montenegro, so that I may keep my promise to you and in order that the people may be saved from new bloodshed, I beg you, in the name of the whole people, to have full confidence in our commander General Đukanović.« Was that your commander?

ЛОВЋЕН

ЦЕТИЊЕ 11. октобра 1944.

Високо одликовање потпуковника П. Ђуришића

Четнички командант г. Павле Ђуришић којега је генерал Недић недавно промакнуо у чин потпуковника и повјерио му дужност помоћника команданта Добровољачког корпуса, добио је од стране Врховне команде њемачких оружаних снага нарочито признање за своје војничке врлине, те је одликован од Фирера орденом Жељезног крста

Traitor Pavle Đurišić, whom the emigrant government decorated with the order of the Karađorđe Star, was also decorated by Hitler with the Iron Cross. Facsimile of the report on the front page of »Lovćen« about this decoration by Hitler.

Defendant: That is another question.

Prosecutor: Did you approve Đurišić's work.

Defendant: I accepted the situation as I found it.

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, so far we have established that you cannot say for certain that there was a single commander of yours who did not cooperate with the invader.

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: What is it you don't know?

Defendant: I had a great many commanders.

Prosecutor: You are not able to name any one.

Defendant: I only knew the senior commanders, and don't remember all of them either.

Prosecutor: Did Ostojić cooperate?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: And Lalatović?

Defendant: Yes, he did.

Prosecutor: What was Ostojić in your supreme command?

Defendant: Chief of operations section, information section and organisation section.

Prosecutor: What was Lalatović at that time?

Defendant: Liaison chief.

Prosecutor: And after Ostojić?

Defendant: Lalatović became chief of the Advance Section of the Supreme Command.

Prosecutor: And after that?

Defendant: He succeeded Ostojić.

Prosecutor: So he took over the operations, the information and the organization section. Beginning with your supreme command, with two of your nearest cooperators, down to the most junior commanders, all collaborated with the invader?

Defendant: They all betrayed me.

President: The matter has been made quite clear regarding the commanders.

THE AMERICAN COLONEL MCDOWELL, WHO CAME TO MIHAILOVIĆ IN JULY 1944, SAID TO HIM: »YOUR PRESENT SITUATION IS DIFFICULT, BUT THE FUTURE IS YOURS«

Prosecutor: You said yesterday that the British Mission left your headquarters. When and why?

Defandant: They left me in the Spring 1944.

Prosecutor: What was the chief reason?

Defendant: I had no idea.

Prosecutor: And when did Major Bačović and Lukačević come?

Defendant: Just when the Mission was leaving. They came in the same plane.

(Prosecutor Minić approaches the accused Mihailović and shows him General Masterson's message) .

Defendant: It was probably sent to Ostojić and he multiplied it. Let me look at it a little longer.

Prosecutor: Is this yours?

Defendant: It may be something else... I did not know before that they were using my signature... This is my passage...

Prosecutor: You remember this passage?

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): I don't know what it is all about. Can I please see it?

Prosecutor Minić: (goes to the Counsel and shows him the letter).

Prosecutor (to the defendant): Baćović and Lukačević brought a certain message.

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: From whom?

Defendant: I had notes with me, which were found. They were in my pocket when I was caught. I acquainted my higher commanders with it by circular. It was only for the higher commanders.

Prosecutor: And what were the contents of the message which was sent to you from abroad? I don't insist that you should be precise, but give us the main contents.

Defendant: Lukačević and Baćović... Lukačević went to London, and Baćović was only in Cairo. I don't remember all they said. But Lukačević met all the officials, all the important officials in London.

Prosecutor: And Baćović?

Defendant: Baćović spoke with General Masterson. General Masterson said that the communists must be annihilated and then the situation would immediately change in our favour.

Prosecutor: Is this passage in your letter related to this message? I shall read it. It is an important and interesting fact. In the letter it is said: »Dear Commander. Very high and important British officials have sent us a message telling us to liquidate the communists as soon as possible. As soon as the communists are liquidated the situation will change«.

Defendant: What I said a short time ago was from memory, but what is in the documents is the actual state of affairs.

Prosecutor: Was this your wording, at the time when you received the message?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Baćović and Lukačević transmitted this message.

Defendant: There must be something about it in the documents. I think it will be brought out...

Prosecutor: It does not mean that this was a message from the Yugoslav emigrants?

Defendant: It is written on the document.

Prosecutor: Was that before or after the departure of the British Mission?

Defendant: What?

Prosecutor: The message that Baćović and Lukačević brought.

Defendant: Armstrong departed by the same plane that brought Lukačević and Baćović.

Prosecutor: On the same day?

Defendant: On the same day.

Prosecutor: So from May 1944 you had no British Mission with you? And, I repeat the word, why?

Defendant: I have thought about it, and I think that they had not enough confidence in me. I think this question will come up again.

Prosecutor: Was there any intervention by the government?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And what did they say?

Defendant: That I should seek the support of the western powers.

Prosecutor: Did you answer this message from the government?

Defendant: I probably did.

Prosecutor: Was your answer affirmative or negative?

Defendant: I think I could not have written differently from what I did. I think that my answer was affirmative.

Prosecutor: All right. Did you have contact with foreign countries after that? After the departure of the British Mission?

Defendant: There was wireless contact till the end.

Prosecutor: The end was in 1945. What do you mean?

Defendant: I had an uninterrupted wireless link with a British station.

Prosecutor: What was the purpose of the link?

Defendant: We were sending them messages, they were receiving them, but were sending nothing to us.

Prosecutor: Why?

Defendant: That was their business, but they were receiving them. There was a hitch for some time, but then they again came on the air every day and asked us to send them information. George Musulin, an American lieutenant, formerly Serbian, was one of the

first to arrive. Later I heard that Colonel McDowell would come. He arrived, I think, at the end of July 1944.

Prosecutor: Did he come in July?

Defendant: I am not sure.

Prosecutor: Did you meet McDowell immediately?

Defendant: Not immediately.

Prosecutor: How long after?

Defendant: If McDowell came in July I could not have met him at once. Two or three days must have passed.

Prosecutor: Where did McDowell land?

Defendant: At Pranjani.

Prosecutor: And where were you?

Defendant: I was a little more to the west.

Prosecutor: Why were you there?

Defendant: I was busy and I did not want to inconvenience McDowell by asking him to come there immediately, because the Bulgarians were then leaving our country by order of the allies.

Prosecutor: Very well. And what did McDowell tell you when you first met him?

Defendant: Colonel McDowell said: Your present situation is difficult, but the future is yours.

Prosecutor: Did he explain this.

Defendant: It is in the minutes, I can't remember it just now.

President: Are you tired?

Defendant: I am.

(10 minutes interval).

McDOWELL TO MIHAILOVIĆ: »YOUR FIGHT AGAINST THE GERMANS DOES NOT INTEREST US, YOU HAVE TO KEEP YOUR POSITION AMONG THE PEOPLE — I HAVE COME TO HELP YOU«

Prosecutor: How many days after McDowell's arrival did you meet him?

Defendant: I don't know exactly, but it was soon after that.

Prosecutor: I must remind you of your statement at the examination: »We met two or three days later on the Užička Kamenica—Kojina Gora road«.

Defendant: That's right.

Prosecutor: At the examination you mentioned three messages. Repeat them.

Defendant: I can't say that they were given at the same time, but it may have been like this: »Germany has lost the war, your fight

against the Germans does not interest us. You have to keep your position among the people — I have come to help you.«

Prosecutor: Well?

Defendant: That is what I have to say.

Prosecutor: Did he say which of the allies would enter Yugoslavia?

Defendant: That was later.

Prosecutor And what did he tell you?

Defendant: They would come from two directions: one from Greece and the other from Slovenia.

Prosecutor: Who?

Defendant: The Anglo-Americans.

Prosecutor: Did he say that your present situation was serious, but that your future was absolutely sure?

Defendant: Yes. He and I were present at public meetings in Bosnia.

Prosecutor: You were present at meetings? Where?

Defendant: In various places. At a meeting with the Moslems at Dvor.

Prosecutor: What did you say at this meeting, and what did he say?

Defendant: We were raising the morale. We spoke a lot about friendship with the Moslems, because it was my main thesis: Rapprochement between Moslems and Orthodox.

Prosecutor: That was in 1944?

Defendant: Yes, in 1944.

Prosecutor: I shall remind you of one passage in the minutes. Is this correct? It is written in your records: »The following message has been transmitted: The Russians in their advance will not enter Yougoslavia«.

Defendant: Yes, it is correct. He said: »When the Russians appear on the frontier, and see our arrival, the Red Army will not enter Yugoslavia.«

Prosecutor: And he told you to keep your position?

Defendant: Certainly; to keep our position.

Prosecutor: And whom would he have helped?

Defendant: Me.

Prosecutor: Did he explain this to you? Did you ask him questions? Did you show any interest? Why did he tell the Germans that they should surrender their arms only to you? Did he know that the Partisans were fighting against the Germans?

Defendant: He said: »I want to help you.«

Prosecutor: To help you?

Defendant: That is what he said: »I want to help you.«

Prosecutor: Well. When he said that you should keep your position among the people, did he add: »The Russians are practical politicians; they will understand the situation in the country...«

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And how did you understand this?

Defendant: I understood it like this: to keep one's position among the people meant to act politically on the side of the Soviet Union also. Really my idea was to work with the people, which meant a compromise between us and the Partisans.

Prosecutor: Did he tell you that American young men were not giving their lives in order that communism should get the upper hand in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: He said at public meetings that communism should not reign in Europe.

Prosecutor: Did he point out that he would help you only? I shall read, and you will say whether it is true: »He said at the meetings that America was helping exclusively me and my movement in Yugoslavia«.

Defendant: Yes, that is so.

Prosecutor: What impression did McDowell make on you? Did you take all his statements seriously?

Defendant: Yes, I did, because he had authority. He could negotiate with the Germans.

HOW SECRET LINKS WERE ESTABLISHED WITH THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT

Prosecutor: Last time you said you had secret links with the government, unknown to the British service. What was the first link?

Defendant: I established the first link with Cairo.

Prosecutor: With whom in Cairo?

Defendant: With Miodrag Rakić.

Prosecutor: Who established this contact and who brought the cipher? Was it Baletić or somebody else?

Defendant: Perhaps. But I think that I established the contact through Slijepčević who had come earlier.

Prosecutor: That means that you had a secret link with the government?

Defendant: It could not be entirely secret because it went through Cairo. Nothing could be sent from Cairo, not even diplomatic mail. A secret code could not be used.

Prosecutor: Whom did you get this information from?

Defendant: From the parachutists who came to us, and also from telegrams.

Prosecutor: What was your second secret link with the emigrants?

Defendant: Would you please remind me of what I said at the examination, if possible.

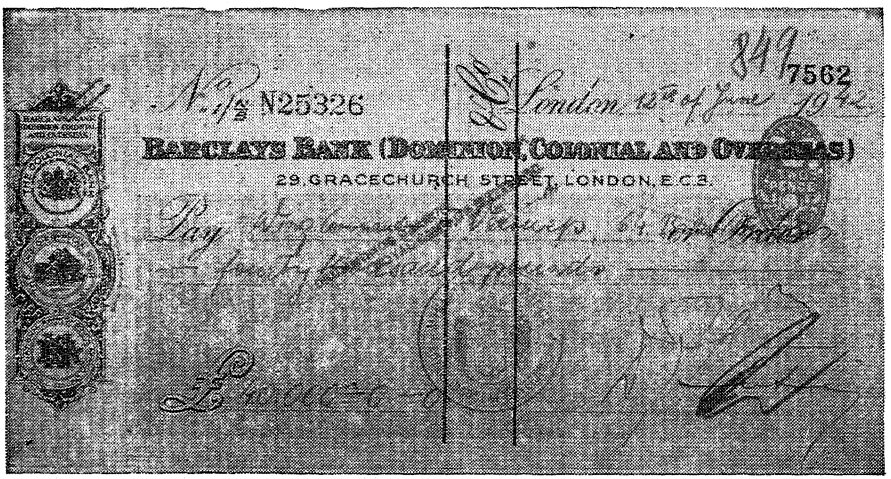
Prosecutor: You said that it was Jovan Đonović and that he had a wireless transmitter with him. Where was it?

Defendant: Wherever he moved.

Prosecutor: And what was his function in Egypt?

Defendant: He did not want to become a member of the government. He kept aloof, but I was in contact with him.

Prosecutor: When was that; in 1945?



Cheque for £ 40.000 to be paid to Mihailović. The cheque is signed by Dr Juraj Šutej, Minister of Finance in the emigrant government.

Defendant: No, it was earlier, much earlier. But he could not come in 1943 when the parachutists came. He tried to do so in 1944.

Prosecutor: And your third link, can you remember what it was?

Defendant: It was through Turkey.

Prosecutor: Was it a radio link?

Defendant: Yes, a radio link.

Prosecutor: With whom?

Defendant: With Senegalac.

Prosecutor: Surname Petković.

Defendant: Petković.

Prosecutor: Where did Petković work?

Defendant: He was at the Consulate.

Prosecutor: In Istanbul or Ankara?

Defendant: I don't know, I think in Ankara.

Prosecutor: Who was the Minister in Ankara?

Defendant: Šumenković.

Prosecutor: Did Šumenković know about this link?

Defendant: It was without Šumenković's knowledge.

Prosecutor: Petković is not a great political figure.

Defendant: But he had good connections.

Prosecutor: With whom?

Defendant: With Cairo.

Prosecutor: With whom in Cairo?

Defendant: With the military representatives in Cairo, probably with Rakić. But he did not have direct contact with Cairo; he had to work it through the French.

Prosecutor: Who established your link with Ankara?

Defendant: I don't know. I think you'll find it in my statement. I had to think about it at the examination, too.

Prosecutor: Did you have a code for your link with Ankara?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And your fourth link?

Defendant: It was in Italy.

Prosecutor: With whom?

Defendant: With Ciganović, an air-force officer.

Prosecutor: Ciganović is not a politician. To whom did this link lead?

Defendant: I think he worked with the centre where Rakić was.

Prosecutor: And your fifth link?

Defendant: The fifth link was with the American air-force. But, I don't think I made myself clear; it was not entirely secret.

Prosecutor: Did you get anything through that contact?

Defendant: That link was established in connection with the parachutists. But they also received our propaganda material through it.

Prosecutor: It seems that you had unsupervised links with the emigrant government? That is in contradiction with what you said at the investigation.

Defendant: I don't know why it should be contradictory.

Prosecutor: During the first and second days of your examination, you declared that all your contacts were controlled by the British service.

Defendant: That was at the beginning.

Prosecutor: When did you establish these secret channels?

Defendant: In 1943 or at the end of 1942, but not before that.

Prosecutor: That is to say that until then you had only one channel?

Defendant: Only one, via Malta.

Prosecutor: That is, from 1943 onwards you had uncontrolled links with the government? Could you receive instructions?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Were the instructions which came directly through the regular channel in contradiction to those received through the secret channels? Did you notice, that the government sent through the British link one kind of instructions and through the secret link others?

Defendant: It is difficult to say, but I think not. I am not sure.

PILLARS OF MIHAILOVIĆ'S POLICY ABROAD

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, which of the emigrants were the pillars of your policy? Who helped you most?

Defendant: I think Dr. Milan Gavrilović and Živko Topalović.

Prosecutor: He went abroad later, but before that?

Defendant: Fotić, Slobodan Jovanović.

Prosecutor: And Radoje Knežević?

Defendant: Yes, Radoje Knežević and Živan Knežević.

Prosecutor: What did you think of Dr. Ninčić?

Defendant: I had no information about his activities.

Prosecutor: And Petar Živković?

Defendant: He helped also.

Prosecutor: Did you look on these men as your chief supporters abroad?

Defendant: I did.

Prosecutor: And Dr. Purić?

Defendant: Dr. Purić, too.

Prosecutor: Can you remember when you first became Minister of the Army and Navy?

Defendant: In January 1942.

Prosecutor: And Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command?

Defendant: That was in June.

Prosecutor: June 1942? Was it during Slobodan Jovanović's government?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did the government send you messages asking you not to undertake premature actions, but to prepare your forces; and did it give you the time when you should rise in arms?

Defendant: I was to wait for the capitulation of Germany or the landing of the allies. Until then I was to organize. This concerned the main action, but did not exclude other activities.

Prosecution: Did the government once ask your permission to issue statement to the American press saying that you were not cooperating with the invader?

Defendant: I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Did the government ask you to answer certain questions concerning cooperation with the invader?

Defendant: I don't think so.

Prosecutor: Did the government know that your commanders in Montenegro and Dalmatia were cooperating with the invader?

Defendant: They could have known of that from the British service, if not from me.

Prosecutor: When did you establish direct contact with Fotić?

Defendant: In June 1943. When I retreated from Montenegro.

Prosecutor: Was Fotić your supporter in the USA?

Defendant: He was.

Prosecutor: Who helped him?

Defendant: Živan Knežević and Captain Todorović, who visited me.

Prosecutor: Did you know that Fotić was a relative of Nedić and Ljotić?

Defendant: I didn't

Prosecutor: What messages did Fotić send you?

Defendant: I can't remember.

Prosecutor: What did you send him?

Defendant: Propaganda material and reports. I could send him telegrams in code, but propaganda was sent openly.

Prosecutor: When did you succeed in establishing direct contact with Fotić?

Defendant: It was like this. I had Grbec with me. Who was a radio amateur. I told him to do it. In 15 days he constructed a transmitter which worked on short waves, on 16.19 m. He could get all Yugoslavia, and perhaps all Europe, with this set. He established contacts through an agency, I think the United Press. I have said already that we used to listen to agency broadcasts which gave news openly. He succeeded in establishing contact; and after that

the contact was transferred to an American transmitter which was controlled by the American General Staff.

Prosecutor: Who wrote the propaganda material for Fotić?

Defendant: It was edited by the Central National Committee, and also by the propaganda department.

Prosecutor: Who gave the final touches to the broadcasts?

Defendant: Grbec.

Prosecutor: He could do it from the technical point of view. But did Dr. Đurović have anything to do with it?

З А Б Е Л Е Ш К А

О разговору Помоћника Министра г. М. Милановића са Сер Орм Сарџентом у Фореи офису 22 децембра 1942 године.

Предао сам му ед-меморар ./. о комунистичкој радио станице "Слободна Југославија" и молио за повољан одговор да можемо реагирати преко станице "Сарајево".

Сер О.Сарџент ми је рекао, са равнодушношћу и са цинизмом, да су комунисти много активнији од ђенерала Михаиловића, да се сад они једини боре у Југославији, да се озбиљ ноћ од октобра прошле године више не бори, што отежава могућности сузбијања совјетске пропаганде против ђенерала Михаиловића.

На моју примедбу да је активност ђенерала Михаиловића једно време била сведена, по узајамном споразуму наших и енглеских надлежних кругова, и да је ђенерал у последње време поново врло активан у борби против окупатора, Сер Орм ми је са истим цинизмом одговорио да га чуди да је икад неко са енглеске стране могао да се сложи да ђенерал Михаиловић умањи активност, а да му уопште није познато да се сад ђенералови четници боре.

Facsimile of the note on the conversation between Milanović, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs of the emigrant government and Sir Orme Sergeant, in the Foreign Office.

Defendant: Yes, Dr. Đurović. He had to do it as secretary of the Committee. The transmitter was stationary and could not be moved from its place in Čačak.

Prosecutor: You mentioned a course in Serbian, in Cairo.

Defendant: I heard that there was a course for those Britishers who were to take over the administration in Europe, that is, the defeated countries. When I heard they were learning our language, for our country, I considered it undesirable.

Prosecutor: Why were you surprised, and why did you think it undesirable?

Defendant: I didn't like it because it implied a certain inferiority for us and the placing of our country on the same footing as the defeated countries.

Prosecutor: Why did you consider it offensive?

Defendant: In that case the country would have been administrated by foreigners, like the colonies, for instance. I didn't like it at all.

Prosecutor: Did you protest against it?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Please tell us whether Brigadier Armstrong wanted to bring about a reconciliation between you and the Partisans?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did Brigadier Armstrong succeed?

Defendant: He didn't. But I asked... It could not be taken as a condition for a general agreement, but I asked that we should not clash when we met. This was not possible without a special agreement. So on December 23, 1943, I sent a letter asking the British government to arrange a meeting between myself and a representative of the Partisans, and I even named a place for the meeting. It was somewhere in Sandžak.

Prosecutor: Were you ready at that moment to put an end to the cooperation of your commanders with the invader?

Defendant: I could have done so. On January 3, I received an answer from the British government saying that it did not want to mediate.

Prosecutor: And how did you take that?

Defendant: Both Armstrong and I were surprised.

Prosecutor: Was your organization the cause of this refusal?

Defendant: I don't think so.

Prosecutor: Was the collaboration of your commanders with the invader the cause of the refusal?

Defendant: The explanation may have been that we were to remain separated.

Prosecutor: You said that if the Partisans had stopped attacking you, cooperation with the invader would have stopped too.

Defendant: Yes, and I could have consolidated my position, and we would have been on an equal footing.

Prosecutor: Who attacked whom in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: Dalmatia was attacked before the Fourth Offensive.

Prosecutor: And who attacked Užice in 1941?

Defendant: The Četniks attacked it, and I told you why.

Prosecutor: Who ordered the attack on Čačak?

Defendant: After it came to a clash, negotiation became impossible.

Prosecutor: Is it true that the Četniks were the first to attack Užice?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Is it true that you ordered the Četnik attack on Čačak when the Partisans were not there, but were fighting at Kraljevo?

Defendant: When the conflict broke out, it spread.

Prosecutor: It is true that the Četniks were the first to attack the Partisans at Čačak and at Užice?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Do you admit that the Četniks, with the help of the Italians expelled the Partisans from Montenegro?

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: Did the Italians remain in Montenegro?

Defendant: They remained only in the towns.

Prosecutor: Aren't the Montenegrin towns part of Montenegro?

Defendant: They are part of Montenegro.

Prosecutor: Did the Četniks continue their collaboration with the Italians in Montenegro after that?

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: Did the Partisans force the Četniks to collaborate with the Italians?

Defendant: No, they didn't.

VASIĆ, MOLJEVIĆ, ŽUJOVIĆ, MEMBERS OF THE HIGHEST POLITICAL BODY IN DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ'S ORGANIZATION

Prosecutor: All right. Now your second thesis. Let us pass to the Central National Committee. When was the first Central National Committe of your organization founded and did you found it?

Defendant: The first Central National Committee was founded because I wanted to share the responsibility, and to prove that I did not want to establish a dictatorship. When Dragiša Vasić came to me, I don't remember exactly the day or month, but it was during the summer of 1941, I told him of my idea. He agreed with me; but since be had no contact with men in the interior of the country, he

proposed those of his friends and acquaintances in Belgrade, whom he knew to be good and reliable, and they were accepted in the first Central National Committee, whose principal members were myself and Dragiša Vasić.

Prosecutor: What sort of people were in your Central National committee?

Defendant: The first member was Dr. Vujanac.

Prosecutor: Where did he live?

Defendant: He lived in Belgrade.

Prosecutor: Who were Vujanac's collaborators?

Defendant: One of the most important was Vlasta Petković. Then there were Nikola Stojanović and Slijepčević. I said this at the investigation. I can't remember the others.

Prosecutor: You can't remember. And Stranjaković, professor of Belgrade University?

Defendant: Yes, Stranjaković was one.

Prosecutor: And when did Moljević come to you?

Defendant: Dr. Moljević came in 1942.

Prosecutor: With whom did he come into contact?

Defendant: First with Dragiša Vasić; then he came to me.

Prosecutor: And when did Moljević and Dragiša Vasić come to you?

Defendant: They came to Montenegro when I called them in late Autumn 1942.

Prosecutor: And when did Dr. Žujović join you?

Defendant: He joined me immediately. He was on Ravna Gora.

Prosecutor: Was he on Ravna Gora or in Belgrade?

Defendant: He was on Ravna Gora for some time, and then he left for Belgrade.

Prosecutor: What was Mladen Žujović's profession?

Defendant: I think he was a lawyer.

Prosecutor: When Moljević and Vasić came officially to you, did they take part in the discussion of questions concerning your organization?

Defendant: Vasić was interested mostly in military questions. Dr. Moljević was more absorbed by the question of Bosnia, and the working out of statistics. That kept him very busy. I don't know if he was interested in military questions. But I know that he was chiefly interested in Bosnia, especially in Bosnian Krajina, because he lived in that region and was well acquainted with its statistics concerning nationalities. Even before the war he published

a book on Vrbaska Banovina and its backwardness. Žujović was there too.

Prosecutor: What did the three of them, Vasić, Moljević and Žujović, represent in the National Committee?

Defendant: The Executive of the National Committee.

Prosecutor: Was it the highest political body?

Defendant: Certainly.

Prosecutor: And the Supreme Command? Was it the highest military body?

Defendant: Yes, it was.

Prosecutor: Were you at the head of the Supreme Command?

Defendant: Yes, I was.

Уважени господине мм истре,

повратио сам се из Книна и Сплита.Први транспорт је сретно стигао.Све трупе ће биваковати док дође Бранко и цела снага.Штогод смо могли добити од Талијана добивено је.Ситуација је у Далмацији ровита,нарочито је нејасно држање Хрвата Југословена.Много нам шкоди министар Анђелиновић са својом филопартизанском пропагандом.У Херцеговини ситуација задовољавајућа и не постоји никаква опасност да нам неко удари са леђа док смо у Динари.Шаљем вам неколико летака које су издали мачековци у Загребу и у Сплиту ,тембр је код њих врло различит.Да бих испитао расположење Талијана у дискретној форми сам понудио талијанском врховном команданту за Балкан Роати да у случају ако изгубе рат њихова војска врши полициску службу у овој зони док ми имамо да свршавамо своје послове.Ниђа се увредио и известио је Рим.За Динару је све психолошки припремљено,како код нашег друштва тако и код динараца.Ако победимо ликвидирани су партизани за увек,ако ли би изгубили било би фатално јер би наши потучени одреди по повратку у Херцеговину бољшевизирали и ову зону.Као победници могли би силом исфорсирати повратак сувим не питајући Талијане.

Поштује вас одани вам

Тражио сам од Ника Бартуловића и дра Арнерића извештај о ситуацији у Далмацији међу Хрватима југословенски расположеним рекавши им да ћу са тим извештајем да вас упознам.Достављам вам оригинални извештај

Report from Dobrosav Jevđević to Mihailović on his talk with general Roata, supreme commander of the Italian troops in the Balkans.

Prosecutor: Was there close collaboration between the Central Committee, as the highest political body, and the Supreme Command, as the highest military body?

Defendant: Yes. They were two parallel instruments of the same organization.

Prosecutor: Please, tell me who determined the policy towards the Partisan movement at that time?

Defendant: I think Vasić. He wrote articles about it. That was on Ravna Gora.

Prosecutor: Did you accept his line of policy? Did you, Moljević and Žujović discuss it?

Defendant: I was too busy with other questions. Military matters.

Prosecutor: What military matters?

Defendant: In connection with organization. The organization had to be created. It meant a great deal of work. I let them deal with this question. Dragiša Vasić was doing most of the work. He was too much of a martinet for others to dare oppose him. Trifles offended him. He was even vain.

Prosecutor: And what was his line of policy concerning the Partisans?

Defendant: The most severe.

Prosecutor: Did the Central National Committee get telegrams in one or two copies? Was there one for the Supreme Command?

Defendant: Telegrams from the interior usually arrived in two copies. One copy for the Central Committee and the other for me, but it was not always so. It was only when we were at Lipovo.

Prosecutor: And so members of the Central Committee were also acquainted with the situation in the country?

Defendant: Yes, in general, as they also got a copy, while we read the foreign telegrams together.

Prosecutor: Did you write the answers together?

Defendant: We did. If it was a military question I wrote it. On other important questions we wrote the answers together.

Prosecutor: Was there ever, at any moment, a conflict between you and Moljević on matters of organization, or military and political questions, or general questions pertaining to your respective work and the whole organization?

Defendant: Dragiša Vasić had a conflict with me on a personal matter, not connected with the organization.

Prosecutor: How about military and political questions and questions of the whole organization?

Defendant: There was no conflict. Vasić quarreled later with Moljević and for that reason he did not want to work any more.

Prosecutor: When reading the dispatches, did Moljević or anybody else protest against the collaboration of your commanders with the invader?

Defendant: They saw it, like myself, after they came to Montenegro.

Prosecutor: Did Vasić and Moljević go to Kolašin.

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: Then they knew as well as you did that there was collaboration?

Defendant: Yes, they did.

WHAT LED TO BA CONGRESS

Prosecutor: After that personal conflict between you and Vasić, who did the most important work in the organization?

Defendant: After the congress held at Ba, where three more members were elected to the Central National Committee, one to two months passed and then I called Živko Topalović, Dragiša Vasić and Dr. Moljević and told them that they had not carried out the decision of the congress to enlarge their committee. Vasić then told me that he thought that I should protect him from Moljević and I answered: »Excuse me, but such things should not happen among intellectuals, and I see no reason to meddle in this affair«. Then he got up, and refused to take any further part in the work. The Central National Committee was immediately enlarged. Thirty new members were elected. It was enlarged and Kujundžić became the head of the committee. But he died suddenly at a meeting. He had continued to work, although the doctor had forbidden it.

Prosecutor: Did it happen when he heard that the Russians had crossed the Danube?

Defendant: That is an absolute misstatement. Who said so?

Prosecutor: Mulalić said so.

Defendant: It is absolutely untrue. Kujundžić had been unwell for a long time and was lying ill in the neighbourhood of Kosjerić. A special doctor came from Belgrade to look after him, but he returned to his work at the Central National Committee, in spite of being forbidden to do so, and died at the meeting.

Prosecutor: When did the preparations for the Ba congress start?

Defendant: After the arrival of Živko Topalović, and the representatives of certain political parties from Belgrade.

Prosecutor: Was the congress held on your initiative and yours alone?

Defendant: No, not mine alone. I considered at the beginning that the political parties were compromised in the country, and did not even dare to mention them to the people. But during the war many visitors came to me from Belgrade and more were coming every day; so I came to the conclusion that it would be possible to carry out this idea.

Prosecutor: Did anyone else suggest the holding of the congress?

Defendant: Yes, the emigrant government also suggested it.

Prosecutor: Did the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) held at Jajce, inspire you to hold this congress?

Defendant: Not me, but perhaps the politicians. I never wanted to be represented as a man who wished to be a dictator. That was one of the reasons for ordering this congress, and the second reason was to share responsibility.

Prosecutor: You said at the investigation. »The Jajce session on the one hand, the message of the emigrant government on the other, and proposals made by politicians . . .«

Defendant: I absolutely agree with this statement.

Prosecutor: Do you stick to it?

Defendant: I do.

Prosecutor: When did Živko Topalović come to you?

Defendant: I do not know. I put off the congress in order to give time to men to come from various regions, to make arrangements at railway stations where they were to arrive, to arrange for their reception, and choose the place of meeting. May be he came to me in middle December and left to me to choose the day for the men to gather. I think that January 27 was fixed.

Prosecutor: Saint Sava's day?

Defendant: It was called the St. Sava Congress, but it lasted for four or five days.

BELGRADE POLITICIANS OFFER THEIR SERVICES AND BISHOP NIKOLAJ GIVES HIS BLESSING TO THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PARTISANS

Prosecutor: From what time did you cooperate with Živko Topalović?

Defendant: I don't know, it may have been somewhat earlier.

Prosecutor: Perhaps the Belgrade organization brought you into touch with him?

Defendant: Perhaps so. It may have brought him into contact with me.

Prosecutor: In Belgrade there were many political groups. Which groups agreed to take part in the congress?

Defendant: We refused to admit the followers of the Yugoslav Radical Union. The groups were represented as follows: the representative of the radicals of Aca Stanojević was Kopša.

Prosekutor: Which Kopša, Dr. Kopša?

Defendant: I think Dr. Kopša.

Prosecutor: Go on.

Defendant: The representative of the Independent Democrats was Šaca.

Prosecutor: Aleksandar Šaca Popović?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And when did Adam Pribićević come?

Defendant: I think that Adam was at the congress. He also belonged to the Independent Democrats. Brana Ivković represented the democrats, Aleksandar Aksentijević represented the Yugoslav Nationalist Party. There were others but I can't remember them.

Prosecutor: And Dr. Kumanudi?

Defendant: He was rejected.

Prosecutor: Did he offer his services?

Defendant: I received one thousand offers.

Prosecutor: From where?

Defendant: From Belgrade.

Prosecutor: Among them Dr. Laza Marković?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: For what purpose?

Defendant: That we should send him abroad to help our cause.

Prosecutor: And why was Laza Marković refused?

Defendant: I refused him because he was compromised in public life.

Prosecutor: How?

Defendant: I don't know. I know that there was a scandal in Parliament, and that he was to be tried in Court.

Prosecutor: For the Našice affair, perhaps?

Defendant: I don't know exactly; some affair. I only knew that he had the reputation of being an excellent jurist.

Prosecutor: Go on.

Defendant: I received a report from Velja Popović. And I think that Kumanudi had something to do with it. It was a ridiculous mixture of everything.

Prosecutor: How?

Defendant: As far as I can remember, there were two or three plans about what should be done if Germany won, and what should be done if the Allies won. I don't know about the Soviet Union.

Prosecutor: What was his solution in case of a German victory?

Defendant: Nedić.

Prosecutor: And in case of an Allied victory?

Defendant: Myself.

Prosecutor: And what was his third plan?

Defendant: I don't know. I was receiving masses of reports. The report was ridiculous.

Prosecutor: Did his plan anticipate the existence of Yugoslavia in case of a German victory?

Defendant I can't remember.

Prosecutor: Why did he send it to you?

Defendant: For a man like me, who was not interested in politics, it was ridiculous. He was doing everything possible to »gate-crash« our political organization.

Prosecutor: And you did not agree?

Defendant: No.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): Who was gate-crashing? Who wanted to enter at all costs?

Defendant: Velja Popović. They had a meeting in Belgrade at somebody's place.

Prosecutor: Were Kopša and Brana Ivković present? Who represented the Agrarians?

Defendant: There were many.

Prosecutor: Sredoje Brkić?

Defendant: Brkić was killed by the Ustašas.

Prosecutor: What party did he belong to?

Defendant: He belonged to Gavrilović's Agrarian party.

Prosecutor: Was there anybody else?

Defendant: There were many others.

Prosecutor: You received large numbers of letters from politicians?

Defendant: Yes, large numbers.

Prosecutor: Please say actually from whom.

Defendant: I can't remember.

Prosecutor: Did you get any letters from the clergy?

Defendant: I got only one letter from Bishop Nikolaj.

Prosecutor: And from whom else?

Defendant: From the Patriarch.

Prosecutor: Which?

Defendant: Patriarch Gavrilo.

Prosecutor: When?

Defendant: I got it when he was in Ljubostinja. I wrote to him while they were together at Vojlovica near Pančevo.

Prosecutor: Did you get anything from Josif?

Defendant: I don't know whether I got anything, but I sent Budimir Sokolović, a priest, to him.

Prosecutor: Did you ask for political support?

Defendant: On the contrary.

Prosecutor: How, on the contrary?

Defendant: I never asked that the Church, which was under the Germans should help me. I only asked that it should give me priests who would be in my charge.

Prosecutor: Did that priest come back to you to report?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Was the result favourable?

Defendant: To tell you the truth, I can't remember. I did not ask from our Church, which was officially under the Germans, anything but to allow me to have what I needed; that is to send unemployed priests to me into Serbia.

Prosecutor: And what did Nikolaj tell you?

Defendant: Nikolaj was against the communists.

Prosecutor: What message did he send you? Did he bless your fight against the Partisans?

Defendant: Yes.

THE ROLE OF MLADEN ŽUJOVIĆ AT SPLIT: »I SHALL ASK THE ITALIAN ARMY FOR AT LEAST 20.000 RIFLES . . .«

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, how long was Mladen Žujović at your headquarters?

Defendant: Mladen Žujović left me to go to Ostrog. That was in May.

Prosecutor: What was his job?

Defendant: He was to go to Dalmatia and change the old line of policy, which was wrong, and make the units there independent of the Italians. That was his chief purpose in going. He was a member of the Central National Committee, and a reserve lieutenant-colonel.

Prosecutor: While in Dalmatia did he follow in the footsteps of Ilija Birčanin?

Defendant: I don't know. I have no data.

Prosecutor: You answered this question at the investigation.

Defendant: He tried . . .

Prosecutor: Certain letters were shown to you at the investigation.

Defendant: I didn't read them.

Prosecutor: You stated then . . . Did you know that he met the Italian army commander at Split?

Defendant: I didn't know.

Prosecutor: And that he met Stigo, commander of an Italian division?

Defendant: I can't say, because I have no data.

Prosecutor: All right, I shall help you. You told the examining magistrate the following: »He had to do it, I knew him well and he did what I told him. His chief task was to shake off the Italians, because Jevđević and Birčanin had gone too far in their collaboration with the Italians.«

Defendant: It was his chief task.

Prosecutor: But I have a letter here which was shown to you during the investigation. *(Turning to the President).* Let him identify the signature. I shall read just a few passages. *(Showing the letter to the defendant Mihailović).*

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Do you remember? This letter was in your hands. Do you remember its contents?

Defendant: I think I do.

President: Whose letter is it?

Defendant: Mladen Žujović's.

President: Whom was it sent to?

Prosecutor: It was sent to... »My esteemed and dear Čiča«. The letter is dated »Split, August 6, 1943«. It will be read fully when the documents are submitted. But let us clear up the events mentioned in the letter. *(Reads passages from the letter sent by Mladen Žujović to Mihailović describing the situation he found at Split).* Now, who is Dr. Račić.

Defendant: A very old doctor.

Prosecutor: What was his reputation? Did you know Dr. Račić and his work?

Defendant: I knew what he was doing. He sent me a letter. I knew he was about 70 years old.

Prosecutor: (Continues to read Mladen Žujović's letter and then asks the defendant): Were you in contact with the Split headquarters?

Defendant: Yes. But until that man went there we did not know what was going on.

Prosecutor: Did you exchange correspondence with Blažo Đukanović about the transfer of the body of Ilija Birčanin from Split to Ostrog Monastery?

Defendant: I don't remember.

Prosecutor: Do you remember that you told him that the body should be taken to Kotor by ship, if possible by war-ship?

Defendant: I? Never.

Prosecutor: Well, all right, we shall come back to this. I shall show you some documents that refer to it. Now let us go on...

(Continues to read Mladen Žujović's letter. Vilović is mentioned). Is that the accused Vilović?

Defendant: No, certainly not. It can't be that Vilović.

Prosecutor: Vilović, that is what is written.

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Vilović. Perhaps it is some other Vilović? Perhaps this is another, unknown person.

Defendant: Perhaps: he did not pay attention to the name. think that Birčanin was in favour of the Greater Serbia idea.

Prosecutor: What was Birčanin's pan-Serbian plan?

Defendant: I didn't understand it. It was a come-down.

Prosecutor: Did it mean dismemberment of Yugoslavia? Did Fotić speak in favour of this plan in America?

Defendant: I don't know. It was a come-down, it was getting something smaller for something bigger.

Prosecutor: Did you support this idea at the beginning?

Defendant: I had to give lessons to my officers.

Prosecutor: Did Vasić support this idea? Try to remember.

Defendant: I could not say.

Prosecutor: (Holding Žujović's letter in his hand); Please explain this. *(Reads):* »I said that the Maček followers had decided to put all their formations under our command. I think they were ordered to do this by the government in London, and they proposed it after their meeting with me. But they are very weak in this region, as almost all their troops have gone over to the Partisans...« Do you remember Žujović's dealings with the Maček followers?

Defendant: I do.

Prosecutor: Who were the persons in Split who worked with the Maček men?

Defendant: It is difficult to remember.

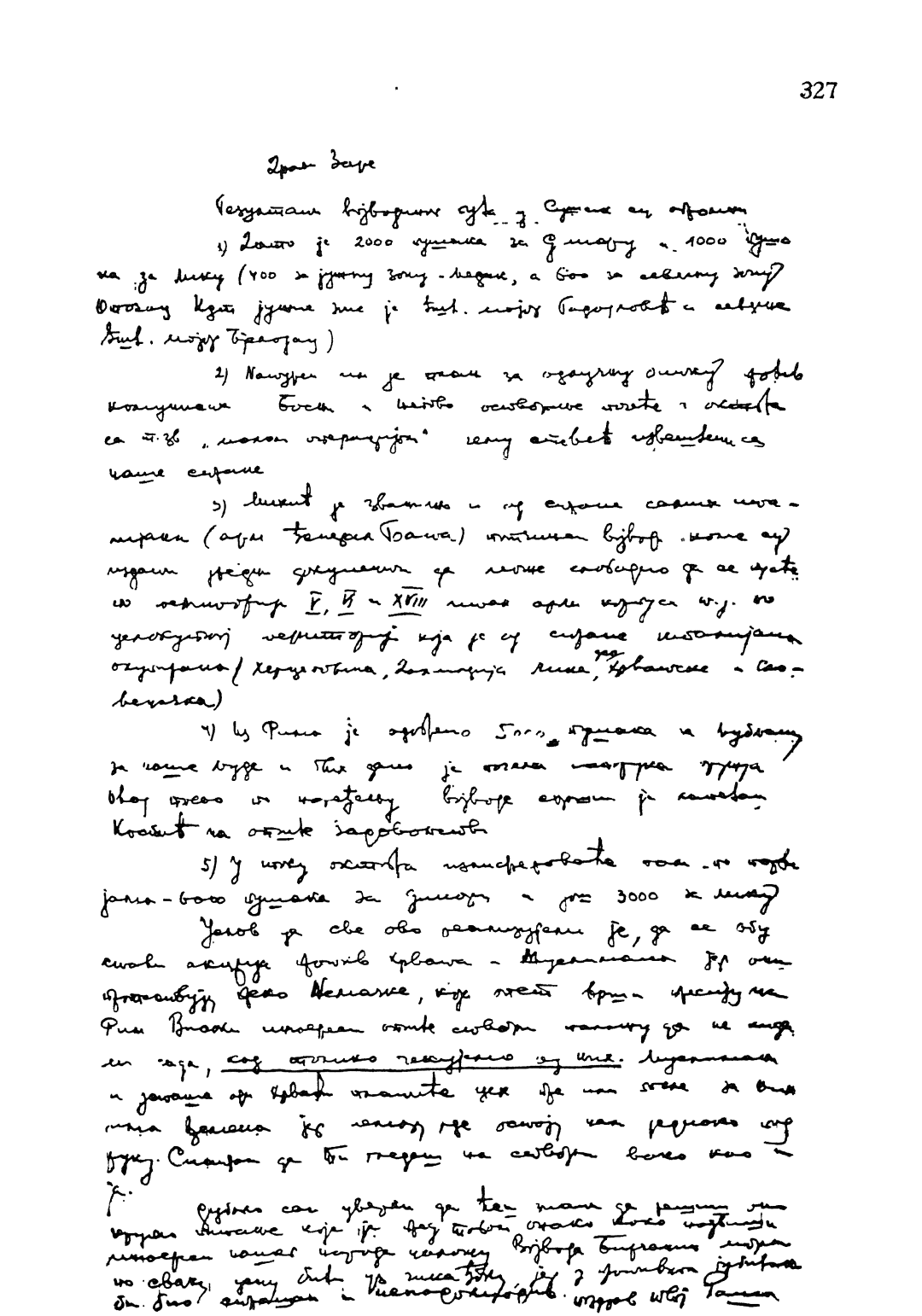
Prosecutor: You said...

Defendant: I have forgotten.

Prosecutor: Try to remember. A committee was formed in Split. A civilian staff.

Defendant: I don't know what group the doctor who came to me belonged to. He came very often. The statement of that doctor should be submitted.

Prosecutor: (Reading): »Sub-Committee at Split — Dr. Niko Bartulović, Zvonko Šimunović, Marko Stojanac a well-known Serbian, Vlade Matošić, Dujo Ivanišević, Niko Marko, bank director, Aćim Čavlin business man, Jovo Margetić, chemist, a Serbian, Roko Čulić, business man, Zvonko Murat, civil servant, Vjekoslav Lauš, former



Facsimile of letter from Raša (Captain Ivanišević) to Zaharija Ostojić on the result of the commander's (Birčanin's) visit to the Italians in Sušak.

director and Ivo Čičin-Šain... — who did everything, financed everything, a personal friend who carried out every kind of task, — the general secretary of the committee Dr. Nenad Grizogono, son of Dr. Prvislav, an excellent man in all respects, who served as staff liaison officer... The aim of the committee was to rehabilitate the Četniks by propaganda activity, and to help the formation of a military organization in Split and Dalmatia. It was my advisory body, and helped me to finance other executive bodies, like the committee for supplies, finance...« etc.

Defendant: I wanted to curb the commanders every one of which pursued his own high policy, by introducing something like political commissars. With that end in view, it was decided to send the members of the Central Committee to form provincial committees. Mladen Žujović tried to form the provincial committee for Dalmatia.

Prosecutor: Do you know the names that I have just read?

Defendant: Yes I do.

Prosecutor: Was Čičin-Šain a minister in the Purić government — minister of finance?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And when he left, did he leave with Žujović?

Defendant: Yes, I think so.

Prosecutor: By ship?

Defendant: Probably.

Prosecutor: An Italian ship?

Defendant: Probably.

Prosecutor: Please explain again. This committee was to be a provincial committee for Dalmatia.

Defendant: I think so. A provincial committee cannot exist unless approved by the central committee.

Prosecutor: That is clear. But a delegation of the National Committee represents the Supreme Command. It was united. Let us see another passage of this letter. Here it is. Žujović writes to you: »As I informed you by telegram, I have asked the Italians for supplies, and the day after tomorrow I am going to their army to try to get at least 20.000 rifles, in order to arm the men I am holding at Knin, who are armed with pitch-forks and spades.« Did Mladen Žujović collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: Yes. But in his letter he shows what role he had.

Prosecutor: But the fact is that he cooperated with the invader, isn't it?

Defendant: It is.

RELATIONS WITH THE POLISH EMIGRANTS

Prosecutor: There was a question of an active Polish officer. Do you know about it?

Defendant: I think I heard about it. But I didn't see it in the evidence.

Prosecutor: Did they send you officers to Yugoslavia from abroad? Polish officers?

Defendant: There was one in Homolje.

Prosecutor: From Anders' army?

Defendant: He was in Homolje. I remember now. I had a link through Istanbul with Poland. I hadn't remembered it before.

Prosecutor: Through Istanbul?

Defendant: Yes, through Istanbul with Poland.

Prosecutor: With whom did you have contact in Poland?

Defendant: I can't remember. Two or three links of the English chain with Poland were on our territory.

Prosecutor: It was not your channel?

Defendant: No, it wasn't my channel, but I was getting letters from Poland.

Prosecutor: So you were a link in that chain?

Defendant: Yes, I was. Through that channel I got a long list of Poles.

Prosecutor: The Turkish consul who was here during the war rendered you great services?

Defendant: Yes, he did.

Prosecutor: What was his name?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: And what did he do for you?

Defendant: He served as liaison.

Prosecutor: Did you come into contact with him personally or how?

Defendant: I don't know if it was the Belgrade organization which came into contact with him, or somebody else. But the Turkish consul offered himself for liaison.

Prosecutor: Did he carry mail?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: To whom did he deliver it in Istanbul?

Defendant: To various addresses.

Prosecutor: Was it addressed to Perić?

Defendant: At the investigation I was repeatedly asked whether Perić was permanently in my service. I did not say that he was permanently in my service or that he had contact with me. I gave the addresses of those for whom the mail was intended. I did not know about Perić. I had in Turkey only Petković-Senegalac.

ŽIVKO TOPALOVIĆ DRAFTS THE BA RESOLUTION

Prosecutor: Let us come back to the congress. Was there any socialist present at the congress?

Defendant: Yes, Živko.

Prosecutor: And who else?

Defendant: Milorad Belić.

Prosecutor: When was the Central National Committee formed?

Defendant: It was formed in June.

Prosecutor: The beginning of the summer?

Defendant: Yes, in June.

Prosecutor: Did you contribute to the drawing up of the resolution adopted by the congress, did you make remarks about the text?

Defendant: I had to conciliate others.

Prosecutor: Between whom was there friction?

Defendant: Between the Ravna Gora movement and the political parties.

Prosecutor: Were there personal conflicts?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Who were the persons through whom the conflict was expressed?

Defendant: Moljević and Dragiša Vasić. Dragiša Vasić was the most difficult. He quarrelled with Živko Topalović...

Prosecutor: Who wrote the draft of the resolution?

Defendant: A smaller committee, representing all political parties.

Prosecutor: Was the resolution written in Belgrade? And brought by Živko Topalović?

Defendant: Živko brought the text.

Prosecutor: What did he say? Was it his personal text or that of the political parties in Belgrade?

Defendant: I think of all the political parties in Belgrade.

Prosecutor: How long did the committee meeting last?

Defendant: The committee meeting lasted one or two days.

Prosecutor: Who was present?

Defendant: At this meeting, I, Vasić and Moljević represented the Ravna Gora movement and Živko Topalović, Brana Ivković and Šaca the political parties.

Prosecutor: Do you remember who else was present at the preliminary conference at Ba?

Defendant: Yes, at the preliminary conference.

Prosecutor: Were you present at this preliminary conference?

Defendant: I was.

Prosecutor: Do you remember, who else was present at the preliminary conference?

Defendant: Those I mentioned.

Prosecutor: Were decisions made at Oraovica, or at the conference at Ba?

Defendant: At the meeting at Oraovica. The question was whether to hold the congress and whom to invite. I asked for a delay, because time was needed for organization and the travelling of the delegates. But a conflict broke out, and I had to settle it.

Prosecutor: Was there agreement between you and the Central Committee on basic and essential questions?

Defendant: The Central Committee, and even the Belgrade Committee, were against the congress. The Central Committee considered that it should remain as it was. But I was of the opinion that it should not remain as it was, but should be enlarged by the addition of members of all parties.

Prosecutor: To become wider?

Defendant: Yes, to become wider.

Prosecutor: Were leading members of all parties invited?

Defendant: There were Croats and Moslems of Yugoslav sympathies and representatives of the Slovenes.

Prosecutor: What Croats were there?

Defendant: Predavec.

Prosecutor: And Moslems?

Defendant: The Moslem delegate was Mulalić. And the Slovene... I can't remember. But he was one of the Slovenes who lived as a refugee in Serbia.

Prosecutor: Did you know what kind of organization Yugoras was?

Defendant: I did.

Prosecutor: And which of its representatives came to you?

Defendant: Dragan Golub and Mitić.

Prosecutor: Did certain political groups in Belgrade protest

Defendant: No. As soon as Mitić and Golub arrived, Moljević, who was well acquainted with labour questions, asked them about their activity in Yugoslavia. Moljević learnt that Dragiša Cvetković was their president, and that they had thrown him out before his downfall — that is while Dragiša was still in power. Moljević had the idea of inviting other workers' representatives, and they were invited.

Prosecutor: Did Jova Jakšić come?

Defendant: Yes he came too.

Prosecutor: Did Jakšić protest because you received the Yugoras delegation? Captain Jovanović is going to read you a letter; listen to it, and say whether you remember it.

Captain Jovanović, deputy prosecutor: (Reading): »To Draža Mihailović, Army general. Dear General, I am writing to you personally as a friend who is taking part in the same national work, because I consider that it is the best way properly and quickly to liquidate the situation which has suddenly arisen, and which is of primary moral and political significance, not only for us personally, but for the YDNZ as a whole. I refer to the appearance of the workers' movement under the name of Narap, led by Ljubomir Mitić and Andrija Miljković. I heard about this movement a few days ago, when its bulletin No. 1. of August 4 appeared, and its newspaper »Voice of the Ravna Gora workers' movement« came into our hands, as well as a placard, which is being distributed in Belgrade and which is signed by the central committee of the Ravna Gora workers' movement. From these publications, it can be seen that last year a national workers' movement was founded under the title of »Ravna Gora workers' movement«, and that the leaders of this movement are Ljubomir Mitić and Andrija Miljković, and that you personally received on July 29 a delegation from the presidency of this movement, and that you agreed, as they say in their bulletin, that the Narap should have its permanent delegate in the Central Committee of the YDNZ«.

Prosecutor: Is this true?

Defendant: It is true. They pushed their way in. It was a political matter, which was the business of the Central Committee. Dr. Moljević knows this best. They came to us and I received them. I received everybody. I did not receive them as the leaders of the workers' movement.

Prosecutor: Who was the permanent representative, do you remember?

Defendant: Dragan Golub. But he was not with us. Dr. Moljević did not want to see him.

Prosecutor: What does YDNZ mean?

Defendant: Yugoslav Democratic People's Union, a coalition of the Ravna Gora movement and the political parties formed at the Ba congress. There was some dispute on this question, but I stopped it.

Prosecutor: The Ba congress represented the founding of a coalition of the Ravna Gora movement and the political parties, based on a common programme? We shall speak of this during the submission of documents.

TADIJA SONDERMAJER — LINK FOR POLITICAL TALKS WITH MAČEK FOLLOWERS

Prosecutor: Do you know this handwriting?

Defendant: (examining the handwriting) I can't say exactly, »Miloš« is written here. Yes, it is his handwriting. It is Colonel Bailey's.

Prosecutor: Did you get money from Istanbul through your own channels?

Defendant: No, I did not ask for any. The first time I received money was in 1941. It is difficult to be precise about the time. I spoke of it at the investigation. I got 900.000 dinars. Nikolajević, I forget his first name, handed me 400.000.

Prosecutor: Did Colonel Bailey look after your supplies?

Defendant: He did, also.

Prosecutor: Yesterday when the President asked about the letter from Brašić, the lawyer, you said that somebody had obtained this letter fraudulently.

Defendant: I am convinced of it.

Prosecutor: Who committed the fraud? Not I?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Somebody near you?

Defendant: Possibly.

Prosecutor: What kind of people had you around you if they could commit such a fraud?

Defendant: The people around me were like that, as was proved at the end. They were very unsatisfactory. My first collaborators were the officers that came from Cairo. That group was against Bora Mirković and the policy of Dušan Simović, the Prime Minister. Bora Mirković knew that I had taken part in the preparation for the events of March 27, and on one occasion he declared that he would do everything I told him. The officers that came later were

all against Bora Mirković, after the fall of Dušan Simović. It was like that. Everybody did what he liked.

Prosecutor: You mentioned colonel Bjelanić, a Maček man?

Defendant: Bjelanić was a cavalry officer. He came to me in Serbia in 1943. As he had no identity card, he came dressed in the uniform of the Croatian Peasant Defence, and brought a photograph which showed him standing near Dr. Maček.

Prosecutor: Was he Dr. Maček's personal secretary?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Did he come to establish collaboration between you and him?

Defendant: Yes, to establish collaboration.

Prosecutor: Political?

Defendant: I asked for military collaboration.

Prosecutor: And they preferred political collaboration?

Defendant: Yes, political.

Prosecutor: What was the subject of your talks with Bjelanić?

Defendant: As a soldier I shall speak only of the most important things. We suggested to Bjelanić that there should be formed...

Prosecutor: Did you want them to be under your command?

Defendant: To recognize my command, but to have their own. I thought of General Avgust Martić.

Prosecutor: Did you have contact through Tadija Sondermajer?

Defendant: Through Tadija Sondermajer I was in contact with the Croats. And he was at the headquarters at Obrenovac.

Prosecutor: Did you place Tadija Sondermajer under the letter »Z«?

Defendant: I did. I heard that he had collaborated with the Germans.

Prosecutor: And was your information wrong?

Defendant: Later I received assurances that he had not collaborated.

Prosecutor: And when you got those assurances, you took him off the »Z« list and he became your link with Maček?

Defendant: He was not even taken off.

Prosecutor: But it was not carried out. It is interesting that you took off the »Z« list men who collaborated with the Germans, so that they suffered nothing, but as for those who fought against

the invader, you did not even put them on the letter »Z« list, but took off their heads. Perhaps you put them also on the »Z« list?

Defendant: I don't believe that anybody was put on this list. The BBC announced the names of those who were put on the »Z« list.

Број 240 од 11 јуна: Претседнику југословенске владе.
Веза ваш број 131. У јануару ухваћена веза с Маковом организацијом преко секретара Мачековог Др. Линтеровића. Дата му упутства за рад и задатак. Никаква акција није започета до скоро. Сада нам јављају бегства Хрвата у шуму због прикупљања за источни фронт. Већим делом хрватска војска у Босни не бори се против четника већ само усташе и муслимани. - Генерал Михаиловић.

From the telegram files of the emigrant government: Report to Slobodan Jovanović about contact established with Dr. Maček.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE BURIAL OF THE TRAITOR BIRČANIN AS A SAINT

Prosecutor: Is it true that you were the Commander-in-Chief in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: Yes, for the entire country.

Prosecutor: Did you receive reports every day?

Defendant: I got reports, but not all of them. Ostojić was responsible for the entire service relating to the region where the operations took place.

Prosecutor: That means that you insist on your statement that your commanders did not carry out your orders?

Defendant: I said that they did when they liked.

Prosecutor: How many commanders had you?

Defendant: There were plenty of them.

Prosecutor: How is it that all of them seem to have had the same policy?

Defendant: They were defending their terrain.

Prosecutor: How did they arrive at their uniform policy of collaboration with the invader?

Defendant: It was not my policy.

Prosecutor: How did you succeed in attracting such people to you — traitors and nothing but traitors...

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: (continuing)... all mixed up in collaboration with the invader? Do you personally feel any responsibility for this?

Defendant: I couldn't check it.

Prosecutor: You were War Minister, Minister of the emigrant government, Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command. What kind of organization was it when you had no power to see that your own orders were carried out?

Defendant: I couldn't do everything.

Prosecutor: In the decisive stage of this war were you able to keep your commanders from collaborating with the invader?

Defendant: I was not. The more difficult the circumstances grew, the less I was able to do so. I would have done so, if I had not been so impeded.

President: Accused Mihailović, now explain the following situation... It is a question of the Drina front. Was there any possibility of a clash betwen Četniks and Italians on this front in April?

Defendant: There could be no clash because of the Partisan attack... That is why... If this attack had not taken place, I should have been able to improve the situation there.

President: Your letter says: »Receive them well«. What does Receive them well« mean?

Defendant: I mentioned that in my explanation of the situation.

Prosecutor: Was this collaboration?

Defendant: There was one battalion in a fortified position. This was a very strong point, and I believe that this fortification still exists today.

Prosecutor: Did you intend to attack them?

Defendant: I was not able to. That was on the Drina, and we had decided to defend the entrance to Sandžak.

President: The letter says: »Yesterday they helped well....« Please explain who this refers to? Who was helping whom? Tell us briefly.

Defendant: The Italians with their artillery held one part of the sector and nobody could approach it. The Italian artillery was supporting the defence of the Drina.

President: Whom did the Italian artillery help?

Defendant: The Četniks.

President: That means that the Italians were helping the Četniks. Did you ask for this? Was that collaboration, or have you another word for it?

Defendant: I have. It was, I considered, a temporary intrigue.

President: Please answer: Was it collaboration, or have you got another word for it?

Defendant: I had this other word.

President: Let us get the terminology right. Collaboration?

Defendant: No.

President: Parallel action.

Defendant: It might be that.

President: What was it in this actual case: »Yesterday they helped well«? You said that the Italians were helping the Četniks. Collaboration, tacit collaboration, or parallel action?

Defendant: Tacit collaboration.

President: I am satisfied.

Prosecutor: How was Jevđević decorated?

Defendant: With the Karadjordje Star. But that was earlier.

Prosecutor: Was he decorated?

Defendant: He was.

Prosecutor: Did the emigrant government inform you that Jevđević was collaborating with the Italians?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: And did you reply that he was not collaborating?

Defendant: At that time I thought that he was not collaborating.

Prosecutor: Here is a telegram dated February 13, 1943: »Rakočević came to me, and before that he was with General Đukanović. Both agreed that Vojvoda Birčanin should be transported to the Cathedral at Nikšić, in which there was an empty sarcophagus. Mrs. Birčanin could live at Nikšić because there was a grammar school for her son. Nikšić is better than Cetinje or Podgorica. We did not choose the Ostrog Monastery because of its distance. The transportation must be carried out by steamer, and at Podgorica wait for general Đukanović. If a warship is offered, express thanks.«

Defendant: Express thanks. Not accept. That means to thank them for it but not to accept.

Prosecutor: Thank whom?

Defendant: I had authorized the transportation.

Prosecutor: This »thanks« meant thanking them if they gave a warship.

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Did Birčanin collaborate with the invader?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: And you were going to put him into a sarcophagus and turn him into a saint!

AN UNSUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT WITH A FORGED SIGNATURE BY MIHAILOVIĆ'S COUNSEL

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, during your examination in Court you talked about the accidental cooperation of your commanders with the invader. Please explain to us what you consider accidental cooperation, tacit collaboration, war cunning and war intrigue.

Defendant: I consider that it is a war intrigue when it happens that in the course of events three enemy forces are engaged, which is almost unheard of, two forces being on one side, while on the other is the third, and the first two, without any contact with each other, and without any agreement, act against the third one. In my opinion that is a war intrigue.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Did you consider it war intrigue or war cunning when you sometimes succeeded in using a battalion of Italians or Germans to engage the Partisans, in your place?

Defendant: When the »Murge« division was put to rout, I was glad. It was all the same to me how many Italians were killed.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Do you look on it as a war intrigue?

Defendant: Yes, I do. But I never succeeded in bringing off such a thing.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): And if you did?

Defendant: If I had done such a thing I would have considered it a war intrigue.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Now, accused Mihailović, one of your messages reads: »Let. No. 22 receive them hotly.« Is the word »to receive hotly« in your military vocabulary an artillery or infantry manoeuvre?

Defendant: No; it could be interpreted in various ways. I explained that here it referred to an intrigue.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): At any rate, these were intrigues.

Defendant: Yes, intrigues. I could only welcome the fact if the two fought against each other, especially if I arranged it.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Which of your commanders, besides Bajo Stanišić, do you think collaborated most?

Defendant: The commander in Dalmatia.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Had you a plan of action in the country, since you decided to remain in the field?

Defendant: My plan was to remain in the country.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Even after McDowell's departure?

Defendant: After Mc Dowell's departure my plan was to rally the Serbian troops and to disperse them all over the terrain.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): How did you part with McLean, the Englishman who was with you?

Defendant: I have forgotten.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): You have forgotten?

Defendant: I have forgotten.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, how many newspapers did you publish on the territories which were under your influence?

Defendant: There were a great many newspapers. I know some were issued in Belgrade, some in Homolje, some in Pomoravlje, some in the district of Takovo, some in the district of Višegrad. I had printing works near Kosjerić and a litographic apparatus which I had bought in Belgrade.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): In your newspapers did you ever make any difference between the great Allies?

Defendant: Never.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Were they more inclined towards the Western Allies or the Soviet Union?

Defendant: Not at all. They showed the same attitude to all the Allies.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, were you a monarchist?

Defendant: I cannot say that. I considered that it was the people's will, that I should not be a convinced monarchist. My whole life is a proof of it.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): How did it happen that so many republicans, such as Vujanac, Mladen Žujović and many others, joined your movement?

Defendant: That is only a proof of my broadmindedness, a proof that I did not want to impose on the people what they did not want themselves. I considered, in this case, that I had to respect the will of the people *(laughter in Court).*

Counsel for the Defence (Đononvić): Used you to give several copies of your signature on blank forms to your headquarters' collaborators, commanders, journalists, friends or those persons who used to call on you and whom you trusted?

Defendant: I used to give identification cards and signatures on blank forms. A signed form even reached the Germans.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, do you acknowledge this signature as yours? *(shows him a letter).*

Defendant: No, I do not.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): Read it.

Defendant: No. It is very much like mine. Only my »r« is different; the »b« is not mine. I cannot believe . . .

Prosecutor: Then it is forged?

Defendant: I always tell the truth, even if it is not in my favour. This signature is not mine.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): (approaches the President of the Court and shows him the document already shown to the accused Mihailović).

Defendant (continues): No, it is not my signature. And yet perhaps it is. But this »b« and »r« are not like mine.

Counsel for the Defence (Đonović): (approaching the Prosecutor and showing him the same document).

Prosecutor: No thanks, if the accused says so, I believe him.

THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ REFUSES THE OFFER OF THE AMERICAN AIRMEN TO APPEAR AS WITNESSES FOR HIM

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović): First of all I want to communicate that yesterday I . . .

President: You can make no communications. That is the function of the Court. You can, during the proceedings, submit proposals for the decision of the Court.

Counsel for the Defence (Joksimović) (addressing the President): I have had a message from America. I have been asked to inform the Court of something. I consider that it is my function and duty as Counsel for the Defence, to convey their wish.

President: You will be acting according to your conscience and duty as Counsel, if you submit a concrete proposal to the Court.

Counsel (Joksimović): It is in connection with a concrete proposal.

President: Put your proposal in a definite form.

Counsel (Joksimović): My proposal is this: In connection with the indictment, pages 3 to 58, the following should be heard: Walter Mansfield, a member of the American Military Mission attached to Draža Mihailović's headquarters, Mike McFull, an American airman rescued by Draža Mihailović, John Levin, an American airman,

rescued by Draža Mihailović, William Len Rogers, president of the committee for a just trial for Draža Mihailović.

President: On what grounds?

Counsel (Joksimović): To show that the accused Mihailović did not collaborate with the invader. The signatories say: »We beg you, as the legal adviser of Draža Mihailović, to inform the Court officially that the undersigned offer themselves as witnesses in the case of Draža Mihailović, and are ready to fly to Belgrade to give evidence in connection with the indictment. We ask you also publicly to request the Court to accept our testimony. We shall be grateful

D.V.K. 34.

6th April. DJENERALU MIHAILOVICU

NEOPHODNO POTREBNO DA SE STO PRE SASTANETE S BELEIM BILO FOCA ILI DRUGO MESTO. BELI IMA DA VAM SAOPSTI HITNE I VAZNE PORUKE OD STRANE JUGOSLOVENSKE VLADE VK TRIDESET CETRI - JOVANOVIC.

AU GENERAL MIHAILOVIC.

Il est absolument necessaire que vous rencontriez Bailey le plus tot possible soit a Foca ou ailleurs, -Bailey vous communiquera des messages importants et urgents de la part du Couvernement yougoslavs.
V.K. 34 - Jovanovic.

From the telegram files of the emigrant government: message from Slobodan Jovanović to Mihailović, informing him of the coming of Colonel Bailey, who is to give him important and urgent instructions from the emigrant government. (Below is the text of the same message in French).

to you if you would draw the attention of the Court to this.« This message was signed by the above mentioned persons, and sent from New York to »Dragić Joksimović, Draža Mihailović' legal adviser«. It was sent on June 12 and I received it on June 13.

President: Please tell us, have you, as Counsel, as a person officially participating in the trial, any proposal to make?

Counsel (Joksimović): I am conveying this message to the Court and ask that it should be considered as a proposal of the Counsel for the Defence that the Court comes to a decision as soon as possible about the hearing of the mentioned witnesses from New York, and that the decision be conveyed in the shortest possible time both to the witnesses and to Mihailović's counsel.

President: Have you, as Counsel, a concrete proposal, and if you have, formulate it. Do you propose that some of the witnesses be heard? If so, what are their names and in what connection?

Counsel (Joksimović): I consider that I have submitted the proposal. It embraces the hearing of the witnesses.

President: Please give your proposal a precise and concise form; you know how to do it; you are an experienced lawyer.

Counsel (Joksimović): I propose that the wish expressed by the witnesses should be met.

President: That is not a proposal at all.

Counsel (Joksimović): I propose that these witnesses be summoned.

President: That is not a proposal.

Counsel (Joksimović): To summon them as witnesses...

President: Give it the form of a proposal in legal terms, as it is done in law courts.

Counsel (Joksimović): I propose that the Court summon and hear the above-mentioned witnesses...

President: Which »above mentioned witnesses«, cite them.

Counsel (Joksimović): The witnesses... the witnesses, Walter Mansfield.

President: What is his profession?

Counsel (Joksimović): Former member of the American Military Mission to Mihailović.

President: That is not a profession.

Counsel (Joksimović): Mike McFull, an airman rescued by Mihailović.

President: Is that his profession?

Counsel (Joksimović): John T. Levin, also an airman, William Len Rogers.

President: Has he ever been in Yugoslavia?

Counsel (Joksimović): Probably. I have no detailed information. I propose that the witnesses, if the Court decides that their testimony should be heard, should be informed through the American Embassy in Belgrade, or...

President: Well, the Court knows the law and the proper way of doing it. But in what connection do you propose that they should be heard?

Counsel (Joksimović): In connection with the circumstances mentioned in the indictment from page 3 to 58, where it refers to the collaboration of Dragoljub Mihailović with the enemy.

President: You said you ask that they should be heard in connection with circumstances proving that Draža Mihailović did not collaborate with the enemy?

Counsel (Joksimović): Certainly I did.

President: Put it on record.

Counsel (Joksimović): Yes, that's right.

President: Is that all?

Counsel (Joksimović): Yes, it is.

President: Accused Mihailović, have you heard the proposal of the Counsel?

Defendant: Yes, I have.

President: Will you give an answer. What is your opinion?

Defendant: Let me have time to think it over.

President: Your Counsel offers you witnesses who are to testify in your favour. Do you accept, and agree with, the proposal of the Counsel or not?

Defendant: In principle I do not agree.

President (addressing the protocol): The accused in principle does not agree with the proposal of his Counsel. Prosecutor, give your opinion on the proposal of the Counsel.

Prosecutor: The Counsel proposes that these witnesses should come to the Court and testify by their statements, that Draža Mihailović did not collaborate with the invader. In my opinion such a proposal is completely uncalled for. To contradict a mass of written documents on collaboration with the invader, by means of statements of witnesses, of whom we do not know how long and when they were with Mihailović, and in what circumstances Mihailović retained them, would, I think, be quite out of place; and I cannot agree to the proposal of the Counsel, for this and for other reasons.

President: The Prosecutor therefore does not agree with the Counsel.

Prosecutor: They would like to testify that Mihailović did not collaborate with the invader, which is contrary to what Mihailović has stated before the Court, up to now. Accordingly, these witnesses would have to contradict Mihailović himself and his statements. *(Laughter and applause in Court).*

President: I must call the public to order. I warn the public that otherwise, if such an incident happens again, I shall be forced, in order to facilitate the work of the Court, to issue an order to clear the hall.

Prosecutor: I could understand if the Counsel proposed that these two or three American airmen should come to testify that Draža

Mihailović had enabled them to return to the United States. That would be comprehensible, because it is a well known fact that a certain number of American airmen, who made forced landings in Serbia, were rescued by the people, and that he enabled them to go back, but I do not understand why the American airmen, who flew over Serbia and landed by parachute, should ask to be allowed to testify here, that Mihailović did not collaborate with the invader.

As far as the Mission people are concerned, I read a message from General Armstrong which clearly shows that the chief of the Mission (General Armstrong) saw Mihailović's Četniks, and Mihailović himself, collaborate with the invader. I can submit to the Court new documents from the same sources regarding the collaboration of his Četniks with the invader. I think it would be unnecessary and contrary to the principles of Court procedure, to call from the United States four or five persons to deny even what Mihailović himself has stated and written, since there are his instructions and orders to his commanders to collaborate with the invader. I think this would take us nowhere. It would not help us to find out the actual truth, and would only prolong the proceedings. The counsel must excuse me for saying so, but the only motive behind this is their desire for prolongation of the proceedings.

President: The Court will announce its decision on the proposal, with a note that Mihailović is under custody for the time being.

Defendant: I want only to add: I am sure these men, who offer themselves as witnesses to my Counsel, would be able to bring out many things in my favour, but I do not want them to, on principle.

President: (To the Counsel). Please go on with your questions.

Counsel (Joksimović): Accused Mihailović, yesterday, in answer to a question of the prosecutor you said that you were appointed War Minister in 1942. Do you remember how long you held this position, and when you were replaced?

Defendant: I was appointed without being asked whether I agreed or not, though I think I should have been consulted; and the appointment was broadcast. I held this position for two years. When I was to be appointed Chief of Staff, I was asked, and I accepted this post.

Counsel (Joksimović): Can you tell us how your aerodrome at Pranjani worked? Had you any other airfields, and what were the arrangements for the reception of the material brought by the Allied planes, and how did planes land during the occupation, on your territory, for your units?

Defendant: I can't say exactly. We were not satisfied with the arms we got, because we needed much more.

Counsel (Joksimović): How many planes could there have been approximately?

Defendant: I cannot say exactly. We had a radio link and through it we enabled the planes to land. There was a landing field at Pranjani. Later on, there was another one at Koceljevo, and we had one at Boljanić, east of Doboj in Bosnia.

Counsel (Joksimović): Were the landings disturbed by the Germans?

Defendant. No.

Counsel (Joksimović): Did it sometimes happen that the Germans took away, or found, the material which had been dropped?

Defendant: No. There was only one case when by mistake the planes dropped 5.000 sovereigns in the Moslem villages, in the vicinity of Sjenica.

Prosecutor Minić: Is that the message which begins — »Those idiots dropped . . . ?«

Defendant: Well, who wouldn't be angry. 5.000 sovereigns dropped in that region, and stolen.

Counsel (Joksimović): After the Fourth Offensive did Colonel Bailey tell you why, in the spring of 1943, the landing of the Allied troops on the Dalmatian coast did not take place?

Defendant: I do not remember for the moment. But it was a very interesting matter for me.

Counsel (Joksimović): Most probably the whole Fourth Offensive was conducted with that in mind.

Defendant: I confuse these events. I supposed that the landing would take place when a certain line was reached in Italy.

Counsel (Joksimović): Were you always with Colonel Bailey?

Defendant: Yes, we were together every day. We had our meals together. Later on he fed separately from me, as he began getting his own rations. Their taste is different and they don't like our food.

Counsel (Joksimović): Who came to you after Bailey?

Defendant: Armstrong.

Counsel (Joksimović): How long did Armstrong remain with you?

Defendant: Armstrong remained till Spring 1944.

Counsel (Joksimović): What happened at the end of Spring?

Defendant: He went away.

Counsel (Joksimović): Did Bailey and Armstrong come back?

Defendant: No, they did not.

Counsel (Joksimović): Neither one or the other? Who came instead of them? Could you tell us how they came, and how they went away?

Defendant: George Musulin and Colonel McDowell came after Armstrong.

Counsel (Joksimović): Will you explain how you kept control over the terrain?

Defendant: As regards that...

President: The Counsel referred to what you said at the investigation, and asked that you should complete your statement in connection with this question.

Defendant: I had 60 radio stations which maintained this contact. All these radio stations were made by our men, and we had another 40 relay stations, so that in all there were a hundred.

Counsel (Joksimović): One further question.

President: Please go on. Ask as many as you like.

Counsel (Joksimović): Accused Mihailović, in your messages and other orders and instructions contained in the documentary evidence one can see that you called the Partisan detachments communist and Bolsheviks.

Defendant: I did not call them Bolsheviks, although there is nothing insulting in that.

Counsel (Joksimović): In such circumstances, the Counsel for the Defence wishes you to say openly, in front of the whole Court and the whole world: Did you fight during the occupation against the Partisan detachments, because they were waging a liberation struggle, or did you fight against them, because you considered that their struggle was the struggle for the realization of a state and social order contrary to your ideas and the ideas of your organization. In other words, were the conflicts between you and your organizations, on one side, and the Partizans, on the other, due to the great differences in your political views, or due to the appearance of the Partisans as a rival in the liberation struggle?

Defendant: I would like to leave this question for later on.

Counsel (Joksimović): Let it be. I do not insist upon it.

Defendant: Let it be, because the question is rather a wide one, but if you would rather, I can answer it now.

Counsel (Joksimović): You do not have to answer this question now, but please prepare yourself to answer this very important question.

Defendant: Please, could you repeat the question. For the moment I have only a note about it. I would like to have the question on paper. I should have written it down, I cannot remember it all.

President: Anyhow, you heard what it is all about.

Defendant: I did.

PRESIDENT: DID YOU FIGHT AGAINST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WHICH WAS CARRYING ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INVADER? DEFENDANT: I DID.

President: (After an interval): The Court has arrived at the following decision on the proposal of the Counsel for the Defence:

»The proposal of the Counsel of the accused Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović to summon as witnesses Walter Mansfield, Mike McFull, John T. Levin and William Len Rogers to testify that the accused Mihailović did not collaborate with the invader, has been rejected for the following reasons.

1. The conclusion as to whether the accused Mnhailović collaborated with the invader rests on a great many facts which are being investigated and proved at this trial.

The witnesses, however, are not interested in concrete facts, but in the conclusion to be drawn from these facts.

2. It is well known that Allied planes and parachutists appeared over the territory of Yugoslavia in the spring and summer of 1944, and even if the proposed witnesses landed on our territory they can only testify to conditions which they observed during a very short time, while the indictment charges Mihailović with collaborating with the invader during the whole period of occupation, namely from 1941.

3. On the question of the collaboration of the accused Mihailović with the invader we have been offered a great many documents and witnesses from all over our country, and therefore there is no need to obtain any proofs from abroad«. This is the decision of the Court *(Addressing the Prosecutor)* Please go on with your questions.

Prosecutor: Were all the men who were soldiers of the units of the National Liberation Army, communists?

Defendant: They were not.

Prosecutor: Were the Partisans fighting against the Germans?

Defendant: They were.

Prosecutor: Were they fighting against the Italians?

Defendant: They were.

Prosecutor: Did the Nedić troops put themselves under your command? Did the Ljotić troops put themselves under your command?

Defendant: Yes, but I had other intentions.

Prosecutor: Did your units fire at, and wage war against the National Liberation Army, or were they fighting communism?

Defendant: I don't understand.

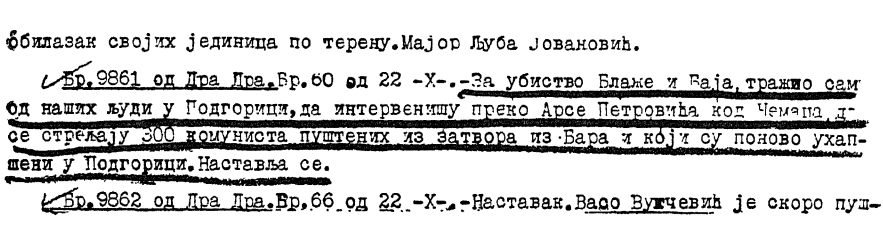
Prosecutor: Did your units fight against the units of the National Liberation Army and Partisan detachments, and when?

Defendant: We both fought.

Prosecutor: But did they carry on the war?

Defendant: They did.

Prosecutor: Your counsel put this question to you: Did you fight against the units of the National Liberation Army because they wanted to create one order, and you another? This is the real meaning of the question. It was asked in a very complicated way by your lawyers, but I will put it to you quite simply: Did you carry on a liberation struggle against the invader — against the Germans? Did your troops fight against the Germans?



Обилазак својих јединица по терену. Мајор Љуба Јовановић.

Бр. 9861 од Дра Дра. Бр. 60 од 22 -X-. -За убиство Блаже и Баја, тражио сам од наших људи у Подгорици, да интервенишу преко Арсе Петровића код Чемана, да се стрелају 300 комуниста пуштених из затвора из Бара и који су поново ухапшени у Подгорици. Наставља се.

Бр. 9862 од Дра Дра. Бр. 66 од 22 -X-. -Наставак. Вадо Вукчевић је скоро пуш-

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Dra-Dra (Sava Vukadinović, Četnik commander) reports that for the killing of Blažo (Đukanović) and Bajo (Stanišić) he has demanded that 300 communists be shot in Podgorica.

Defendant: That is what I wanted to do and the whole tendency was in that direction.

Prosecutor: I shall ask you something else: Did the National Liberation Army represent the Liberation Movement?

Defendant: It did.

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, did you continually carry on an armed struggle against the invader, against the Germans, against the Italians, as the National Liberation Army did? Did you attack the towns, capture them, and fight everywhere against the invader with armed forces?

Defendant: Whenever I was not prevented from doing so.

Prosecutor: And did you ever cease hostilities towards the units of the National Liberation Army?

Defendant: I did try.

Prosecutor: And did your ever succeed?

Defendant: No, I did not.

Prosecutor: And did you ever start fighting against the Italians, and the Germans? Were there any hostilities at all towards the Italians? Please mention a single battle against the Italians.

Defendant: I found myself in an unpleasant situation.

Prosecutor: We are trying to prove facts here. Was there a single battle against the Italians?

Defendant: That was the situation in which I found myself.

Prosecutor: Was there a single battle between the Četniks and the Italians?

Defendant: I cannot say exactly.

Prosecutor: I am already getting used to your answers. Now, accused Mihailović, during the trial you said you had been waiting for a favourable moment, and were getting instructions from the emigrant government. Is that right?

Defendant: It is.

Prosecutor: Those were the instructions which Slobodan Jovanović sent to you. You also said that these intructions referred to a particular moment, to the breakdown of Germany, or the landing of the Allies. But the breakdown of Germany took place, in Bosnia it was obvious. Why did you not attack the Germans at that moment?

Defendant: Everything turned against me. The propaganda and everything was against me. I was told: »Your chance is to maintain your position among the people."

Prosecutor: What part did Sekula Drljević play in getting Ostojić to Lijevče Polje?

Defendant: Ostojić, Baćović and all the others thought of getting over to Slovenia in some way.

Prosecutor: What did Sekula Drljević think?

Defendant: Sekula thought of joining his troops.

Prosecutor: Do you think that the slaughter of Lalatović, Vasić and others at Lijevče Polje was Sekula Drljević's work?

Defendant: It was Sekula's and Pavelić's, for if it had been only a conflict between the »Greens« and the »Whites«, Sekula would not have had anything against the Bosnians, who had also been killed. In that case even Vasić would not have been killed.

Prosecutor: Comrade President, do you mind if I put one more question? I want to refer to the question of the Counsel for the Defence, and to request the accused to declare whether he fought against the National Liberation Movement as a communist movement, or did he fight against it for some other reason?

Counsel (Joksimović): The defendant will refer to that later on.

Counsel (Đonović): Please formulate your question more precisely, because no struggle can be carried on against a movement.

Prosecutor: It seems that it is not clear to Mr. Đonović what the Liberation Movement is. Did you fight against the units of the National Liberation Army, as a communist army, or did you fight for some other reason?

Defendant: I have nothing against the communists.

Prosecutor: Please answer whether you fought against...

Defendant: I must think over this question.

Prosecutor: I ask the Court to request the accused Mihailović to answer this question. Answer: did you fight against the Army of National Liberation as against communist units, or did you fight against it for some other reason?

Defendant: I can say that I had nothing against communism. *(The defendant in the meantime thinks for a while and continues):* I do not understand this question.

President: Please repeat the question very slowly.

Prosecutor: You have just said that the units of the National Liberation Army fought against the Germans, Italians, Ustašas etc. We also have come to the conclusion that you did not conduct any operations against these because you thought you would be annihilated. But nevertheless, you fought against the National Liberation Army, not against the invader.

Defendant: I was not able to.

Prosecutor: I do not insist any longer on receiving an answer, and I consider that there is no need to ask the accused to give an answer to this question.

Defendant: You can ask your question and I shall think it over. Still, I think my answer on the whole is, that it was a struggle against the communist units.

Prosecutor: Did these units consist only of communists?

Defendant: (Thinks for a while and then answers): No, they did not.

Prosecutor: Then, how could you fight against the other patriots in the National Liberation Army, who were not communists?

Defendant: I shall be able to answer this question, only after I have thought it over.

Prosecutor: The defendant avoids answering.

Counsel (Đonović): The question should be precisely formulated.

Would you ever have fought against the National Liberation Army and Partisan detachments, as the army which was fighting against the Germans?

Prosecutor: »Did he fight« and not »would he have fought«. That is the way to put the question.

President (Addressing Đonović): Why put such a question conditionally? *(Addressing the defendant):* Did you fight against the National Liberation Army, which represented the struggle against the invader? Did you fight against the National Liberation Movement, which represented the struggle against the invader in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: Yes I did.

»I WAS THE CHIEF OF THE BLACK THREES. I INFORMED RADIO LONDON WHO SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER THE LETTER »Z«...«

President: Accused Mihailović, are you aware that your commanders in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Lika, Dalmatia, and Sandžak perpetrated a whole series of crimes?

Defendant: What I was informed of, was Pavle Đurišić's activity. I was not aware of the other crimes. As I said, I learned everything from his reports.

President: Is that all you knew?

Defendant: I think so. I learnt all this from the indictment.

President: Are you aware that Četnik commanders committed slaughter, arson, pillage and the massacre of the innocent population?

Defendant: I saw it in the indictment, but I should like to state that as a soldier, up to the end of this war, I never permitted a captured enemy soldier or combatant to be killed, and still less a wounded man or a civilian. I and Dragiša Vasić were horrified by the reports of Pavle Đurišić; when he had to fulfil a task, he used to commit acts amounting to crimes. Often the population itself took part in these crimes, so that all the mass crimes were committed, not only by the military units, but by the entire people, who had been provoked by the massacres previously committed by the Ustašas. I can mention a number of cases, before I start...

President: I have asked you whether you were informed that the Četnik commanders perpetrated with their units slaughters and lootings?

Defendant: I learned it only from the indictment. Probably I heard of it earlier, but in many cases I did not believe it. I did not believe many reports from my commanders.

President: Well, are you aware that your units and the Četnik commanders, in collaboration with the invader, committed murders, arson and looting among the civil population?

Defendant: I was only aware of Pavle Đurišić's activity when he went to the Drina river, and to the right bank of the Lim river. And this was only later, when he submitted a report of what he had done.

President: Well, what were these Threes?

Defendant: I don't know enough about the facts concerning these Threes, which had been created. They had the job of eliminating, especially in the towns, those who, particularly among the quislings, were in our way. These Threes in many cases carried out their task very well, as was the case in the killing of Masalović, the killing of Ceka Đorđević, the killing of the Rtanj Vojvoda, the killing of Father Bulić at Čačak.

President: Were these Threes called the Black Threes?

Defendant: I don't know. I don't think so.

President: Don't you know that they were known among our people as the Black Threes?

Defendant: I had no data about such work. They may have been so called, but I don't see why.

President: I am interested in this question because how would they have got this title »Black Threes«, if they had settled accounts only with the traitors, as you said? Actually: Did the Black Threes carry out the killing of members of the Movement of National Liberation and symphatizers of that movement?

Defendant: According to my orders, never.

President: But did they do these things nevertheless?

Defendant: I don't know. According to my orders, never, but I don't know whether they did them or not.

President: And who was the chief of the Black Threes in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: In 1942, with the object of frightening those who were working against us in the towns and who belonged to Nedić's, Ljotić's and Pećanac's supporters, I invented the letter »Z« as a letter of ill omen, which could be interpreted in various ways. My aim was to frighten them. And as a matter of fact we succeeded in frightening people in many cases.

President: But I asked you, who was the chief of the Black Threes in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: Through the B. B. C. I wanted to create a mysterious personality, who would be completely independent. A chief of

the Black Threes did not really exist at all. But through the London radio we frightened those who were working with or among the quislings, and even killed them.

President: All right, but nevertheless, please, answer the question: Who was the chief of the Black Threes in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: Nobody was. I was issuing these reports, through the London radio.

President: You were sending out these reports, but did you issue orders for the placing of people under the letter »Z«?

Defendant: The orders for the placing of people under the letter »Z« went through the London Radio only, and on the basis of such data as the chiefs from the terrain reported about certain definite persons among the quislings, who deserved to be treated in this way.

ње,да се сви такви ако их буде враћају Војн Дукачевићу.Кондор.

Бр.11.014 од Кондора.Бр.64 од 22 -XI-.-У Ужицу се већ две ноћи хапсе комунисти по списковима које је овај штаб доставио престојнику градске полиције Момовићу,који је у нашој служби.Овде је помагао и шеф немачке обавештајне службе Колић,који је имао на индиректан начин упознат са подацима којима смо располагали.Извештен самда је ноћу 21/22 вршено стрељање неколико таквих.Комунисти су већ јавно дигли главу и грди ли нас на сва уста,називајући нас петоколонцима и слично,па су уносили панику по чаршији,али им се доскоро

Бр.11.015 од Кондора.Бр.65 од 22 -XI-.-Ну сам да сте преко Дукачића

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Kondor (Radović, Četnik commander) reports that communists are being arrested at Užice, according to the list given to the police by his staff.

President: And what was your part in the whole business? Was it you who placed persons under the letter »Z«?

Defendant: I reported to the London radio that such and such a person should be placed under the letter »Z«.

President: Did you agree with every proposal of your commanders about the placing of persons under the letter »Z«, without any reserves?

Defendant: Completely, if they explained why. As to the quislings, I didn't worry about them.

President: But how did you always know when a quisling was in question?

Defendant: I relied on the data.

President: A minute ago you said that the reports of your commanders were false, and now you say that you trusted these reports?

Defendant: There were many false ones.

President: Does that mean that you agreed with every proposal of your commanders about the placing of persons under the letter »Z« without reserve, and that you transmitted these names to the emigrant government, to be broadcast from London?

Defendant: Nedić complained most about this letter »Z«. He even protested through the radio.

President: I asked you something else. You would not have made a mistake if you had placed Nedić under the letter »Z«, but you didn't do so.

Defendant: I don't understand the question.

President: Simply this: Who was the real chief of the Black Threes in Yugoslavia?

Defendant: He didn't exist. He was an invented, mysterious personality.

President: Ah, well! Whose dispatch is this bearing the emigrant government's number, DVK/116, and received from the Supreme Headquarters of the so-called »Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland« on July 27, 1942. It says: »To the President of the Yugoslav Government Your No. 158. Our dispatch, No. 2726. Apply letter »Z« to cited persons. Chief of Threes in Yugoslavia informs Threes that they attack too boldly and openly and, on the contrary, they ought to attack from the rear. The letter »Z« is a sign for traitors, whose work and movements the Threes should follow. They should make their treacherous work impossible through fear, without exposing themselves to danger by approaching them openly; on the contrary, they should follow their work from the rear, which is safe for our men. General Mihailović«. Is this your dispatch?

Defendant: It is.

President: You say: »Chief of Threes in Yugoslavia informs the Threes«. Who was the chief of the Threes?

Defendant: A mysterious invented personality, and I issued these dispatches for terrorizing purposes, through the London radio.

President: Did this mysterious, invented personality coincide with the actual personality of Mihailović?

Defendant: It did.

President: Well then, who was the chief of the Black Threes?

Defendant: I was, but I issued no orders except those I gave through the London radio, whose purpose was to frighten the quisling element

President: I asked you, who was the chief of the Black Threes and you did not answer directly. During the investigation you said that you were the chief, and when I ask now, you say, only after a long conversation, that you were the chief. One must be frank with the Court.

Defendant: I thought one ought to explain things and not only say »Yes« or »No«.

President: You can defend yourself as you like. You can be sincere or not, but sincerity is always considered as a mitigating characteristic and as a good quality. What does the letter »Z« mean?

Defendant: A letter of ill omen.

President: And it means?

Defendant: To frighten.

President: And not to slaughter?

Defendant: Not necessarily. Not one of the quislings was slaughtered. They were all shot. Only Captain Terzić was slaughtered with a knife.

President: So the letter »Z« means to frighten?

Defendant: To frighten. It may be interpreted as one likes.

President: Wasn't the difficulty perhaps that the letter »Z« could mean both frighten and slaughter?

Defendant: It is in many ways a mysterious letter. It is used in codes.

President: How were the Black Threes organized?

Defendant: I know that various Black Threes were organized I know that a number of them worked in Belgrade. There were others in Kragujevac.

President: Black Threes in Kragujevac? Why?

Defendant: Yes. Someone, I don't remember his name, who worked with the Germans, was killed in the centre of Kragujevac.

President: Was Marisav Petrović killed?

Defendant: Marisav Petrović was not, but someone whose name I don't remember, was killed; and he was very important.

President: How were the Black Threes organized?

Defendant: I don't remember the details, and I did not reflect about it much. They were not supposed to be known.

President: Was there some circular letter or order in which you said to the units: Black Threes are to be organized.

Defendant: Probably, but I don't remember the text of these orders.

President: How were relations within these Black Threes, and what people were chosen for them?

Defendant: Of course, courageous people, brave men.

President: Did the members of the Black Threes know each other?

Defendant: It is impossible to hide anything from our people. Mile Marinac, who had carried out a number of tasks, was known all over the region.

President: Perhaps he boasted about it?

Defendant: I am sure he did.

INSTRUCTIONS: »THE TASK OF THE FLYING BRIGADES IS TO CLEAR THE TERRAIN OF COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS . . . AVOID CLASHES WITH THE INVADER . : .«

President: Did you order the creation of flying brigades?

Defendant: Yes.

President: What was their task?

Defendant: As the territorial troops were not mobile, it was necessary to proceed gradually and to create, from the organization of territorial troops, mobile units. These units were to serve for the formation of shock corps, as a mobile army — the opposite of that which does not move from its terrain. The first order was that at least one flying brigade was to be formed on the territory of every corps, so that a number of territorial corps could form perhaps one shock corps and, if it was a large territory, then an entire corps could perhaps be transformed into a shock corps. This was the idea of the flying brigades, which were ordered to billet themselves outside of inhabited localities, not to stay in villages and huts, but to live in the woods, to live a campaigning life. They had to clear the terrain of all Partisan units, or other destructive elements, such as Pećanac's, Ljotić's, Nedić's troops etc., if they did not obey.

Prosecutor: But not of Germans?

Defendant: They had to clear their terrain so that they could work freely after that.

President: Were the flying brigades to liquidate all sympathizers of the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: Liquidation means the annihilation of the movement itself, and not killing.

President: Were they to annihilate the sympathizers?

Defendant: To disperse them, to keep an eye on them, and in any case to check their work.

President: Did the sympathizers include only those who carried a rifle and who fought against the Germans, or also women and children?

Defendant: All those who were against our organization were hunted down, regardless of the fact whether they carried a rifle or not.

President: Can it be said that the flying brigades had as their task the killing of women and children?

Defendant: The killing of civil persons was never ordered, except in the case of quislings.

President: There are some dispatches from your Headquarters, which somehow differ from your statements.

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Here is a telegram, № 2293, which says: »The task of the flying brigades is to mop up communists and their sympathizers, and other destructive elements dangerous to our organization, as far as it has not been done up to the present... avoid clashes with the invader... brigades to billet outside inhabited places, in huts, and frequently to change their quarters.«

Defendant: What is the date of this?

President: May 29, 1943.

Defendant: Perhaps it was necessary at that particular moment.

President: In another circular of yours, № 22, dated November 25, 1943 addressed to all units, you write: »I cannot over-emphasize the importance of creating, as soon as possible, flying brigades in all corps, composed of permanent groups. These flying brigades must be able to move through all regions according to instructions from the Supreme Command, and not only in their own regions.«

Defendant: That is what I said regarding the creation of the flying brigades — that mobile troops should be created.

President: This expression: »That the flying brigades must move through all regions, according to instructions from the Supreme Command and not only in their own regions« — does that mean that the flying brigades were under the direct command of your Supreme Headquarders, that is, under yours?

Defendant: No, it does not. No Supreme Command would place under its own command fifty units. My aim was to have no more than five. I could never have had such a number of flying brigades under my direct command.

President: Here is a document which you received on November 21, 1943, which says: »... My agent in Belgrade reports that the

Germans are publicly declaring that they are soon going to leave the Balkans; they are all afraid of the communists; Belgrade is full of them... Order Saša urgently to come to the terrain to organize the work of the Black Threes and to begin by killing the known communists in Belgrade... Report to me directly and not by radio... Thanks for your good wishes... Greetings. Drška« Can it be said after this, that there was no work for the Black Threes?

Defendant: At least not under Ješa Simić. Whoever knows Simić, knows that he cannot be trusted in anything. Simić was such a talker and he told so many lies that I never trusted him in anything.

President: From all this it can be deduced, I see, that the letter »Z« was not applied only to Bulić.

Defendant: The letter »Z« was not applied to anybody except those who were on a list submitted to the London radio and to our government. To nobody else.

THE ČETNIKS CLEAR THE TERRITORY OF MOSLEMS; THOUSANDS OF HOUSES BURNED AND WOMEN, CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE KILLED...

President: Are you aware that in 1941, in November, Jovan Škava handed over 365 Partisans to the Germans?

Defendant: Yes, I am.

President: What happened to them afterwards?

Defendant: I did not know what happened afterwards. I heard that they were shot. Then I also heard that he had sold them, and not handed them over.

President: Did you order your commanders to annihilate the Moslems and Croats?

Defendant: Never.

President: Did you call the Moslems, Turks, and Croats Ustašas?

Defendant: Never. From the very beginning, my work with the Moslems suffered set-back and misfortune just because of these massacres. I beg to be allowed to explain this. I am going to quote one case, to show how the people looked on the sanguinary brutalities of the Ustaša, and what impression it made on them. At one meeting I introduced Mulalić to the people as a Moslem. This was at Srednja Dobrinja. He rose to speak and said: »Brothers, I am a Moslem. The Moslems have suffered enough. But there are three ways to solve this question. The first way is to slaughter them all«. All the people at the meeting, male and female, shouted: »Let us slaughter them!« We were flabbergasted.

Prosecutor: Who incited them? You incited them.

Defendant: No, Prosecutor. Never in my life did I go in for this way of killing.

Prosecutor: Witnesses will testify to this.

Defendant: This was a typical case. Entire regions were destroyed by Moslems, but this had its repercussions afterwards. The men revenged themselves in battle. The Drina carried away large number of corpses from all three sides. It was a river of blood. The people revenged themselves for the crimes the Ustašas had committed. At the beginning of 1942, immediately after my arrival at the Golija mountain, I called Zvizdić Hasan to come to me, regardless of the fact that he was in the Italian service. He came to Sandžak, so that we might settle our relations with the Moslems. He was the most

Str:pov:_____

Prepis pisma g: .inistra Vojske i Mornarice - juna 1944 godine:

Dragi Vojvodo,-Šaljemo Vam u ovom pismu instrukcije kojih treba da se pridržav te . Vašem radu ;i Ovo će biti opšte linije ,jer bi trebalo duge ako bi smo se upustili u detalje .Inače vi već znate u glavnom kako treba da se radi po mnogim pitanjima

Šaljemo Vam prvo informacije o našoj spoljnoj situaciji i o držanju Kralja i kraljevske vlade naše emigracije

Ovih dana stigao je Lukačević i Bačević iz Kaira .Lično su razgovarali sa Kraljem i s svima našim političarima i sa predsednikom Vlade .Kralj je čvr.

Šaljemo Vam i ovaj vrlo važan i vrlo interesantan podatak.Vrlo instakt i vrlo viđeni engleski funkcioneri poručili su nam ,da što pre likvidiramo komuniste ,Kim komuniste budemo likvidirali nastaće drukčije stanje ,i i odmah će promeniti svoje držanje ,svoju propagandu,i što je najvažnije svoju politiku

Bačević i Lukačević čvrsto su ubeđeni ;da je ovo momentalno

Bratski Vas pozdravlja Vaš ----------

1001.-

Facsimile of letter from 1001 (from Draža Mihailović) sent to Jevđević, which relates to the message of »very prominent British officials« that communists should be liquidated as soon as possible.

respected man among the Moslems. When I arrived in Montenegro I established contact with Dr. Popović, Mustafa Pašić from Mostar, and Fehim Musakadić. Later Mulalić and Preljubović arrived. The regions they came from were those where the vengeance of the people had assumed the most terrible proportions. These were the Rogatica, Sarajevo region, and some central parts of Eastern Bosnia and Sandžak. These were the most terrible regions.

President: All right, you are speaking about the Rogatica region, Vlasenica and so on. But explain this situation, this report

which you received from Pavle Đurišić. You received a report from him about his »action« against Moslem villages?

Defendant: I did.

President: Here is what Pavle writes *(the President reads the report that Pavle Đurišić sent to Draža Mihailović):* »Chief of Staff, Supreme Command. The action on the right bank of the Lim, in the Bijelo Polje District, is finished. It was carried out exactly according to plan. The result of this action is: 1) The following Moslem villages have been completely destroyed... See the enclosed map of the environs of Plevlje, Sjenica, Peć and Kolašin.« And now he enumerates the villages: »... Voljevac, Gubavača, Presečnik, Baturić, Donji Vlah, Murovići, Papratice, Donja Kostenica, Stuble, Dubljaci, Jasen, Kostići, Ivanje, Gornja Krnjča, Vrba, Crkalj, Ličina — total, 33 villages. 2) Victims: Moslem fighters about 400; women and children about 1.000. Our casualties: 14 killed, 26 wounded of whom three were women. The large number of our casualties was not due to bad leadership by our chiefs, but evidently to a lack of caution on the part of the soldiers themselves and to their heroic attacks on the Moslems, who had shut themselves into their houses.« Now, accused Mihailović, you heard?

Defendant: I don't understand. Is this from his report?

President: This is Pavle Đurišić's report to you.

Defendant: I did not hear the last sentence well.

President: (Reads the last phrase of the report): »... but evidently to a lack of caution on the part of the soldiers themselves and to their heroic attacks on the Moslems, who had shut themselves into their houses.« Was this action carried out according to plan?

Defendant: According to a plan which he, not I, had made.

President: Did you know of this plan?

Defendant: No. He told me that he was going to annihilate the Italian militia on the right bank of the Lim river. The Orthodox villages of this region were completely burned down.

Prosecutor: Was Pavle Đurišić at that time a part of the Italian militia?

Defendant: All the Serbian villages on the right bank of the Lim were burned down by the Moslems. The Vasojevići are very difficult when they come across such villages.

President: Another paragraph of Đurišić's letter says: »After my arrival on the terrain, the Italians wanted to take action once more, and they even prepared their artillery, but when I told them that I would back the people and openly take part in the fight if they helped the Moslems, they refrained. Two Italian companies

had already appeared on the terrain, but our troops fired and killed one Italian, and after that the Italians retired. The whole Italian action consisted in demanding that Pavle Đurišić should localize the fight.« Here is another letter from Pavle Đurišić, written in 1943: »The operations in the Bijelo Polje District began yesterday, the 5th, at 12 o'clock. Everything was carried out exactly according to plan. Rade yesterday burned down 15 houses, killed 10 Moslems and burned 5 in their house. I have ordered that certain Moslem villages must be burned« — and so on. At the end he says: »To you and to all the others my best holiday wishes. May God give you a long life and may you celebrate Easter in the capital...«

Defendant: Which is this document?

President: № 156. There is another report from Pavle Đurišić, document 370, that I want to show you: «Command of the Lim—Sandžak Četnik detachments, February 13, 1943«, that is, one month after the first report: »Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command«, So this is for you.: »The action in the Plevlje, Čajniče, Foča districts against the Moslems has been carried out. Our detachments reached the Drina during the night of the 7th of this month, so that the fighting in general came to an end by that day and then the mopping up of the liberated territory began«. This is what mopping up meant when the Četniks freed a territory: »All Moslem villages have been completely burned, so that there is not one of their houses left. All property has been destroyed, except cattle, corn and hay. During the operations we carried out the complete annihilation of the Moslem inhabitants, without regard to their sex and age... We lost a total of 22, of which two were accidents. Among the Moslems there were 1.200 combatants, and nearly 8.000 other victims — women, old men and children. The whole population has been annihilated. The morale of our units was very high. Certain units, with their leaders showed outstanding valour in every situation, and merit every praise«. This is what Pavle Đurišić wrote to you. Were you informed of the preparations for this action, and did Ostojić send the plan for its execution to you?

Defendant: I was not informed of these preparations, I only knew that Pavle had to go to Kalinovik. He told me that he would settle accounts on the way with Bukovica, which bothered him very much, just like the Italian militia. He wanted to do this and I also had reasons for wanting this terrain cleared up, but I never thought that he would clear it up in this way, especially as I believed that the population would take no part in it.

President: Were you aware that a campaign was in progress at Bjelinići, with the object of arriving at an agreement with the Moslems?

Defendant: Yes.

President: Please, explain to the Court why in the Goražde, Foča and Čajniče districts the Moslem population was being exterminated, while at the same time at Bjelinići, a diplomatic action was being conducted, i. e., negotiations for a friendly agreement.

Defendant: This action in Sandžak was absolutely contrary to my purposes, for it could not be supposed that Bjelinići would remain quiet after hearing what was happening in the immediate neighbourhood, in Sandžak. My object concerning Sandžak was to reach a reconciliation there also.

President: Explain to the Court how far the Neretva is from Bjelinići?

Defendant: Bjelinići is near the Neretva.

President: And from Eastern Bosnia, from the Foča—Kalinovik road, which is the shortest way to the Neretva?

Defendant: From Eastern Bosnia to where?

President: To the Neretva.

Defendant: From the Kalinovik sector to the Neretva, it passes through Bjelinići.

Prosecutor: Does it pass through Čajniče?

Defendant: I don't understand.

President: I am asking, because a massacre took place there in February 1943, and a massacre was prepared in the Plevlje District, while negotiations were going on with the Moslems from Bjelinići, on the Neretva sector, to persuade them to take part in the Fourth Offensive as Četnik units.

Defendant: It would then have been still easier to annihilate Bjelinići.

Prosecutor: Did you need it for fighting the Partisans?

Defendant: No.

President: Did one part of the Bjelinići Moslems participate in the Fourth Offensive?

Defendant: They did, but that didn't mean anything.

»INTERN THE FATHER AND KILL THE SON...«

President: What is the meaning of this list of active communists, with their collaborators and their sympathizers in Serbia, in the sector of the First Toplica Brigade of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland *(reads the list):* »Rašića village: Todosije Radivojević, symphathizer — liquidate...«

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: Is that by your orders?

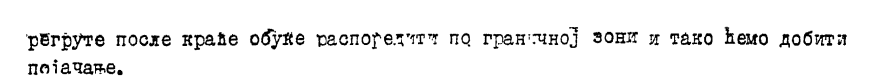
Defendant: Nowhere in my orders is there written »kill the people«.

President: (Continues reading the list): »Muzać village: Jovan Jeftić, symphathizer, wears the five-pointed star — liquidate; Gvozden Strainović, symphathizer, wears the five-pointed star — liquidate; Života Knežević, collaborator, led the partisans to our position — liquidate; Ljubisav Todorović, collaborator, led the Partisans to our positions — liquidate; Gvozden Savić, secret agent — intern; Drešnica village: Jelena Jelenić showed our machine gun — liquidate; Svetomir Milenković, Partisan, local commisar — liquidate; Djordje Petrović, symphathizer — intern; Kutlovac village: Radoš Milanović, collaborator — liquidate; Andreja Milenković, collaborator — mobilize in a distant locality; Jordan Stefanović, collaborator, his son is an active Partisan — intern; Vladen Planinčić, propagandist — liquidate; Hranislav Milivojević, collaborator — liquidate; Bogovid Jovanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Radojko Petrović, the son is an active Partisan — intern the father and kill the son; Grgure village: Radoš Jovanović, active Partisan, deputy divisional commander — liquidate; Milan Jovanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Gradimir Jovanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Voja Jovanović, local commander — liquidate; Branislav Jovanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Vojin Rajović, symphathizer, son active partisan, father — intern; son — kill; Doda and Steva Jovanović, collaborators — liquidate; Miroslav, Bogomir, Nikola and Jovo Jovanović, collaborators — liquidate; Blagoje Marković, active Partisan — liquidate; all Jovanović (Jozić) women wear red kerchiefs and are poisonous communists — half intern, — half liquidate...« This is justice: half and half. — »Višeselo village: Svetislav and Radomir Jovanović, collaborators — intern; Milomir Jovanović, collaborator on the committee — liquidate; Ognjen Vukašinović, collaborator on the committee — liquidate; Radomir Radovanović, collaborator on the committee — liquidate; Konjuva village: Dragojlo Mirković and daughter, collaborators — intern; Ratko Maksić, active Partisan — liquidate; Miroslav Simić, collaborator on the committee — liquidate; Jelica Savić, col-

laborator on the committee — liquidate; Dobrivoje and Miroslav Radović, collaborators on the committee — liquidate; Milorad and Milko Obradović, collaborators on the committee — liquidate; Cana Jovanović, collaborator on the committee — liquidate; borough Blace: Obrad Lazović, active Partisan leader — liquidate; Darinka Lazović, active Partisan — liquidate; Nenad and Milomir Lazić, active Partisans — liquidate; Svetozar and Dobrila Savić, active Partisans — liquidate; Nenad Stefanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Stevan Stevanović, active Partisan — liquidate; Slavomir, Randjeo and Rajko Simić, active Partisans — liquidate« ... and so on and so forth, about 400 persons. They were all from Toplica, and Toplica was known to be a Partisan region.

Defendant: Toplica was also Pećanac's region. It was a Partisan region, and a Četnik region also. I was not aware of this.

President: This list is not the only one. This is a list of the First Toplica Brigade. Then comes the list from the sector of the Second Toplica Brigade, a list of active communists and their sym-



регруте после краће обуке распоредити по граничној зони и тако ћемо добити појачање.

Бр.314 од Азеда, Бр.12 од 4-г-. Данас сам примио од Душе Јовановића један описак комуниста из Пожеге који ми је достављен по Вашем наређењу. Одмах сам га на погодан начин доставио коме треба. УПН

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Azed reports that the list of communists in Užička Požega »has been handed over to the right quarters«.

pathizers, from the sector of the Second Toplica brigade of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland... »Čukovac community: no data can be given until you come to the terrain...«

Prosecutor: Was this the task of the Fourth Shock Detachment?

Defendant: Nothing was carried out according to my orders.

President: Did you issue definite orders for the killing of supporters of the Army of National Liberation, its symphatizers, and so on?

Defendant: No, only for the mopping up of the terrain and for the liquidation of the movement.

President: What do you mean by the »mopping up of the terrain«?

Defendant: To disperse the organisations... Look here, it is said that people were to be interned and so on...

President: It will be my duty to confront you with certain things, certain facts, certain documents, put in as evidence, which show...

Defendant: I could not have believed that such things could happen.

President: You have here, for instance, the proposal of your commander Kalabić, the commander of the so-called H. M. Court Guards, who suggests certain names to you for decorations. Here is one example (reads confidential document, № 115, June 12, 1944, in which the Infantry Lieutenant Bogdan Damjanović is proposed for decoration, »because he took part in several fights and distinguished himself by personal courage and by efficient leadership of his unit, especially in the Rudnik battle against the communists... He always contacted the enemy and contributed much to his destruction or obliged him to flee...« (The president then continues to read the proposal of May 20, 1944, for the decoration of Martin Ljujić, in which it is stated that he had »successfully led his units, engaged in hand to hand fighting with the enemy who was numerically superior, and succeeded in crushing him... 20 communists were killed, a number were wounded, and on May 30, fighting against a superior enemy, his men killed 28 communists and captured 12... We propose that he should be decorated with the Karađorđe Star...«) Your decision regarding this proposal was: »White Eagle, fifth class with swords...« *(President continues reading):* »Artillery Lieutenant Stanko V. Tanasijević because, as a battalion commander of the frist brigade on the sector of the Drugovci village, he fought against a far superior and well entrenched enemy, distinguished himself in this fight, capturing 8 rifles and killing 15 communists without casualties to his own troops. On May 11, on the sector of Sirogoj, he penetrated the enemy's lines, fighting all night, and at dawn finally succeeded in putting the enemy to flight. On May 12 he repelled an enemy attack, and so on. Proposed for the Karađorđe Star.« Your decision: »Obilić gold medal for courage.« This man also fought against the communists. Was it slaughter or military operation?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: How is it that you don't remember if you added your observation?

President: Momčilo Obradović, at Dojčin on January 6, as commander of the »Fourth Brigade of the King's Mountain Guard«, through skilful leadership and personal heroism, succeeded in routing the enemy — the Partisans... On this occasion 8 communists were killed and 12 wounded, while 3 were captured. On February 3, at Sidnica, 7 Partisans, two of which were women, were killed, one machine gun was captured, as well as 9 rifles. On another occasion

18 Partisans were killed... and so on. He is proposed for the Karadorđe Star. Your observation: »White Eagle, fifth class with swords«.

Prosecutor: Did you decorate anyone for his fighting against Germans or Italians?

Defendant: I don't remember.

FROM THE ORDER FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF THE JAGODINA ANTIFASCISTS: «ORDER TO PROCEED TO A LARGE-SCALE MASSACRE . . .«

President: Here is your telegram, № 159 of January 13, 1943, from Draža to Leonard, Frike, Fritz, that is to Ninković, Raković and Trifunović. »We have a report that the communists from the Valjevo region have fled to the Rudnik region, and one group to Kosmaj. The struggle which we are carrying on against them will be decisive. We shall pursue them because they are bitter enemies and because they want to get back their terrain. Annihilate them pitilessly, because great events are approaching with giant strides...« Is this your telegram?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: I am going to read you an other circular to everyone in Serbia. This is dispatch № 193, of January 16, 1943. »Of all these troubles I must emphasize that the communist danger is one of the greatest. Annihilate without pity these evildoers and enemies of our people. Annihilate them pitilessly. All commanders are responsible to me their sectors, which have to be cleared of all these vagabonds and tramps«.

Defendant: I have not these documents. I don't know.

President: Do you know what was done?

Defendant: I don't know what was done. There was never any slaughter; there was fighting.

President: Here is another dispatch, of January 21, 1943, (document № 393) adressed to Ilijev, that is, to Pazarac, who was Ocokoljić Siniša: »Don't let the communists lift up their heads. Annihilate them without pity as our greatest evildoers. Clear the place of them and do your work without any sentiment. Spread the strongest possible propaganda against them among the peasants«. Is this your circular?

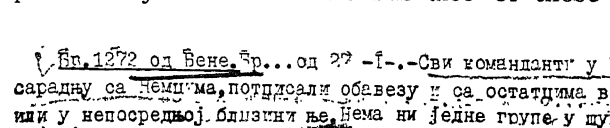
Defendant: I had assistants who did the work. This was a fight. Those who were taken prisoner were never killed.

President: Bruno, via Frike, January 22, 1944 (document № 394), Draža to Captain Mišić, via Raković. Your telegram №

284. »Received report about mopping up of communists. Mop up and annihilate them without pity. Take care that none of them come into Serbia from Eastern Bosnia, as our troops are routing and pursuing them there also«. This was the Fourth Offensive. I don't need to tell you this. You know it well enough.

Defendant: These were fighting groups only, fighting groups, fighting and nothing more. There was never an order of mine which said: »Kill the prisoners, kill the wounded, kill so and so.«

President: How do you explain your following telegram: »All your dispatches concerning liquidation of communists received. I agree with the replacement of the commander of the second flying brigade, as only obstacle against final liquidation of communists. I am very satisfied with your reaching Jastrebac and your establishing ties with Keserović. It is necessary to work energetically on mopping up not only of communists but also of those who hide them...«



Бп.1272 од Бене.Бр...од 22 -I-.-Сви команданти у Црној Гори примили су сарадњу са Немцима,потписали обавезу и са остатцима војске налазе се у жици, или у непосредној близини ње.Нема ни једне групе у шуми која би представлала нашу борбу,око које би се могли окупљати.Вукадиновић што тако налази се у Подгорици или у околини.Наговештени долазак Српске-војске поздрављен је бурно свуда,али долазак Лотићевца учинио је Лотићевце врло активним и претпостављено-год не буде са њима,он је комуниста.По варошима тешко се ико одржати јер та формула сваког ће ставити под удар окупатора као комунисту.Часавак.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Bene reports that all Četnik commanders in Montenegro have accepted cooperation with the Germans.

Defendant: Mopping up by fighting, dispersing and smashing the organization.

President: Your telegram of November 17, 1943, says: »Kosmaj must be cleared at all costs. Act according to the needs of the situation and with the aim of clearing Kosmaj up to Belgrade as quickly as possible.«

Defendant: That is the same.

President: Here is your circular, № 907, of November 21, 1943, document № 411, which runs as follows: »The communists have concentrated considerable forces in Sandžak, region of Priboj and Višegrad. The Partisans want to penetrate into Serbia. I order all, in this and in all our other provinces, to utilize this situation in order to annihilate the communists to the last man in all these provinces. The communists have evacuated other terrains in which they have been weakened and this is a good opportunity to make a clean sweep in all provinces, and to take Serbia and all

provinces completely into our hands. Take all the necessary steps and inform me of all that has been done and with what success.«

Defendant: That is the same.

President: Quite the same. Here is another of your telegrams. Circular to the whole of Serbia, of May 13, 1944, document № 429 »A number of porters at Belgrade railway station have been arrested because of communist activity and for helping the Partisans. The porters Miloje Baletić and Dušan Tica have fled to the interior. In case of their capture, do what is necessary with them«.

Defendant: I don't know this telegram. Do what is necessary doesn't mean killing.

Prosecutor: Is this a general circular?

Defendant: No.

President: Yes, it is a circular to the whole of Serbia. This is simply a warrant for the arrest of these two.

Prosecutor: Who had fled from the Special Police.

President: You have said that annihilate, mop up, liquidate communists and sympathizers of the Army of National Liberation does not mean killing (except armed units), but transporting the sympathizers to another territory.

Defendant: That is true. I don't know in what way.

President: How could they be thrown out from the whole of Serbia?

Defendant: There were ways and means.

President: Excuse me, from your telegrams it is clearly evident that there were communists and their sympathisers in Eastern Serbia, Belgrade, South of Belgrade, near Niš, near Čačak, Kruševac, Sandžak, in Bosnia and Dalmatia. Mop them up everywhere. Where would you put all these people?

Defendant: I never prescribed the manner or method; I never prescribed killing.

President: I have read telegrams which say: »Kill«.

Defendant: That refers to deserters.

President: What do you mean by deserters? People who had been in your units and abandoned them, or persons who had not been in them at all?

Defendant: Those who had been in them but who had fled.

President: Well, how then do you explain this case *(reads):* »Command of the flying detachment — document № 399 — № 321, of May 13, 1943, at Danilovgrad«. Who held Danilovgrad at that time?

Defendant: That was in May 1943. It may have been the Germans or the Italians.

President: The commander, Colonel Bajo Stanišić, writes from Danilovgrad to the commander of the fourth Četnik battalion, Captain Špura Stojanović: »For the killed communist deserter Jagoš Kondić, the price of lire 30.000 has been received in the pay-office of the »Ferrara« Division«. Was the »Ferrara« Division part of the Četnik units?

Defendant: No.

President: Whom did it belong to?

Defendant: The Italians.

President: (Continues reading): »As the above mentioned was killed on January 14, 1943, by the men of the fourth Četnik battalion, in collaboration with the gendarmes and some peasants, I beg you to send me immediately a list of the persons who took part in his capture and killing, together with the gendarmes and the other participants, so that the money may be distributed among them. — Commander Colonel Bajo Stanišić.«

Defendant: That is disgraceful.

President: Are you aware that your commanders were raping and then killing the women-fighters, captured from the Army of National Liberation?

Defendant: I was not aware of this.

President: Here is a telegram registered by your Headquarters, under № 10.460 of November 1943, document № 409, from Louis. Who was this Louis?

Defendant: I cannot remember. There were a great many code names, but I think it may have been Dragoslav Pavlović.

President: Here are his words: »It was daylight and my eyes may be trusted because my pride as a man and a guards officer do not allow me to fall so low in these critical days, Miloš...« Who was this Miloš?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: »... raped a communist girl and then killed her... I did not complain about him because I consider that this is not the time for reporting such things, and that it was not a reason for dismissing him... a detailed report follows«. As you see, your commander says that the fact that he had raped a communist girl and killed her, was no reason for making a complaint! You see what your commanders were like, as can be seen from their telegrams to you. Here is a telegram bearing your number, 1.307 of September 28, 1943 — document № 422, from Georgie: »I ordered the

annihilation of whole families, the burning of houses and of entire villages, where the Partisans had their supporters, because the Serbian bastards assist the proletarian scum in certain villages. I have ordered this because we are losing our best nationalists through the bastards of our people«. This writes Colonel Radojević. Do you know this dispatch?

Defendant: I don't know it.

President: What was his terrain?

Defendant: His terrain was in the surroundings of Niš.

President: Did Jovan Škava make daggers for you?

Defendant: I know about this dispatch, and I called the atention of my men to him, and told them to watch him.

President: Did he make daggers?

Defendant: He did.

President: You said that you had placed Jovan Škava under the letter »Z«.

Defendant: Afterwards he disappeared completely.

President: Why did you say that you had pardoned him for betraying Mišić?

Defendant: I did not pardon him.

President: Aleksandar Mišić was one of your best officers.

Defendant: Even if I were such a monster as to pardon him for the handing over of those Partisans to the Germans, I could not have pardoned him for his treason against Mišić.

President: What are daggers used for?

Defendant: The same as a knife.

President: Yes, for cutting bread, and what else?

Defendant? For use in fighing. We used daggers also during the last war.

President: Were they used by the Threes?

Defendant: By anyone who could get hold of them.

President: I am going to read to you another telegram which shows that you were connected with the massacres. It is № 425, from page 49 of the 33rd telegram book. It is dated January 4, 1944: »... After the appearance of Tito the population of Jagodina began to join our ranks, but many also started lifting up their heads... I discovered many of them and made their acquaintance; they are mostly intellectuals. Order to begin a large scale massacre for the New Year«. What did you answer to this telegram?

Defendant: I don't know.

President: Are you aware that a terrible massacre of intellectuals took place at Jagodina, Paraćin and Ćuprija on February 1, 1944?

Defendant: I didn't know this.

President: Where were you in January 1944?

Defendant: At the congres at Ba. In Ba village.

President: And on January 4, where were you?

Defendant: I was on Medvednik mountain.

MOSLEM CORPSES BY THE BRIDGE AT FOČA AND SEVENTEEN VILLAGES BURNED IN HERCEGOVINA

President: Was Vasić one of your commanders?

Defendant: Yes.

President: His nickname was »Vi-vi«. In the telegram received at your Headquarters, document № 427, he informs you: »The communists during their long work at Toplica and Jablanica have communised 80% of the district, so I consider that this punitive expedition ought to be allowed to burn and to kill, and to make even innocent people suffer, so that these people finally understand where the communists have led them. We shall round up and annihilate the broken groups of communists, and after this action our detachments should occupy this territory, and keep it under their authority«.

Defendant: I don't know this telegram.

President: You see, this telegram is addressed to you, and as it is now evident from the facts which have emerged at the trial, it refers to the invader's punitive expedition, which was prepared in May and began in June. This happened at Toplica and Jablanica at a time when Keserović was in difficulties and when you sent him, in spite of this telegram, your fourth shock detachment under the command of Račić, to assist him. Are you aware that one of your commanders demanded typhus bacilli for the killing of traitors?

Defendant: There are all kinds of fools in the world. And did I give any typhus bacilli? Who would dare to give them?

President: One of your commanders sent you a dispatch, which was received at your Headquarters, and entered into your telegram book № 57 as dispatch № 2649 of November 5, 1942, which reads as follows: »Number 384 wanted typhus bacilli for killing traitors. Please order Colonel Bakić to hand them to Valter, who will hand them to my man.«

Defendant: It was Major Đurić who asked for this. I don't know this dispatch, but it is probably true. It would be impossible to use such means.

President: Bacteriologic war was talked of.

Defendant: It was talked of but nobody dared to begin it, in his own interest. It would be impossible.

President: Here is a letter from Joca Pantić, who took part in the Fourth Offensive and in February 1942 wrote to »Uncle Branko«, that is, Zaharija Ostojić. It contains the following words: »We set fire to 80 huts where the deserters usèd to meet and a further 6 houses belonging to deserters. We then went on through the Trebinje forest, towards Dalmatia, and on our way we killed 16 people and burned 8 houses in the village of Češljari, which is inhabited exclusively by Croats. The deserters have gone to Dalmatia, and I asked the Italians to allow us to search the Mojkovo and Slano villages where I believe that the deserters are hiding. As I have reported before, a great communist organization was discovered and mass imprisonments took place at Mostar, Stolac and Tre-

ж правилно оцене.Млађа није побегао већ је отишао и хтео да се врати.....

бр.577 од 13.XII.43 ХУГО/Митрановић/: Наша борба мора бити без компромитације.Предузмите све што можете да те компромитације не буде.Ако тактизирате, онда тактизирајте,али то мора бити тајно.не могу вам давати тачан упут јер не познајем прилике.Понављам,тактизирајте тајно али без компромитације.

From Mihailović's bopk of telegrams sent: Instructions to Hugo (Bora Mitranović) to use discretion in cooperating with the invader "secretly and without geting compromised".

binje... We are now conducting an inquiry at brigade headquarters, in the Bužima village, and examining some 50 prisoners, who, after two or three series of floggings confessed to everything«. So, here people were beaten in series? Your commanders knocked about people in series.

Defendant: This region was the strongest Ustaša region: Imotsko, Ljubuški and Široki Brijeg.

President: Are you aware that your detachments in Montenegro handed over members of the National Liberation Movement to the Italians, to be shot?

Defendant: No.

President: But you had just arrived there. This was in June 1942 *(reads a report of the Italian military local command at Nikšić, dated June 1942, relating to attempts against Italian officers. This report was addressed to the national command at Straševina):* »As a reprisal for yesterday's attempt on the lives of Italian officers, the shooting of 20 communists has been ordered, of which 17 have been taken from the national prison. We beg you to hand the 17 above mentioned prisoners to the Headquarters of the Royal Cara-

binieri at 11.30 a. m. By order of the Chief of Staff, Major Mario Torsiello«. *(The president reads a letter from the General Staff of the National Army of Montenegro and Hercegovina to the military tribunal at Nikšić):* »To the national military tribunal at Nikšić — in connection with the above order« ... (This is the Italian order) »... hand over to the Royal Carabinieri Headquarters at Nikšić 15 of the most dangerous communists in your prison. By order of the commander, staff captain« signature illegible, but probably Đukić Vlado.

Defendant: I don't know him.

President: Are you aware that when Baćović and Ostojić had organized the advance section of the Supreme Command and gone to Bosnia, your units carried out an attack on Foča in which a large number of people were massacred at Foča and its surroundings?

Defendant: The indictment here states with respect to Foča and in connection with this, that in December 1941, and in the course of January 1942, the Četniks massacred more than 2.000 Moslems; men, women and children. It refers to the surroundings of Foča, Čajniče and Goražde. But at that time the Partisans were at Foča.

President: The Četniks committed the massacre, and the Partisans then came and liberated Foča. There are many who know personally that at the period when the Supreme Headquarters of the Army of National Liberation and of the Partisan Detachments was at Foča, 3.000 rations of food were distributed every day to the poor Moslem population. This is a well known fact. On the arrival of the Army of National Liberation at Foča, there were still corpses of the murdered on the bridge, as well as under it, hanging on some parts of it. I was just speaking of the period when Ostojić passed towards Eastern Bosnia. This is document № 387, telegram № 459 sent by 1002, i. e., by Major Ostojić. This telegram of August 22 says: »Everything can be found at Foča, and I hope to make a good haul. I can hardly wait until I get my men together, and then I shall send these people to hell once and for all...«

Defendant: Those were the Ustašas; Foča was defended by the Ustašas who were chiefly recruited from Moslems.

Prosecutor: Were the children also Ustašas?

Defendant: No order of mine exists for the killing of women and children.

President: This document says further: Our troops under the command of Major Ostojić after a sharp and short struggle yesterday occupied Foča. Our casualties are 4 killed, while the enemy's are about 1.000 of which 300 are women and children.«

Defendant: At Foča, men from Rogatica also took part in the fighting.

President: Baćović reports in September 1942: »I have returned from my Hercegovina trip. Four of our battalions, about 900 men, started on August 30 through Ljubuški, Imotsko and Podgora, and reached the sea at Makarska. Seventeen villages have been burned. 900 Ustašas were killed and a number of Catholic priests were flayed alive. For the first time since the capitulation we have placed the Serbian flag above the sea and cheered the King and Draža. Our casualties are very small.«

Defendant: He says here that the Ustašas were killed, Ustaša villages burnt. This was the most terrible region in the whole country, like Derventa in Bosnia.

President: And these places, Omiš and Makarska?

Defendant: I don't know, but Mostar, Ljubuški, Široki Brijeg were the most terrible Ustaša regions.

President: And how was it that they flayed people alive?

Defendant: I didn't believe such reports.

THE ACCUSED MIHAILOVIĆ SAYS ABOUT ONE OF HIS ČETNIKS: »HE CARRIED A HUMAN HEAD IN HIS BAG«

President: When you received this message, did you do anything to stop it?

Defendant: I couldn't.

President: Then it means that during the year 1942 you knew quite well about the looting, incendiarism and other crimes in Plevlje?

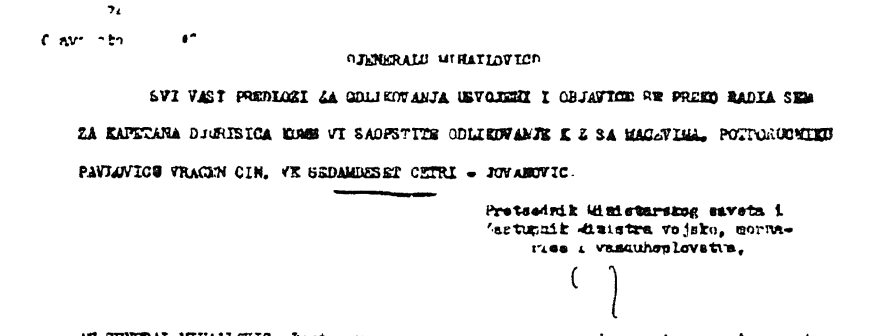
Defendant: No. No, I didn't know about it. Only what various people told me. It hindered my political work terribly. All the political work went for nothing if a Moslem village was burned down. I used to hold meetings in mosques but the hatred was terrific.

President: You say that between the Ustašas and Moslems a centuries old hatred reigned there, but what centuries old hatred was there at Toplica, in Šumadija, Krajina, Homolje, Posavina, Pocerina, Zlatibor . . . ?

Defendant: That was a mutual struggle.

President: Here is another report from the Omiš District. *(reads it)* »On September 30, 1942, at 8. p. m., Italian cars containing 130 anticommunist militia men came to Omiš from Split. They spent the night at the Italian barracks at Omiš. On October 1, at 6 a. m., the militia men, armed with machine guns and bombs and

accompanied by the Italian army, set off on foot to the village of Gat, in the municipality of Prikopoljica. There they met 9 girls, carrying milk for Omiš, and shot them on the spot«. I have ommitted a whole paragraph which tells that the anticommunist militia, the moment it reached Gat, began to burn down the houses, taking first those that were on the road. 115 houses with all their furniture and stores were burned down. The militia shot everyone they met and in this way 89 people were killed and 30 wounded. Of all the houses in the village only 6 were not burned down. Besides that the militia looted everything. At the village of Ostrovica in the same municipality, 3 houses with their stores were burned down, and at Zvečane 5. The anticommunist militia was accompanied by the Italian army



OJEMERALU MIHAILOVICU

SVI VAŠI PREDLOZI ZA ODLIKOVANJA USVOJENI I OBJAVIĆE SE PREKO RADIA SEM

ZA KAPETANA DJURISICA KOME VI SAOPŠTITE ODLIKOVANJE K Z SA MAČEVIMA. POZDRAVLJEN

PAVLOVIĆ VRAĆEN ČIN. VK SEDAMDESET ČETRI - JOVANOVIĆ.

Pretsednik Ministarskog saveta i
zamenik ministra vojske, mornarice i vazduhoplovstva,

()

AU GENERAL MIHAILOVIC. Toutes vos propositions pour les decorations sont acceptees et seront radiodiffusees, excepte la decoration du capitain Djurisic par K.Z. avec epees ce que vous lui ferez savoir. A Pavlovic a ete rendu le grade de sous-lieutenant. VK 74 - Jovanovic.

From telegram file of the emigrant government: Slobodan Jovanović informs Mihailović that all the proposed Četnik commanders have been decorated, and that decoration of all except Pavle Đurišić has been announced through the B.B.C.

all the time the action lasted. The action began on October 1 at 6 a. m., and lasted till October 2. The anticommunist militia burned down houses and put people to the knife...

Prosecutor: This was probably an intrigue wasn't it?

President: I don't know how your commanders understood your orders. You said »clear the terrain« and they literally wiped it out. For example, in December 1943, Ras, that is Kalabić, in the document № 423, which was registered at your Headquarters and which you must know, writes: »At Kopljari 24 active communists were captured while sleeping and were butchered. We put them all to the knife...«

Defendant: I don't know whether I received this message, but in any case I always issued instructions not to commit such acts.

President: Here is another message from Serbia: »On January 17, 1943, in the Posavina District, the wiping out of the communists was completed... Last month, 37 illegal communists were captured, of which 22 were shot... 50 communist assistants were shot. A large quantity of arms and equipment looted from our men was found on them. Five hundred men took part in the extermination. They went as far as Čukarica...« That is document 391 and Čukarica is in Belgrade... And here, so as not to tire you, I am only going to read you one more document just to remind you: »... To the commander of the Ozren military Četnik Corps — to the Headquarters of the Kladanj Brigade. In the very place where the murder was committed.« Just where your commander Momčilo Micić was killed. This is document 363. Do you remember this commander of yours in Eastern Bosnia?

Defendant: No, I do not.

President: Here he is represented as a hero. ...«At the place of the murder alone, 10 people were killed, and the village burned down. In the reprisals the Vlasenica Brigade was particularly active, especially Rajko Ćelonja, with his battalion. According to his men's statements, about 150 men and women mere killed, while the flames of the burned village rose from all sides.« This commander of yours is poetically inclined, and yet he kills men and women and sets villages on fire. The message further reads »This was a true manifestation of the nationalist leaders and their men, who spontaneously, from the depth of their hearts and souls, defended their homes, their traditions, Serbian honour, their King and Fatherland...« It may also be said that the people in Eastern Bosnia for the first time became acquainted with the Četniks, owing to the fact that 150 men were killed and the village burned, and so on.

Defendant: It was mutual hatred.

President: So, accused Mihailović, you have been shown certain objects, namely, your orders and instructions, the results of which were, as you can see for yourself, that your commanders, throughout Yugoslavia, wherever they were, whether in Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Hercegovina, Dalmatia or Lika, killed, burnt, plundered, massacred, violated. Did you issue such orders? If you did, admit it; if not, tell the Court what steps you took to prevent this massacre of the innocent population. It is clear from the messages that you knew about it.

Defendant: I did not give any orders for it. The style of telegrams is such that it is impossible to give instructions through them. You have to be careful about each word in the message. A telegram

is not the same thing as a letter, words are spared in it. It can be seen from the telegrams and from what was said, that I did not say: kill prisoners, burn down villages, kill women and children. I never said such things. I was not informed of those atrocities against the Moslems.

President: And against the Serbs?

Defendant: I never issued any orders.

President: Were you acquainted with this, and what steps did you take to stop it.

Defendant: Whenever I was informed of it, I always ordered that it should stop. Later on I found out that they were actually hiding it from me. My cousin was killed by the Četniks on Pašina Ravna.

Milutin Janković, at whose wedding I was a witness, was killed, although I had sent a message forbidding it. They killed Jevrem Simić, who was a school-fellow of mine. He was passing through Raković's territory, and was killed there. They even fought against one another. Hajduković carried the head of a man he had killed, in his bag.

President: Did the Četnik units exist in order to collaborate with the invader and to kill one another, or did they exist in order to fight against the invader?

Defendant: There were obstacles, because certain Četnik units did not develop as they should have. I had no power to put them in order. I was interfered with.

President: How do you explain the circulars which we have read.

Defendant: Battles, mopping up operations, the conquering of territory, the breaking up of organizations, are not a struggle directed against the unprotected.

President: And what does the term extermination refer to?

Defendant: I have already said I do not quite know to what it refers.

THE ČETNIK PLAN TO ANNIHILATE THE MOSLEMS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Prosecutor: All this was written by you. I am going to read you the following: »It is necessary to make preparations now for the moving of the Moslems to Turkey or anywhere out of our territory. On the day of the uprising, all of them will be moved and nobody will be able to stop us doing this. At a certain moment, all the Moslems will have to be moved from their homes. Those nearer the Croat territories will have to go there«. You see, that was your attitude.

Defendant: Which year was that?

Prosecutor: I suppose you know when you wrote this note.

Defendant: As far as the moving of the Moslems was concerned, my intention was to expel all the minorities during the interregnum, that is, all those whom we would not be able to expel later on, for instance, Germans, Hungarians and Rumanians.

Prosecutor: It means you had the same attitude towards the Moslems even at that time.

Defendant: At the beginning, while on Ravna Gora, after the massacres committed by the Ustaša authorities, and after the fifth column had been formed in the country, on the coming of the Germans, I considered that absolutely all the minorities, especially those in the North, namely the Germans, Hungarians and Rumanians, should be expelled during the interregnum.

Prosecutor: And the Moslems also?

Defendant: If there was any talk about the moving of the Moslems to Turkey, it could only have referred to the Turks.

Prosecutor: Was this Vasić's plan?

Defendant: We talked about it, but I cannot say that it was his.

Prosecutor: Was it the plan of »the Serbian cultural club«?

Defendant: It might have been.

ORDERS ISSUED BY MIHAILOVIĆ BEFORE THE MASSACRES AT VRANIĆ, BOLEČ AND OTHER PLACES IN THE SURROUNDINGS OF BELGRADE

Prosecutor: Did you propose that any of the collaborators with the invader should be decorated?

Defendant: When I proposed their names I had no idea that they had collaborated.

Prosecutor: Please tell me whose signature this is. I do not insist on your answering me, since I have the documents. Just please yourself.

Defendant: That is my signature.

Prosecutor: Your signature. You wrote to Bajo Stanišić: »Dear Bajo, on June 20, 1943 I was informed that on the territory of old Montenegro there is a state of inactivity. The communists and the »Greens« must be annihilated, especially in the area of the Nikšić District.«

Defendant: Bajo only played poker. The orders I issued to him had to be very severe, otherwise he would not have done anything.

Prosecutor: Whose are these signatures?



Četnik "mopping-up operations" in Šumadija: the photographs show Četniks killing a patriot by taking his heart out.

Defendant: (Looks at the document) This is my signature.

Prosecutor: And on the other side?

Defendant: (Looks at the documnt) It seems to be mine... yes it is my signature.

Counsel (Joksimović): (Addressing the accused) Is this your signature or not?

Defendant: Yes, it is mine.

Prosecutor: (Addressing the accused Mihailović) In this document you give orders to the commander of the Mountain Guard of His Majesty the King, Kosmaj Corps. It reads: »In Šumadija the communists succeeded only in the Smederevo area in winning over sympathizers and through them in keeping the communist groups under arms... Both these groups and their sympathizers must be annihilated as soon as possible.« To annihilate the sympathizers — does it mean to move them from one district to another?

Defendant: No, no, but it does not mean to annihilate them either.

Prosecutor: Perhaps it means to win them over?

Defendant: No, no. But that might have been so.

Prosecutor: (reads the document): »It is high time that this should be done and we will succeed only if our units, which are to carry it out, are in close touch with each other and if they carry out these joint actions according to one plan. An order was issued to the effect that Major Trifković, commander of the Avala Corps, should coordinate these actions with those of the forces of the Avala, Smederevo and Rudnik Corps and the Corps of the Mountain Guard. In order to get precision in the direction of all the units which will be used under Major Trifković, I order:

1) that a temporary command of the Šumadija Corps should be formed whose task will be the definite wiping out of the communist groups and sympathizers on the territory of the under mentioned corps.

The temporary Šumadija Corps Command is to consist of: The Avala, Smederevo, Rudnik, Oplenac and Kosmaj Guards Corps;

2) the task of this temporary command of the Šumadija Corps is to take action exclusively against the communists in the mentioned territories«.

Defendant: It was a temporary organization.

Prosecutor: Why did these corps not have the exclusive task of attacking the Germans? That was June 25, 1944, the period before the break-down of Germany. Why did you not start the action?

Defendant: Because I had to hold Serbia.

Prosecutor: Who told you you had to hold Serbia?

Defendant: I was instructed from abroad, that I was to keep Serbia as the kernel for the main action.

Prosecutor: Whom were you instructed by?

Defendant: By the government.

Prosecutor: And by whom else?

Defendant: McDowell.

Prosecutor: Here you wrote that only the communists should be annihilated. You did not mention any other action.

Defendant: It was a temporary formation, which had to cross the terrain. That is the way we issue orders in the Army, strong words are used, in order to make them effective.

Prosecutor: (reads) »This also refers to the group of Court Guards, and through Trifković, to all others; therefore I authorize Major Trifković to form a Court Martial attached to the temporary Šumadija Corps in case the commanders of the Corps do not carry out their tasks.« Does it mean Trifković could try these commanders?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Do you know that about 80 peasants, — men, women and children — were killed at the village of Vranić.

Defendant: I learnt about it from Nedić's paper.

Prosecutor: Didn't Trifković report to you about this?

Defendant: He did not.

Prosecutor: And Živan Lazović?

Defendant: A whole delegation from this area, even the judges, came to assure me that the rumours spread about him were unfounded and asked that he should remain there.

Prosecutor: Were you able to verify this?

Defendant: I investigated the matter.

Prosecutor: Do you know that at Drugovac, which is also a village in Šumadija, about 83 persons were killed?

Defendant: I read it in the indictment.

Prosecutor: Didn't you know it before? This was such an atrocity that it enraged the whole Serbian people. Before that, you could have said: I only slaughter Moslems, Croats. But then you also began to slaughter the Serbs, and that enraged the people. Belgrade was alarmed by this.

Defendant: These were great mistakes.

Prosecutor: Did you issue the orders for these operations?

Defendant: I do not know. I never issued orders to kill.

Prosecutor: Think about it. The documents may put you in an awkward position. Did you give orders for such operations?

Defendant: I don't think I did.

Prosecutor: The massacre at Vranić took place during the night of December 20—21, 1943. 72 persons were slaughtered, while at Boleč another 20 were butchered. The massacre at Vranić took place on the night between the 20th and 21st and at Boleč on December 21, 1943, one after another. You issued the order: »Seged, Kiš, Ras-Ras, Dog-Dog and Romel« Who are they?

Defendant: They are code names.

Prosecutor: Ras-ras is Kalabić, Kiš is Lazović. Here you say »Our Avala Corps with Grocka, Vračar, Umka district are fast asleep. These areas in the immediate surroundings of Belgrade are littered with communists and their sympathizers. The commanders, Major Mihailo Jovanović, Captain Lazović, Captain Nikola Kalabić, Komarčević and the Rudnik Corps are ordered to clear most energetically all the districts from South to North, especially the Kosmaj district, because it is important to have the Grocka and Umka districts clear as soon as possible.

At the same time, I congratulate Captain Živojin Lazović and Nikola Kalabić on their promotion. The decree was issued on December 3, and there will be more promotions according to merit. Report constantly on the actions of the others also.« On November 17 you wrote »Kosmaj has to be cleared at all costs. Act according to the situation, so that Kosmaj up to Belgrade is cleared in the shortest possible time.«

Defendant: That was a matter of organization.

Prosecutor: You sent an order in October to your commanders, and they carried out an action at Vranić in December... They carried it out this way: At Vranić they butchered 72 persons, at Boleč 20 peasants. On January 18, 1944, you issued orders № 546 to 548, to Dob-Dob and Kom-Kom: »The commanders of the Avala corps extremely inactive. Živan Lazović should come to show what can be done.« You see Živan Lazović carried out massacres at Vranić and Boleč while you were warning them that Živan Lazović was to come to show them what could be done.

Defendant: It does not mean that I knew what had been done. Živan Lazović did what he pleased.

Prosecutor: (reads): »That is the result of your work up to the present day. It cannot go on like this. I shall dismiss all of you, and I shall disperse the Avala corps...«

Defendant: I tried to replace them.

Prosecutor: Accused Mihailović, did Trifković call on you before the massacre at Vranić?

Defendant: I sent for him, but it could not be arranged.

Prosecutor: He says: »The wiping out of the communist assistants is being carried out systematically« Were you informed?

Defendant: No I was not.

Prosecutor: Did you know that at Drugovac, Belgrade County, on April 29, according to the order which you issued on January 18, 73 persons, men, women and children, were massacred.

Defendant: No, I didn't.

Prosecutor: I have finished.

President: Counsel, have you any questions?

Counsel (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, we have heard how the letter »Z« was applied. Could you tell us how this letter »Z« was removed? Were there cases when it was removed and who was empowered to do this?

Defendant: The letter »Z« could have been removed only through the BBC.

Counsel (Đonović): Were there cases when you asked the BBC to do so and it was not done?

Defendant: I don't know.

Counsel (Đonović): Who was empowered to request the BBC to remove the letter »Z«?

Defendant: It was done only through my stations.

Counsel (Joksimović): Mihailović stated here that it was a mystery.

President: Which is identified with Mihailović himself.

Counsel (Đonović): Accused Mihailović, there has been some talk about the Moslems in the Valley of the Lim river. What was the attitude of the Moslems in the Lim Valley towards the Partisans, and what was it towards the Četnik detachments?

Defendant: It was about the same.

Counsel (Đonović): Who armed the Moslems in the Lim Valley?

Defendant: The Italians armed them.

Counsel (Đonović): Against whom?

Defendant: As their militia.

Counsel (Đonović): Against the Partisans or against the Četniks.

Defendant: Against all of them.

Counsel (Đonović): Both against the Partisans and the Četniks?

Prosecutor: But they armed the Četniks too.

Counsel (Đonović): What was the number of armed Moslems?

Defendant: It was very large. All the Moslem villages joined the militia.

Counsel (Đonović): Did you look on them as fighting troops?

Defendant: Yes. They were fighting troops which barred the passage through their territory.

Counsel (Đonović): Please, accused Mihailović, tell us whether you kept typhus bacilli at your headquarters as a weapon?

Defendant: Never. As a soldier I would never have used it where there are fronts on two sides, for typhus is an infectious disease and would return to us through the prisoners. I cannot understand it. Such a means could not be used in the Army. But there were killings. My godfather, Milutin Janković, was liquidated. Račić and Predrag Raković shot him. Jevrem Simić, whom I asked to come to report, was not allowed to go anywhere and was also killed. He was killed on the way to Čačak, by Predrag Raković. Kondor was killed by Ajdačić, just as Ajdačić might have been killed by Kondor.

Counsel (Đonović): Were you in danger?

Defendant: Danger might have come from Račić.

Counsel (Đonović): Regarding the question of mass displacing of the Moslems, there were two kinds of minorities, the cultured and the uncultured one.

President: Which were the cultured minorities in former Yugoslavia, and which were not?

Counsel (Đonović): It was the so-called state policy of former Yugoslavia to give privileges to the cultural minorities of the Hungarians, Germans and Italians, and to displace the so called uncultured minorities of the Albanians and the Moslems. You are acquainted with this law of former Yugoslavia, whose aim was systematically to transfer these minorities to Turkey.

President: I ask you this because the terms used for these minorities are strange — cultured and uncultured — especially as the »Prince Eugen« division was formed from this cultured minority in Vojvodina. Why do you use this terminology?

Counsel (Đonović): This division has nothing to do with what I was about to say.

President: Yes it has. Perhaps you think that an uncultured minority can be put to the knife at Foča and Goražde while the cultured minority of the »Prince Eugen« may butcher it.

MAJOR ATHERTON OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND HIS WIRELESS OPERATOR MURDERED BY THE ČETNIKS

Prosecutor: Do you know anything about the murder of the British major, Terence Atherton?

Defendant: Yes I do. I notified the British authorities, and also Hudson, who went to the spot. I investigated it in great detail.

Prosecutor: (Showing the accused documents) Is this the material. Did Captain Uzelac investigate this case?

Defendant: He did.

Prosecutor: Were you informed of the results of the investigation.?

Бр.2550 од Фрикеа:бр.110 Наставак I:Хапшење наших људи више неће би= ти на реону немачке команде Г.Милановца.Ако погине окупаторски војник на овоме терену неће се палити редом куће,већ само по нашем списку и то партизанске и само ће се партизани убијати.На другом састанку био је присутан и поручник Маја.Уговорили смо све потребно и организовали за уништење комунистичке групе Лабуда Лабудовића који оперише у сре= зовина:Таковском,Качерском и Орашачком.Обавештајну службу у гоњењу ове групе води див.претседник општине са Рудника Коста Костић.Такође мо искористити немце за уништење ове групе.Уговорили смо да Вујевић употреби једну своју јединицу за чишћење среза Качерског,али одвојено од немаца и илегално.Она неће бити узнемиравана од немаца и других.На ставља се деп.-

Бр.2551 од Фрикеа: бр.111 Наставак II.-Добио сам 5000 метака за чишће=

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Frike (Raković) reports of his agreement with the German staff in the area of Gornji Milanovac.

Defendant: In my opinion there were no results of the investigation. Nothing was confirmed exactly. I believe that Ljuba Novaković actually planned the murder, but Spasoje Dakić probably carried it out. The investigation did not prove anything.

Prosecutor: Do you know Captain Nedeljković, who came with Atherton in 1942, and do you remember the report Nedeljković submitted on this case?

Defendant: Nedeljković was not quite himself.

Prosecutor: Nedeljković?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Did Uzelac examine him too?

Defendant: Yes, but ask Uzelac and he will tell you whether Nedeljković was quite himself. Nedeljković suffered from persecution mania.

Prosecutor: Do you remember that the foreign radio stations broadcast that Atherton had been killed by the Partisans?

Defendant: I didn't report that.

Prosecutor: Do you remember message № 131 of May 30, 1942, that you got from abroad? It reads: »Atherton is our man. He was sent in January. Help him, and take his advice«.

Defendant: I believe there was such a message.

Prosecutor: Here is another message. Who was № 1002.

Defendant: Ostojić.

Prosecutor: Ostojić reported to you in his message of May 15, 1942: »Yesterday, on May 10, Captain Nedeljković came. He is a member of the Mission which landed on February 4, 1942, and was in the hands of the Partisans till April 15.« Here are used the words »in the hands of«. The letter ends »He was set free by Ljubo Novaković, who sent an apologetic letter.«

Defendant: Ljuba Novaković tried to induce Atherton to acknowledge him as the leader of the Serbs. That is why I think that he was murdered by Ljuba Novaković, and that the executor was somebody else on the field. The investigation was conducted on those lines, but we could not find out anything positive.

Prosecutor: Here I have all the records of the investigation.

Defendant: I gave those records to Hudson.

Prosecutor: What Ostojić reports is interesting. He says that Captain Nedeljković was in the hands of the Partisans and was freed by Ljuba Novaković who sent an apologetic letter, saying: »that the British Major is even worse than Marko and that he asks for help for the communists, but cannot establish contact with Malta, and that he wants to see you. Now Atherton is somewhere in Bosnia, and he has instructions to use all his power to stimulate the struggle against the invader.« You see Ostojić speaks very vaguely about Atherton, and later on Atherton was murdered. Did Ostojić know where Atherton was?

Defendant: I don't think he did. I expected Atherton to come. His letter arrived. Perhaps Nedeljković also participated in the murder because he had left Atherton and was not with him. Atherton had money with him, and Ljuba Novaković might have induced somebody to commit the murder out of greed, because Atherton did not acknowledge him as the leader of the Serbs.

Prosecutor: Was there a corporal with Atherton?

Defendant: Yes, a wireless operator.

Prosecutor: And was he also murdered?

Defendant: Yes he was, but his body was not recovered. There was no trace of them.

Prosecutor: I think you are not being just to Nedeljković.

Defendant: Nedeljković in general was a peculiar person. He suffered from persecution mania.

Prosecutor: But he made statements about Atherton.

Defendant: Nedeljković did not remain with Atherton, but left him, and that is what made me suspect him. When interrogated he said: »When Dakić returned he had Major Atherton's binoculars, and was carrying them with him.

Prosecutor: (Reads the message from which it is seen that Dakić had always worn peasant boots, but after the disappearance of Atherton he had brown shoes on, the same as those worn by Atherton and his man). That is the result of the investigation.

Counsel (Joksimović): Are these the records of the investigation?

Prosecutor: That is the document which was subsequently submitted to the Court.

Defendant: Let me add one more thing: Ostojić's sister was married to Ljuba Novaković. Perhaps there is something in it.

Prosecutor: Ostojić's telegram is interesting. What do you think? According to all the evidence, Dakić committed the murder. Did you send such a report to the British?

Defendant: I was of a similar opinion.

Prosecutor: Telegram № 92, dated 1942, is also one of the documents subsequently submitted to the Court. The end of the telegram reads: »We cannot tolerate this ulcer, especially in Serbia. Carefully watch whether your chief of mission is in contact with Robertson« Who was this Robertson?

Defendant: Robertson was Radojević, a Serb from Canada.

Prosecutor: Was he in Spain? Did he fight during the Spanish revolution against Franco.

Defendant: Yes, he did.

Prosecutor: The telegram goes on. Is your chief of mission . . .«

Defendant: Who was this telegram sent to?

Prosecutor: To He-He.

Defendant: That was Đurić.

Prosecutor: Did Robertson write you an insulting letter?

Defendant: Robertson was in the habit of talking nonsense. He insulted me twice, and came to apologize. The third time I did not want to accept his excuses, but I saved his life.

Prosecutor: Did Robertson point out to you that your units were collaborating with the invader.

Defendant: I don't know. He was rude to me, but I used to help him when he had to send money to his mother, and later I saved his life.

Prosecutor: The letter is among the other documents which the Court will produce. I shall continue to read your telegram, № 92: »Your chief of mission is maintaining contact with Robertson. If you get hold of Robertson, liquidate him immediately . . . «

Defendant: I didn't know I sent such a telegram. Robertson went over to the Partisans, and was not murdered by us.

Prosecutor: And what about this telegram?

Defendant: I liked Robertson, and he would not have been killed as far as I am concerned.

Prosecutor: This was written by Šulbatović. You said you used to dictate your telegrams.

Defendant: Not always.

Prosecutor: Šulbatović was the code man.

Defendant: Yes, he was.

Prosecutor: And what about this book of telegrams?

Defendant: Even if I dictated telegrams, they might have also been dictated without me.

Prosecutor: Did you protest to the Chief of the British Mission because Robertson insulted you?

Defendant: Yes I did.

Prosecutor: I have finished.

President: Have you any other questions?

Prosecutor: No, I have not.

Defendant: Let me add one more thing in connection with Robertson: I got information that he was sent to Yugoslavia without the consent of our government.

Prosecutor: I accept this explanation.

CONNECTIONS OF DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ, BLOODTHIRSTY POLICE CHIEF, WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ, ORGANIZER OF THE BANJICA CAMP, SUPPLIES DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ'S ORGANIZATION WITH ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND PLACES THE ILL-FAMED SPECIAL POLICE AT ITS DISPOSAL

President What were your connections with Draža Mihailović's organization?

Defendant (Dragi Jovanović): My connections with Draža Mihailović's organization? I first established connections with Draža Mihailović's organization or with its men in 1941, and at the beginning of 1942, by personal contact with the late Milan Kalabić and his son Nikola. These connections were personal services they demanded from me, and I did them.

President: Why did you link yourself to the organization of Draža Mihailović?

Defendant: I did favours to people belonging to that organization, because I was convinced that this organization would have to do the work of national liberation and of unification of our country.

President: So, this meant that the future belonged to it?

Defendant: Yes, that the future belonged to it, and that this organization would direct the liberation of our country.

President: How was it that you established contact with it?

Defendant: They demanded favours from me, and I did them those favours.

President: Was this coordination of work with this organization?

Defendant: It was help, on my part.

President: What favours did Draža Mihailović's organization demand from you, and what did you do for them?

Defendant: I was in personal contact with certain commanders.

President: With which commanders?

Defendant: With Nikola Kalabić for instance.

President: And then?

Defendant: Later I made the acquaintance of Radić and Neško Nedić, and, at the end of 1943, of the commander of Belgrade Saša Mihailović and his deputy Ivan Pavlović, and I also did favours for other commanders whom I did not know personally, when they sent people to me for help.

President: For instance?

Defendant: I did favours for the so-called Gornjačka group, for Keserović, for major Orelj.

President: Who was this last man?

Defendant: He was from the neighbourhood of Obrenovac or Šabac.

President: And Ocokoljić?

Defendant: He was in the Gornjačka group.

Prosecutor: And Piletić?

Defendant: He did not ask anything from me; he belonged to the Gornjačka group.

President: In what manner did you help Draža Mihailović's organization?

Defendant: That is in my statement. I gave ammunition, material and clothing, and I gave financial help.

President: Say in detail what ammunition you gave?

Defendant: I demanded ammunition from the Germans, always for some ficticious reason, by pretending that I had some action against the Partisans in view, and the surplus which I got in this way I sent to Kalabić, the Avala Corps, the Kosmaj Brigade, and others. I don't know exactly how much I sent. Once I sent 35 cases with 1.500 rounds, another time 20, once I personally transported 10 cases to Vrčin and handed them over to Saša. In this way I supplied them with about 100.000 rounds for rifles and about 300 hand-grandes.

President: To Saša Mihailović personally?

Defendant: Yes, I gave him ten cases personally; and I also supplied Kalabić personally.

President: How did you send this material? How did you deliver it to Draža Mihailović's organization?

Defendant: I delivered it by motor cars belonging to the Belgrade Municipality, or by lorries belonging to the Belgrade Prefecture.

President: Did you deliver some by your own car?

Defendant: Yes, three times; once I carried ammunition to Vrčin and once to Šatornja.

President: Did you send medical supplies?

Defendant: I gave a number of cases of medical supplies. This was in 1944.

President: And money?

Defendant: I gave Kalabić a total of one million dinars.

President: Where did you get this money?

Defendant: From the confidential credit I administered.

President: Did you give any food?

Defendant: Yes; when they asked for it I gave them some from the municipal warehouse.

President: Can you remember approximately how much you gave?

Молим да радио Лондон јави извештај групе река примљен.

Бр.411 од Валтера.– Драги Јовановић се нуди преко Божиновића под условом апсолутне дискреције и привидно и даље непријатељског става.Хтео би везу само преко једног лица.Жињења сам да се искористи.Молим одговорите и потпуну тајност.Употребите псеудоним Адолф за њега.Као Министар полиције шаље два поузданика,једно војно лице бар потпуковничког чина.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Valter (Saša Mihailović, Četnik commander of Belgrade) reports of Dragi Jovanović's offer to join the organization of Draža Mihailović.

Defendant: I cannot remember exactly, but I think two to three thousand kilograms of sugar, a thousand kilograms of oil, etc.

President: Did you send clothing and footwear, and in what quantities?

Defendant: I sent small quantities of clothing and footwear. I gave them Kalabić, the Kosmaj brigade and Keserović. About 400 pairs of shoes and three hundred sets of underwear and other clothes.

President: Where did you get the money for these things?

Defendant: From my personal confidential credit, which I was in charge of as administrator.

President: What were your contacts with the Belgrade organization of Draža Mihailović?

Defendant: I was in contact with Kalabić, and in 1943 I made the acquaintance of Saša Mihailović.

President: Was Vlasta Petković one of the first organizers of the Belgrade Draža Mihailović organization?

Defendant: That was the first organization.

President: When did it start?

Defendant: In 1941.

President: Who was your link with him?

Defendant: The link I had was an indirect one, through my secretary, Ljuba Petrović.

President: Did you have any meetings, and how many, with Saša Mihailović?

Defendant: I met Saša Mihailović, from 1943 up to the end, four to five times, always outside Belgrade.

President: What did you speak about at these meetings?

Defendant: We spoke chiefly about preventing the dissolution of the Serbian State Guards and the Prefecture of Belgrade, and then I explained my views about my administration of the Belgrade Prefecture, and that it was necessary to establish connections with certain officers, in order to give him the opportunity of personally controlling the Serbian State Guards.

President: And did Saša Mihailović or the Belgrade organization, at the head of which Saša Mihailović was, enter into personal contact with the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: This connection was established through Colonel Radulović.

President: And had the State Guards connections with Saša Mihailović?

Defendant: Yes, as an organization, and also individually.

President: Was this the army that Saša Mihailović would have at his disposal at a certain moment?

Defendant: This was a police force which Saša Mihailović would have at his disposal at a certain moment, in accordance with my ideas and his own.

President: Did you complain about persons from the Serbian State Guards joining the Četniks?

Defendant: I complained to Saša Mihailović and also to the Commander in Chief, Mihailović, through certain of his commanders, pointing out the consequences which would ensue if the organization were dispersed in this way. Saša Mihailović told me that an order had come prohibiting either individuals or groups from joining the Četniks, and obliging everyone to remain at his place and to carry out his duties.

President: Was this order announced to the Serbian State Guards?

Defendant: I had personally informed the officers of the Serbian State Guards of this order, and they were to communicate it to the State Guards.

President: Was it communicated?

Defendant: It was, and there were no departures until October.

President: What was the attitude of the officials of the special police?

Defendant: All state officials, as well as the officials of Belgrade Prefecture, had personal connections with certain members of Draža Mihailović's organization, as they considered that this was the organization which enjoyed the assistance and the support of the legal Yugoslav government abroad.

President: Did your officials know of your collaboration with Draža Mihailović's organization, or were you aware of their collaboration?

Defendant: My officials knew very little about my collaboration, but they knew that I did nothing to prevent them from doing so.

President: Were the connections of such a character that Draža Mihailović's organization could appeal to the Special Police to act in the case of certain persons?

Defendant: Certain people could do this.

President: Were the Special Police and the Belgrade Prefecture ready to carry aut Draža Mihailović's orders if necessary? What was the attitude of Paranos, Bećarević and Radovan Gruičić?

Defendant: When you speak of the Special Police, you are referring to the fourth department.

President: Yes.

Defendant: I think that the fourth department would have obeyed and carried out every order.

Prosecutor: Did Bećarević and the others have direct connections with certain of Draža Mihailović's men?

Defendant: Connection with Draža Mihailović's organization was a thing one did not speak of. I supposed that they had these connections and they did not hide them from me because they knew that I would have taken no steps to prevent it.

President: Did Aćimović have connections with Draža Mihailović's organization?

Defendant: Yes, I know he had.

President: From what time?

Defendant: I know that Aćimović's connections with Draža Mihailović's organization began at the end of 1941 and that they reached their zenith in 1942.

President: What was Aćimović's role in Belgrade, regarding the organization of Draža Mihailović?

Defendant: Aćimović was looked upon as the political representative of this organization.

President: Were there facts to support this?

Defendant: There were.

President: For instance?

Defendant: Everything went through Aćimović's hands. People who had come to Belgrade to get in touch with Nedić went to Aćimović first. Aćimović was a kind of political clearing house in Belgrade. This was also the case with Raković when he came to Belgrade.

President: And when did he come to Belgrade?

Defendant: In August 1944.

President: Did he stay with Aćimović?

Defendant: I saw him two or three times at Aćimović's, and once at Ilija Mihailović's.

President: From what other facts can it be presumed that Aćimović was the political agent or representative of Draža Mihailović's organization in Belgrade?

Defendant: I had several discussions with him on this question. He was rather reserved; but from his attitude and words I was able to deduce that he belonged to Draža Mihailović's movement. In fact, he didn't hide it.

President: What was Aćimović's activity and did he do anything for the organization at the time of the congress at Ba, or before it?

Defendant: Aćimović was informed of the congress at Ba. He told me this. He knew as well that Živko Topalović was preparing to attend this congress and to outlaw himself. He had connections and discussions with Živko Topalović. I got my information from Aćimović, although he was rather reserved.

President: But Živko Topalović was a socialist. How was it that all of a sudden he worked with Milan Aćimović who was a policeman the whole time?

Defendant: These were friendly connections that had existed before the war. He had been a Mayor of Belgrade.

President: How, before the war?

Defendant: Milan Aćimović first came in touch with Živko Topalović over discussions concerning the Trade Union organization.

President: From when, approximately, did the connections of Milan Aćimović and Topalović date?

Defendant: I was Chief of the General Police in 1936, 1937 and 1938. At that period their relations were friendly.

President: During the occupation, before the immediate preparations for the Ba congress, was this direct contact between Topalović and Aćimović maintained?

Defendant: I met Živko Topalović at Aćimović's several times, and I drove him twice to Avala, where Aćimović had a villa.

THE TRAITOR MIHAILOVIĆ CONCLUDES AN AGREEMENT WITH NEDIĆ AT A MEETING ARRANGED BY DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ

President: Do you know anything about Draža Mihailović's relations with Milan Nedić?

Defendant: I know of his meeting with Milan Nedić. This was a meeting that I myself had arranged.

President: How did you arrange it, when and through whom?

Defendant: In August I was invited by Kalabić to a meeting at Selters, near Mladenovac. Here Kalabić told me to go to Topola the next day, because there were important matters to discuss with Račić and Nedić. So I went to Topola, but I did not find them there, and I had to go on to Aranđelovac. There in front of an inn I saw a bus containing Četniks. There were three Četniks in the courtyard. I went through the inn and later I saw Neško Nedić, Kalabić and Račić in a room. Račić began to speak. He said: »We are convinced of your friendship, and we have invited you to organize a meeting between Milan Nedić and Draža. We are living now under difficult and dangerous conditions... We must collaborate...« I told them that I would fulfil their wishes and bring about a meeting between Nedić and Draža. I asked whether Draža Mihailović knew of this. Račić nodded assent. I said that I would speak to Nedić, and if he agreed, that I would bring him there. I told them also that it was necessary to make arrangements. He replied: »We are in a hurry. We shall expect your answer by tomorrow at 10 o'clock. We shall ring you up«. Afterwards I went to Nedić and said: »General Nedić, you have suspected me of connections with Draža Mihailović's organization. I have now come to tell you that I have been begged to ask you if you would meet Mihailović«. He replied: »Of course I will.« They telephoned me on Friday at about 10 o'clock. The call probably came from Šatornja or Topola. I answered that everything had been arranged as we had agreed. They answered that I should wait for news on Sunday morning. On Sunday morning I was called up from Kosjerić on the number previously fixed upon. The message I got was: »8 p. m. Draža«. It had been decided on in this

way. I took my car with a chauffer at the back and went to Nedić, where I arrived at about 4 o'clock. His brother Mića was there also. I said to him: »General Nedić, it is time for us to go«. It seemed to him a little too daring to go alone with me without any guard. I answered: »Dont be afraid. That was the arrangement.« I also told him that I had to call General Damjanović, and I did so. In the first car was myself and my attendant, and in the other car was Nedić. We went by Obrenovac and Valjevo, and arrived at Ražana at about 8 o'clock. At Ražana, a man who approached us, introduced himself as the local commander, and invited us into his house which was opposite the post-office. We entered a room, in which were

R E F E R A T

Ministarskom Savetu

Za potrebe izdržavanja vojske našeg Ministra vojske,mornarice i vazduhoplovstva, diviziskog djenerala Dragoljuba M.Mihailovića u Jugoslaviji, molim da se odobri 40.000 engleskih funti.

Ovaj novac će se dostaviti djeneralu Mihaihailovicu tajnim putem u dinarima koji cirkulisu u Srbiji, računajuci 600 dinara za 1 funtu.

Novac ce se u Londonu predati Englezima.

Molim da se ovo hitno odobri.

Pretsednik Ministarskog Saveta i
zastupnik Ministra vojske,mornarice i vazduhoplovstva,

S Jovanović

Request of Slobodan Jovanović to the Council of Ministers to appove a credit of £ 40.000 for the Četnik organization.

Kalabić, Neško Nedić and Račić. They greeted Nedić and went away. They came back later, at about half past ten, and invited us — Nedić, Damjanović and myself, to come with them. We started out for the place of meeting. There was a machine gun by the road in a curve near an old fence. In the first car were Račić and Kalabić, and they asked us to stop. Nedić, Damjanović and I entered a small cottage, and on the doorstep, Draža Mihailović was waiting for us. He greeted Nedić and Damjanović, and I introduced myself to him. We entered a peasant room furnished with a bed, a table and two benches. In the room, besides Draža, were Colonel Baletić, Lalatović, Račić, Kalabić, and another, I think, Milikić. When we entered, I think that Mi-

hailović offered us brandy. Nedić refused. Draža asked us why we had come. Then Nedić began by saying that the country was in danger, and that he had come to see whether it was possible to do anything about it and whether he could help in any away. Nedić talked openly of the way he imagined this help could be extended. He said that robbery must stop, and that he would place at Mihailović's disposal, the sum of one hundred million dinars, for the maintenance of his men. The conversation was principally about the supply of arms, and that Nedić should obtain arms from the Germans. Mihailović said that he had enough troops and that he lacked only arms and ammunition. The other officers present interrupted frequently, with the same demand and, as far as I can remember, asked for about 50—60.000 rifles. Finally Nedić declared that he would procure 30.000 rifles, 500 light machine-guns and a number of mortars from the Germans. Clothing was also discussed, and Nedić said: »If you guarantee that none of this will be used against the invader, I guarantee that I shall do everything possible to procure all this from the Germans«. Mihailović was silent at this; in fact he was silent most of the time that Nedić was talking. At the end Nedić said that this meeting must be kept in the greatest secrecy. As far as I remember, I said at this meeting that if new formations had to be created under Draža Mihailović's command, there ought to be less malignity and hostility on the part of the voluntiers towards the Četniks, and that they should not make difficulties for each other, as they had been doing up to the present. Then the talk came to an end. There were a few minor questions to be settled, and about 12 o'clock we went away. I turned ma car round and we returned to Ražana, to the local commander Đurović, and there we three passed the night. About half past four we entered our cars and returned to Belgrade.

President: Was the agreement carried out?

Defendant: I had no direct information about this, but I heard that some 5—6.000 Italian rifles and a corresponding quantity of ammunition had been procured.

President: Did Nedić procure the money?

Defendant: Nedić told me that he had given 100,000.000 dinars about ten days later, but I don't know if he gave anything more.

President: Is it possible that somebody belonging to Draža Mihailović or to his organization came to Belgrade to take over this material and money?

Defendant: During the talks Nedić particularly insisted that Mihailović should inform his commanders that they must not demand

this or that independently, but that everything was to be centralized. He said that an expert, a commissariat officer, should carry out this job. It was decided that Mihailović was to send a man to Belgrade who would be in touch with Nedić to receive the deliveries he had promised. I must point out that at this time Draža Mihailović's commanders determined the time for the delivery.

President: Did this man arrive, and who was he?

Defendant: Predrag Raković arrived.

President: Did he come in uniform, with badges, and did he wear a beard?

Defendant: I saw Predrag Raković at Ilija Mihailović's in the garden of a mill in King Alexander street; he had a beard, uniform and badges.

THE MEETING BETWEEN DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ AND MIHAILOVIĆ AT PRANJANI, AT WHICH THE QUESTION OF THE TAKING OVER OF POWER AFTER THE BREAKDOWN OF THE GERMANS WAS DISCUSSED

President: Did you see Draža Mihailović again?

Defendant: Yes, once more. I met Kalabić at Topola, towards the end of August 1944, on the 26th or 27th, and told him that I had very important information for him concerning the withdrawal of the Germans from the Balkans. Kalabić then said to me: »This is such an important matter that you must go to Čiča.« I asked Kalabić to arrange this. Kalabić told me to come to Gornja Šatornja. When I arrived at Gornja Šatornja, I found in front of a café some officers whom I had known before, because they had been working in the national service for the rebuilding of Serbia. About 10 minutes later Kalabić arrived. I went to see Dragiša Vasić, who lived in the courtyard of this café. I, Kalabić and Lt. Colonel Mojsilović, who had been formerly in the Serbian State Guards, started out to cross Rudnik, for Gornji Milanovac and Pranjani, where we arrived at about 4 p. m. I found a bus belonging to the Serbian State Guards in front of the school. Here I was met and greeted by my old acquaintance Lt. Col. Relić, who told me that my former officers Brana Živković and Stojanović had asked me to come to them because they wanted to see me. I did not want to show myself too much in the open, so I remained in the car, and told them that I was in a hurry. After that Brana Živković arrived. Ten minutes later Kalabić gave the order for us to start. We went in my new car, which I drove myself. Kalabić and Mojsilović were also in the car.

We travelled on a horribly bumpy road and arrived near a vineyard. About 400 metres before the vineyard we met four men from Belgrade, headed by Jakšić, an engineer. I remembered him, he had a grey moustache. I think Judge Mrvaljević and two or three other men were also there. They all greeted me and Kalabić went away, saying that he was going to Draža Mihailović. He returned after a quarter of an hour and said: »Let us go to Pranjani and have supper there, because it is inconvenient to go to Čiča now, as he has — a name I heard for the first time — McDowell with him. Kalabić said that we were not going to Čiča now, but later on. We sat in the car and returned to Pranjani, to the school, and then we had supper in a small house near by. After 8 p. m. we returned to the same place. General Mihailović, with Colonel Baletić and Colonel Lalatović and some younger officers, came to meet us. Kalabić and I approached Mihailović on this village road. We shook hands with Mihailović, and with Lalatović and Baletić. He asked where we were going to talk, and then added: »We can talk here in the orchard.« We went up to the orchard and the four of us talked there — Mihailović, Baletić and Laletić and I, while the others withdrew. I told Mihailović that I have come to give him reliable information and to tell him that the Germans had definitely decided to retreat from Serbia. He asked me whether I knew how many divisions the Germans had. I told him they had seven to eight divisions, of which two were armoured, and were retreating from Greece. On this occasion I told Mihailović, on my own initiative, that now was the time to occupy the towns one after the other, and thus make the introduction of the authority of the Supreme State Administration possible, and that this would pave the way for the arrival of the Government. I did not tell him anything about myself personally, except that I should like to retire. Mihailović listened to me attentively, but when I told him that the Bulgarians should be disarmed, he firmly rejected this, because it was in contradiction to his policy, and he declared that he would not allow the Bulgarians to be disarmed.

President: And what did he say about the taking of the towns?

Defendant: In a few words, this was what he said: »Am I to take them and hand them over to the communists?« This was practically all of our conversation. I was offered brandy and drank a glass.

President: About how long did your conversation last?

Defendant: This conversation between the four of us might nave lasted an hour and a quarter.

President: Accused Mihailović, stand up and approach the Court. Accused Jovanović stand up. Approach the microphone, Mihailović, stand facing each other. Can you, accused Jovanović, repeat to the accused Mihailović's face everything you have told the Court now that you are confronting him?

Defendant Jovanović: I dont know why I should repeat these things, since Mr. Mihailović must have heard what I said here.

President: Accused Jovanović and accused Mihailović, look each other in the eyes. Jovanović, repeat to Mihailović everything you have told the Court.



Mihailović and Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović confronted with each other in court.

Defendant Jovanović: I do not know why I should repeat it. I think Mr. Mihailović heard what I said. All this corresponds to the truth, and if he cannot remember it...

Defendant Mihailović: Had I known that you were the organizer of the Banjica Camp you would never have left Belgrade... Further, all this conversation and meeting with Nedić was a great mistake on my part. That is quite true. It was arranged between you, Kalabić and, as I hear, Račić ... I didn't want Nedić...

SERVICES WHICH DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ RENDERED TO DR. DRAGOLJUB JOVANOVIĆ DURING THE OCCUPATION

Prosecutor: I should like to put some more questions, which were not put to the defendant.

President: Put the questions now that we are about it.

Prosecutor: Let Jovanović tell Mihailović whether he sent him two letters through his brother-in-law Bojović, before this meeting, in 1942 od 1943.

Defendant Jovanović: Yes, I did.

Defendant Mihailović: His brother-in-law hated him, and said he ought to be killed.

Prosecutor: Let the defendant Jovanović say whether he sent a little dog to the defendant Mihailović?

Defendant Jovanović: On two occasions I sent some things to General Mihailović, among them a little dog.

Prosecutor: Did you know Stevan Savković, Josip Borišić, Boško Radovanović, Mirko Urošević and Miloš Brašić?

Defendant: Stevan Savković was correspondent of the »Balkan.« He died before the war. Mirko Urošević was a member of parliament.

Prosecutor: What conections did you have with these men?

Defendant: Before the war I had connections with these men in my capacity as chief of police.

Prosecutor: Did they do any services for you as chief of police?

Defendant: Yes, they did.

Prosecutor: Can you tell us approximately how many Serbs and persons of other nationalites were shot in the Banjica camp?

Defendant: I gave you an approximate number of those arrested by the Serbian authorities who were shot. Whom the Germans shot and how many I could not say. They used to bring people from Serbia, Bosnia and other parts.

Prosecutor: Was the situation such that the Germans asked you to supply them with men to be shot as a reprisal.

Defendant: Yes, it was.

Prosecutor: Did they specify what kind of men they wanted?

Defendant: From the Serbian authorities they asked for men to be shot as a reprisal. When a German colonel was killed on the road between Požarevac and Crnuće, I remember that they asked the Serbian authorities to give them communists to shoot, as it was the communists that had killed the colonel.

Prosecutor: When did the regent, Prince Paul, show leanings towards Germany, and with which of the German officials did he maintain friendly and intimate relations.

Defendant: Judging from what I saw during my travels and during my stay in Berlin and Stockheid, he maintained the friendliest relations with Goering.

Prosecutor: What was the nature of your connection with Jovanović, medical practitioner?

Defendant: Which Jovanović?

Prosecutor: Alexander.

Defendant: Dr Alexander Jovanović is my personal friend and was my doctor for 15 years. He did me great services in regard to my health.

Prosecutor: And what services did you do for him?

Defendant: I did all that he asked, for I considered him my personal friend.

Prosecutor: Did you maintain any contact with the politicians, through Dr. Jovanović?

Defendant: I did not maintain any contact with the politicians through Dr. Jovanović. He is a brother of Dr. Dragoljub Jovanović, I knew him also.

Prosecutor: Did he ask you to do any services in connection with his brother?

Defendant: In connection with Dragoljub Jovanović?

Prosecutor: Yes.

Defendant: He asked for a travelling permit for his family. I offered them my services if they needed anything. I think he took some fuel from me, I don't know if he gave it to his family.

Prosecutor: Did you send any message or greeting.

Defendant: During the war?

Prosecutor: During the occupation?

Defendant: I used to send greetings to Dragoljub and his family. I asked whether he was in a safe place, whether he was alive. I knew Dragoljub and I still esteem him highly. He told me that Dragoljub was in a safe place, in the vicinity of Belgrade, I think in the country house of Dr. Alexander. I made no further inquiries.

Prosecutor: Before the war, while you exercised police functions, were you one of the intelligence service officials personally and directly connected with the king?

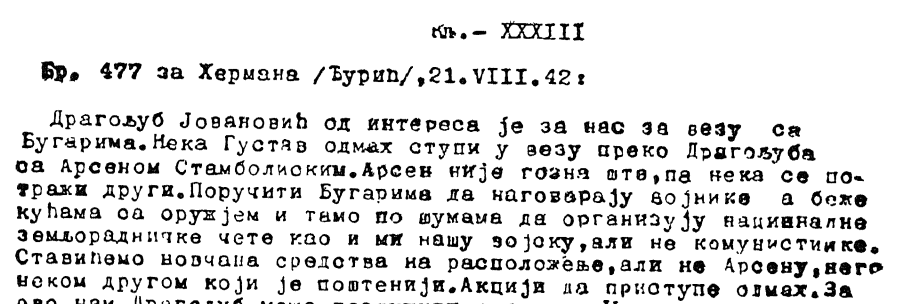
Defendant: The chief of Police made reports for the Prefect of Belgrade, who personally took them to the king every Thursday.

Prosecutor: Besides the Prefect of Belgrade, what other person was in the personal intelligence service of the king? What was the function of the commander of the Belgrade Garrison?

Defendant: He also reported to the king, I think, once a week.

Prosecutor: Was that the practice during the reign of king Alexander also?

Defendant: It remained from Alexander's time and was the practice during the regency of Prince Paul also.



кљ.- XXXIII

Бр. 477 за Хермана /Ђурић/,21.VIII.42:

Драгољуб Јовановић од интереса је за нас за везу са Бугарима.Нека Густав одмах ступи у везу преко Драгољуба са Арсеном Стамболиским.Арсен није гозна шта,па нека се потражи други.Поручити Бугарима да наговарају војнике а беже кућама са оружјем и тамо по шумама да организују националне земљорадничке чете као и ми нашу војску,али не комунистичке. Стављамо новчана средства на расположење,али не Арсену,него неком другом који је поштенији.Акцији да приступе одмах.За ово нам Драгољуб може послужити одлично. Чича.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams sent: Communication to Herman (Đurić) that Dr. Dragoljub Jovanović is "of importance in establishing connection with the Bulgars".

Prosecutor: Did Alexander have any other persons in his own personal intelligence service? I am thinking of the politicans.

Defendant: No doubt he had.

Prosecutor: Do you remember those persons? Can you repeat their names from memory?

Defendant: I know that at that time a political intelligence service was created in all the political parties.

Prosecutor: Who was in it?

Defendant: On January 6, 1929, those politicians were in it who left their political parties and, with General Petar Živković at their head, founded the Yugoslav National party. But I don't remember them individually.

Prosecutor: Did Petar Živković also belong to this intelligence service?

Defendant: It was considered that he was the best man in it.

Prosecutor: You gave some names to the examining magistrate. Can you remember any of them now?

Defendant: They are chiefly men who afterwards joined the Yugoslav National party. They were the men who enjoyed the confidence of Petar Živković.

Prosecutor: Was Uzunović among them?

Defendant: No.

Prosecutor: Velja Vukićević?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Boško Jeftić?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Velja Popović?

Defendant: Yes, those were the men who left the Radical party and joined the Yugoslav National party.

Prosecutor: And Kosta Kumanudi?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Radmilo Stoiljković?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Radenko Stanković?

Defendant: Yes.

Prosecutor: Was there any one from the Croat Peasant party?

Defendant: I don't know.

Prosecutor: From the Republican party?

Defendant: The Republican party was suppressed before that by King Alexander, through Milovan Lazarević; on that occasion Jovan Đonović left the party.

Prosecutor: And how did Milan Gavrilović stand?

Defendant: I don't know. I don't know whether he belonged to Petar Živković's group. But I know that he was in good relations with the Court.

Prosecutor: Who founded the »Yugoslav Action« party?

Defendant: Saša Štulhofer from Zagreb.

Prosecutor: Under whose protection?

Defendant: Under the protection of King Alexander.

Prosecutor: What persons were the initiators and founders?

Defendant: Đorđe Perić, Saša Štulhofer, Velibor Jonić and some others.

Prosecutor: With what aim? Perhaps you know?

Defendant: I think at that time it was looked upon as a young vanguard which was to succeed the Yugoslav National party.

Prosecutor: At that time, when you were in the police, did you know anything about the affair of king Alexander?

Defendant: I did not know anything personally. But I heard rumours.

Prosecutor: What rumours?

Defendant: I have described that in detail.

Prosecutor: Were you allowed to undertake any investigations in connection with these affairs?

Defendant: No, but we were allowed to report.

Prosecutor: To whom?

Defendant: To include in our reports what was rumoured about these affairs.

Prosecutor: Were there such affairs?

Defendant: Well, people said that there were.

Prosecutor: For instance, mention one of them.

Defendant: The affair of Dragiša Matejić.

Prosecutor: What was that about?

Defendant: The giving of some six million dinars was mentioned. People were talking about it.

Prosecutor: About the millions from the National Bank.

Defendant: Yes, they were from the National Bank.

MISS RUTH MITCHEL, AGENT OF THE GESTAPO

Prosecutor: Accused Jovanović, do you know who this woman is in the photograph? *(Captain Jovanović, assistant judge approaches the accused and shows him the photograph).*

Број 246 од 17 јуна: Претседнику југословенске Владе.-
За прекршај војничке заклетве и издајство Краља и народа предлажем да се лише чина пеш.пуковник Саво Јровић,пеш.капетан I класе Арсо Јовановић,Велимир Терзић,Петар Ћетковић,рез.потпуковник Веко Булатовић,инж.тех.мајор Бранко Пољанац,пешадиски поручник Милета Букић и Ратко Мартиновић,рез.поручник Никола Секуларац.Молим ово објавити преко радиа Лондон.- Ђенерал Михаиловић.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams sent: Mihailović's proposal for the degradation of officers of the former Yugoslav Army who have joined the Army of National Liberation.

Defendant: She was an English or American woman, who used to come to Bled in 1939 and 1940, when I was chief of public security there. After that I saw her, in 1941 or 1942, with Pećanac's Četniks.

Prosecutor: Do you know her name?

Defendant: Miss Ruth Mitchel.

Prosecutor: How do you know that?

Defendant: I used to see the woman in Bled; and I saw her, in 1941 or 1942, with Pećanac's Četniks. I asked someone who she was.

Prosecutor: Did you see her before Pećanac concluded an agreement with the Germans and came to Belgrade, or after that?

Defendant: Pećanac concluded the agrement in August, 1941, on the day of the proclamation of Nedić's government, and I saw her afterwards, in the autumn.

Prosecutor: Do you know if she had any connection with the German Intelligence service?

Defendant: I saw her at the Gestapo with some Četniks.

Prosecutor: Who is this on her left in the photograph?

Defendant: King Peter.

THE EVIDENCE

TESTIMONY OF TWO COMMANDERS IN 1941

COLONEL RADOSLAV ĐURIĆ GIVES EVIDENCE OF THE TREACHEROUS ATTACK OF THE ČETNIKS AGAINST THE PARTISANS, IN NOVEMBER 1941, IN THE AREA OF WEST SERBIA, AND OF THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF KRALJEVO

Witness Radoslav Đurić, Colonel of the Yugoslav Army, who in 1941 was Četnik commander in the Čačak Province:... At Kraljevo we met the Commander of the Četnik detachment. We joined there, and began the siege of Kraljevo. The struggle lasted right up to the time when Draža Mihailović ordered that the siege of Kraljevo should be raised, that the Partisans should be attacked, and Čačak taken.

President: How did the order come, and how was it handed to you?

Witness: The order was brought to me by Lt. Nešković, on November 2, 1941, at 2 p. m. It was in an envelope, addressed to me personally, and signed by Mihailović.

President: What was the subject of this order?

Witness: Immediately on the reception of the order to attack the Partisans and take Čačak at once.

President: Did you act immediately after receiving this order?

Watness: I did not act on the order. I summoned the staff, which was composed of the commanders, and a commissar of the Partisan detachment, and showed the order to them.

President: This means that at the siege of Kraljevo the leadership was a joint one, consisting of both Partisans and Četniks?

Witness: It was a joint one, both Partisan and Četnik.

President: And what happened later on, regarding this order?

Witness: We decided that the commander of the Partisan detachment and I should go to Čačak and ask what it was all about.

President: Why did you not carry out Mihailović's order?

Witness: It was impossible to carry it out since we were engaged in a great struggle against the invader, and we had our

columms, our ambulances and our doctors in common and our units were mixed. It was impossible to allow one side to attack the other in the course of the struggle against the invader since the fighters of both sides were for mutual collaboration.

President: When did you go to Čačak?

Witness: I went to Čačak with the Partisan Commander Radosavljević. Then I rang up Ravna Gora; Lt. Col. Dragoslav Pavlović, Chief of Staff of Draža Mihailović, answered the telephone. He ordered me energetically to carry out the order and to take Čačak. I demanded to speak personally with Mihailović. He told me that Mihailović was at Struganik. I asked for and got contact. I asked him what all this meant? I told him that the detachments would not undertake this battle and that they would dissolve. He said to me: »Let them dissolve«, and he stood by it. I passed on the decision of Mihailović and Pavlović to my command and wrote, on my own, a letter to the General Headquarters of the Partisans; to this letter Radosavljević added his remarks and requested that the fratricidal war be discontinued, because of the struggle we were engaged in at Kraljevo. The letter was sent by courier. In the evening I returned to the front by car. All the Četnik commanders were there and told me that Captain Deroko had informed them of Mihailović's order received through Lt. Col. Pavlović.

Prosecutor: What order was it?

Witness: It was the same order I had received in writing. He was told orally, in French, that he should take over the command in case I refused to carry out the order.

President: Well, what did you do under those conditions?

Witness: Under those conditions, I succeeded in preventing battles on the actual front. I remained with the Staff of the command of the Partisan detachment till 5 a. m. the next day. We discussed what we should do. The commissar Ratko Mitrović suggested that I should talk over Mihailović, and try to arrange that the fratricidal war should be discontinued.

President: Did you go?

Witness: I did. At Samailo I met the Partisan detachment which was earlier combined with a Četnik unit. This Četnik-Partisan detachment at Kraljevo was making preparations, and being trained to follow the tanks, for the attack on Kraljevo. One young man from this Partisan detachment, a Bosnian, said to me: »Major, what is happening? Milutin Janković came and surounded us. We did not want to fight among ourselves.« I told him to report to the commander and that I was going to try to prevent a fratricidal war.

I arrived at the bridge, and on the left bank of Samaila River there was a mass of Četniks and other people. I had lardly got to the bridge when I heard shots. When I approached I learned that Milutin Janković had killed the commander of the shock detachment, called »Srećko«.

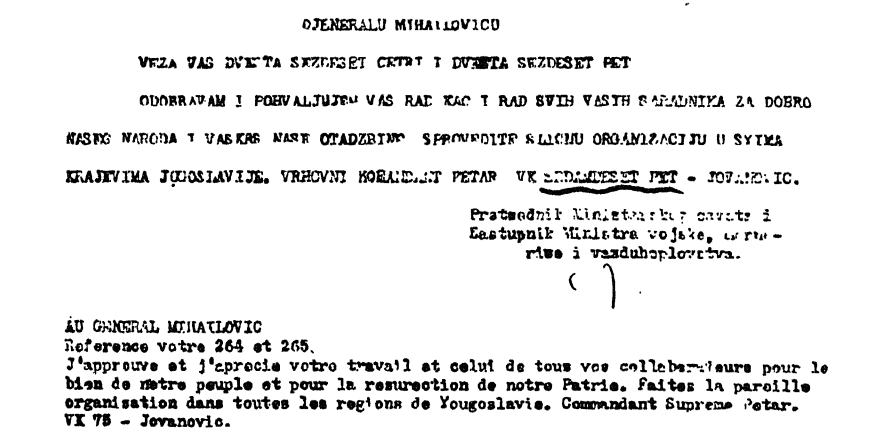
Prosecutor: Of the Partisan detachment?

Witness: Yes, the Partisan, detachment. Then we continued to Čačak. On the left bank of the Morava the battle, led by Captain Deroko, began. Near Čačak, a peasant came and informed me that the Partisan commander, Mole Radosavljević, had been arrested and disarmed, and that he was in the Artillery barracks held by the Četniks. I went by car and actually found him there in the barracks. He asked me: »What is happening?« I told him not to worry. I asked the commander, Lt. Katanić, what had happened to Radosavljević, and he said he had been arrested. I said that Radosavljević should go personally with me and be present at the negotiations. I ordered that his arms should be returned to him, gave him a guard and accompanied him to Čačak. The commander of Čačak was the Četnik commander Marjanović. He was in the churchyard. During these three days he had received the orders and sent them to the commanders to begin the attack. When I arrived, I was told that he was the commander and that I should obey his orders. I informed the commanders that they were under my command and that they could do nothing until I gave them orders. However, they had received the order that I could remain there, but that they should begin the attack which had been prepared for the 6th of November. The attack began at 3,30 p.m.

President: Did you go to Mihailović after that?

Witness: I went to Rošci the same night, I told the commanders that they could go wherever they liked and that they were no longer under my command. I came to Pranjani where I met Lalatović and from there I went to Ravna Gora. I came to Braići before dark. It was on November 12 or 13. I went to the headquarters, but Mihailović was not there. There were Col. Dragoslav Pavlović, Dragiša Vasić and others. As soon as I entered, Lalatović asked me: »Where are the detachments?« I answered: »They are where you sent them«. At this he jumped up and said to me: »You are red«. We were school friends. Then there was a bitter dispute, and we even pulled out our revolvers. However, the situation was somehow smoothed out. Dragiša Vasić went to meet Mihailović and informed him about the matter. When Mihailović came, I asked him how this situation had come about; he answered that we knew each other well enough and that we should not talk about it. I asked him why, and for what

purpose this battle was being fought? He gave the same reasons as earlier. I went to the cellar of the building where the headquarters were, where there were several beds, and I sat for a while and talked with the officers about the situation, and the necessity for renewed unification of the forces, and the prevention of fratricidal war. On November 14, in the evening, the B. B. C. announced that the only legal representative of Yugoslavia was Mihailović, and that all forces should place themselves under his command. Two or three days later came the letter of the commander of the Partisan detachments, Marshal Tito, by courier. In this letter he wrote as follows: If you are really patriots, as the B.B.C announces, send delegates with the



OJENERALU MIHAILOVICU

VEZA VAS DVESTA SEZDESET CETRT I DVESTA SEZDESET PET

ODOBRAVAM I POHVALJUJEM VAS RAD KAO I RAD SVIH VASIH SARADNIKA ZA DOBRO

NASEG NARODA I VASKRS NASE OTADZBINE SPROVEDITE SLICNU ORGANIZACIJU U SVIMA

KRAJEVIMA JUGOSLAVIJE. VRHOVNI KOMANDANT PETAR VK SEDAMDESET PET - JOVANOVIC.

Predsednik Ministarskog saveta i
Zastupnik Ministra vojske, mornarice i vazduhoplovstva.

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AU GENERAL MIHAILOVIC
Reference votre 264 et 265.
J'approuve et j'apreciе votre travail et celui de tous vos collaborateurs pour le bien de votre peuple et pour la resurection de notre Patrie. Faites la pareille organisation dans toutes les regions de Yougoslavie. Commandant Supreme Petar.
VK 75 - Jovanovic.

From the telegram file of the emigrant government: president of the emigrant government, Slobodan Jovanović, approves of and commends the work of the war criminal Mihailović and his collaborators. (Below is the same text in French)

authorization that the fratricidal war is to be discontinued, and arms turned against the invader... This letter was received at the headquarters. I was not there when it arrived. I was called at about 6 a. m. the letter was shown to me and I was asked my opinion about it. I answered that this was the only way out, and the only possible solution. At this Dragiša Vasić started, got excited and shouted: »Are you still for agreement?« I answered that I was. Mihailović did not react to this. At about 7 p. m. I was called to the headquarters, and in the presence of Mihailović, Dragiša Vasić informed me that I had been chosen as delegate for the negotiations with the Partisans, because I was on the best terms with the Partisan headquarters, that I was to go to the Partisan headquarters and that Lalatović would go with me. He asked me whether I was afraid of going, because I might be killed. I answered that there was no reason

for that and, even if Mihailović went alone, nothing could have happened to him, because I had worked for a month with all the Partisan commanders. The next day we left for Čačak.

President: Did the delegation come? Where did you meet it. Whom did you meet? Where was the meeting arranged?

NEGOTIATIONS AT WHICH THE PARTISANS DEMANDED THE ENDING OF THE FRATRICIDAL STRUGGLE

Witness: We came to Čačak on foot up to the lines, through which we passed blindfolded with white handkerchiefs to show that we were delegates. The Partisan leader placed a cart at our disposal.

President: Who was the commander of the detachment?

Witness: The commander of the detachment was Radosavljević, and the commissar Ratko Mitrović. Right after that, the delegates of the Supreme Partisan Staff came. Lola Ribar was in the delegation, Alexander Ranković and Petar Stambolić came afterwards. We told them that we had received no authorization for those negotiations, that we had received an order to see what the Partisan leadership wanted, and then to return. The late Lola Ribar showed us records of the massacre of 17 Partisans by Ajdačić and his men in the Kosjerić Commune. After that, he referred to the delivery of 360 Partisans to the Germans in Valjevo. Their suggestion was to join forces, but before that to purge the ranks of the instigators of the fratricidal war. We had no authorization, so we returned and reported to Mihailović. The next day Mihailović gave us his written conditions, which we took back to Čačak. On this occasion the English Major Hudson asked to go with us.

President: During these negotiations did you put forward the reasons why Mihailović began the hostilities?

Witness: We put forward his reasons.

President: What were the reasons?

Witness: The reasons were, as Mihailović informed us, that in the region of Užice seven Četnik detachments were disarmed without any reason, and the airfield at the Užička Požega was attacked on the eve of the arrival of the British planes. They denied that this was true, and said that Mihailović's Požega detachment, before it came into conflict with them, attempted an attack against Užice and that it was routed from the Tresnjica position.

President: Under whose command?

Witness: Under the command of Vučko Ignjatović.

President: After you returned from the negotiations did you inform Mihailović?

Witness: Yes, I did.

President: How did he take it?

Witness: He did not say anything. He gave written conditions, which we were to take back.

President: What did Mihailović say? What was his opinion and attitude concerning this attack of Vučko Ignjatović against the Partisans?

Witness: Mihailović explained that Vučko Ignjatović had prepared this attack and had informed him about it, and that he approved of it, because Vučko Ignjatović guaranteed that he would take Užice.

President: And you informed Mihailović later about the results of the negotiations?

Witness: Yes, I did.

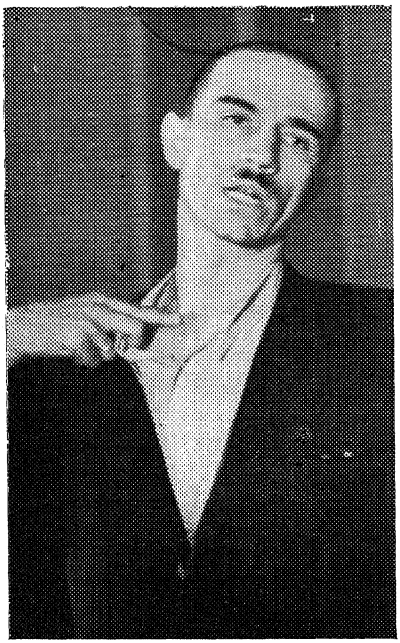
President: How did matters develop later?

Witness: The next day we took back Mihailović's written conditions. These conditions were in connection with the announcement of the B. B. C. that all forces should place themselves under Mihailović's command. The first question was whether they had listened to the B. B. C. and the second, whether they would accept the order of the B. B. C. to place themselves under his command. These were roughly the conditions. The leaders of the Partisans, through the delegates, rejected these conditions and said that they were impossible and that they could negotiate only on a basis of agreement between the one side and the other.

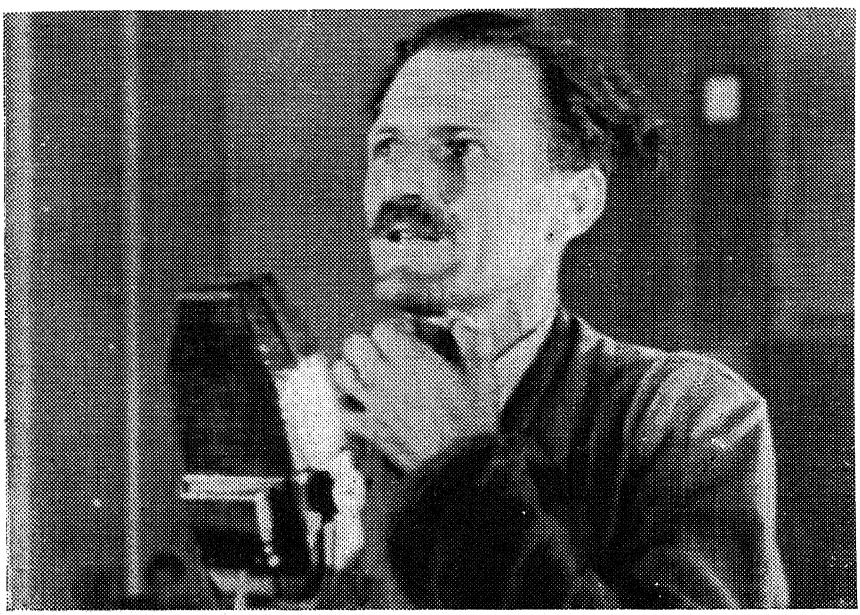
President: When did this second meeting take place?

Witnes: The next day. It was Feuruary 19. We went away then without achieving any result concerning the negotiations, and on the road by Takovo there were no more Četnik detachments in the line of infantry. We came to a telephone and found that the Četniks had withdrawn about 2 miles from the first lines. I informed Mihailović by Partisan telephone that nothing had resulted from the negotiations. He ordered, by telephone, »Go back immediately and conclude an agreement under any conditions.« I obeyed him and returned. I met Lalatović and explained this to him. Lalatović said that we should make terms. I said: »We drew up terms and handed them over, but the terms were rejected. Accordingly, we can now only go to the delegates of the Partisan headquarters and ask them to offer terms which we shall accept.«

President: What were the conditions?







Survivers of massacres by Mihailović's Četnik organization, giving their testimony before the Court and showing their injured throats. Above: Dimitrije Radosavljević, miner from Bjeluša, near Čačak, and Dušan Petrović, peasant from Loćika, near Jagodina; below: Latif Lojo, peasant from Foča.

Witness: When I returned to Čačak it was announced by telephone from Užice that the delegates had come. One of them was Alexander Ranković, the other Stambolić. They presented the following terms: 1) that a mixed investigation commission should be formed of members of the Četnik and Partisan forces who would carry out an investigation regarding the question of fratricidal war. Further, that a mixed court should be formed, which would try all instigators of fratricidal war; and that negotiations would be continued concerning all other questions, until they were settled and that the next day, at 12 a. m., on November 21, hostilities should cease and all the units should remain in their places and the prisoners of both sides should be released regardless of their number.

President: Was the question of the unification of the forces discussed?

Witness: Only an alliance was discussed. After these encounters, confidence between the fighters for the complete unification of the forces could not be reached. When I returned to the headquarters I was met at the door by Dragiša Vasić, and when I told him that the agreement had been signed last night at 12 p. m., he started up and said: »You have saved us.«

Prosecutor: Why did he say that to you?

Witness: The Četnik situation was such that they would have been probably ejected from Ravna Gora and all the positions they held, had agreement not been reached.

President: Was the agreement observed?

Witness: In the first stage, it was; that is, till November 27, the day on which another meeting had been fixed at Pranjani, to which Koča Popović, the two brothers Jerković and Pera Stambolić came. Then we were informed that further negotiations could not be carried on, that the First Offensive had started, and that we were reqested not to let the Germans across our sector, and that the Partisans would fight on their front, and that we should continue the negotiations when the First Offensive was finished. I agreed to this and after that I returned to Ravna Gora. Then the units were withdrawn from the front. Mihailović ordered his commanders to witdraw from their positions and the troops to hide their arms.

President: This means that the proposal to resist the Germans was not accepted?

Witness: After this order of Mihailović, it was not.

President: after the second meeting of November 27, and till the departure of the detachments to the terrain, was there any further

contact between Mihailović and the General headquarters of the Partisan forces?

Witness: There was not.

President: Were there any talks in connection with the German offensive which was advancing towards the liberated territory?

Witness: Between whom?

President: Between Mihailović's headquarters and those of the Partisan forces.

Witness: There were no talks because there was no contact. Marshal Tito requested, over the telephone, that I should be delegated to keep contact with the Partisan headquarters as soon as the First Offensive began, and proposed, as the only solution, that we should unite as soon as possible. I telephoned to Draža Mihailović about it and he ordered me to come up, and said that he would see. We discussed this question later and he told me that nothing could come of this joining of forces and that the only thing was for the Partisans to place themselves under his command.

President: How long did you remain in Draža Mihailović's organization?

Witness: Till May 20, 1944.

President: And then?

Witness: I joined the National Liberation Movement.

President: What motive had you. Why did you do this?

Witness: I had my reasons. In the course of 1943 I learned through my Intelligence sources that certain Četnik commanders were collaborating with the invader, and in addition to this I came across a document which I quoted in a telegram to Mihailović, asking him to explain what it meant. Further, certain commanders were nominated from the ranks of the Serbian State Guards. For instance Ljuba Jovanović, who was county Police chief at Zaječar, was appointed commander of a corps. I protested, and demanded that the commanders should not be appointed from Nedić's detachments, and that those who were collaborating with the invader should immediately be called before the court as traitors.

Prosecutor: Were you engaged in any serious struggle against the invader's forces before you joined the Army of National Liberation?

Witness: No, I was not.

Prosecutor: Did you receive any order from Mihailović to engage in any struggle against the invader?

Witness: No, I did not.

Prosecutor: Were you expecting such an order?

Witness: Yes, I was.

Prosecutor: Did Mihailović promise such an order?

Witness: He promised he would issue such an order when the moment for it came.

Prosecutor: Did Mihailović ever order you to carry out a general mobilization against the Partisans?

Witness: Mihailović ordered this on November 7, 1942.

Prosecutor: In what circumstances?

Witness: It was after a letter I sent him concerning the situation in the country, and emphasizing that it was high time for the question of the fratricidal war to be settled, as it was a fundamental problem in the carrying on of the struggle against the invader. He hotly repudiated this, and later appeared his order of Nov. 7. I think you have the original telegram. The order was roughly as follows: »A general mobilization throughout the whole country for the struggle against the Partisans is ordered... The Partisans should be attacked from the rear at the moment when they are fighting against the invader. When I got this telegram, I realized that the whole policy had changed to one of treason; the line of the Quislings. I combatted this situation in the following two ways: I submitted the original telegram to the British Mission, I drew their attention to the situation and asked whether they could interfere. I considered that nobody had the right to order a mobilization of the men of the country against their own people.

Prosecutor: Did intervention follow?

Witness: It did not.

Prosecutor: At least you were not informed of it.

Witness: No, it did not.

Prosecutor: Do you remember a Partisan action at Vladičin Han, where the Partisans blew up a bridge?

Witness: I know, I remember it.

Prosecutor: Did the B. B. C. announce that action?

Witness: Yes, it did.

Prosecutor: Did it announce that the Partisans had blown up the bridge?

Witness: Yes, it did.

Prosecutor: Tell me, did anyone from the British Mission ask you who blew up the bridge?

Witness: Yes, they did.

Prosecutor: What did you say?

Witness: I said the Partisans blew it up.

Prosecutor: Did you get any telegrams from Draža Mihailović about this?

Witness: First I got a telegram in which he said: »Inform me immediately who blew up the bridge at Vladičin Han?« I answered that the Partisans blew it up. Then I got a second telegram which read as follows: »In future do not inform the Mission about the actions of the Partisans, and when anything is done by the Partisans, say it was done by your detachments.«

Prosecutor: Just like that? Do you remember it exactly?

Witness: Yes, I remember it.

Prosecutor: Among Mihailović's telegrams there are some that he sent to you. Can you remember the name of an Englishman whose false name was Radovan or Dragi, and real name Robertson.

Witness: I remember.

Prosecutor: Do you know his full name?

Witness: He was said to be Radojević.

Prosecutor: Was he a Serb?

Witness: A Serb from America. According to the particulars I received from the Supreme Command.

Prosecutor: When and why did the Supreme Command send a report on Robertson?

Witness: Robertson went with a British Major to the neighbourhood of the village of Kuline. He had a wireless transmitter and about 6—700 pounds. At Kuline they were betrayed by a school mistress. The Major was arrested, while Robertson escaped with the transmitter to Jastrebac and joined the Partisans.

Prosecutor: Did you get an order from Mihailović to liquidate Robertson if you caught him?

Witness: I did.

Prosecutor: When was that?

Witness: It was in the second half of October 1943.

Prosecutor: Did you pass this order on to your commanders?

Witness: Yes I did.

Prosecutor: How could you do this, when you knew that he was an Englishman?

Witness: It was announced that he belonged to no mission at all, that he had come on his own.

Prosecutor: Did the report state that he was working for somebody else?

Witness: It was said that he was working for the Partisans, because he had joined them.

Prosecutor: And you passed this on?
Witness: I sent a circular to my commanders.
Prosecutor: Did you get any reply?
Witness: No, I did not.

BY ORGANIZING HIS UNITS, DAMJAN VELČEV WAS TO CHECK THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT IN BULGARIA

Prosecutor: The accused Mihailović declared in Court that he had established contact with certain groups in Bulgaria through you, that is, that you had established and maintained this contact. When was that?

Witness: It was at the beginning of the autumn of 1942. I received orders to establish contact with Damjan Velčev in Bulgaria. I proceeded to establish this contact.

Prosecutor: Did you succeed in establishing it?
Witness: Yes.
Prosecutor: When?
Witness: Towards the middle of November 1942.
Prosecutor: Did you inform Mihailović that you had established contact?
Witness: I did.
Prosecutor: Who made this contact for you?
Witness: A certain Lužajić, from Niš.
Prosecutor: Where did he work?

Witness: With the Niš police, as far as I could make out. He was a small man, but very clever. He managed to establish the contact. At first he did not succeed because he heard that Damjan Velčev was interned. Afterwards Lužajić succeeded in establishing contact via Stara Planina. With two of his men he went to meet Damjan Velčev's delegate. Damjan Velčev himself could not come because he was interned, but the meeting was attended by his delegates who received the basic instructions.

Prosecutor: When and what directions did you receive from Mihailović?

Witness: With the order to establish contact with Damjan Velčev I received instruction to ask him to organize nationalist units in Bulgaria, to rally the Agrarian party to him and by this means prevent the spreading of the Partisan Movement in Bulgaria.

Prosecutor: Were these instructions carried out?.

Witness: They were communicated to Velčev's delegate.

THE PLAN FOR THE CREATION OF A »BALKAN UNION« WITH THE KARAĐORĐEVIĆ DYNASTY AT ITS HEAD

Prosecutor: What else did these instructions refer to?

Witness: It was also stated that the Coburg dynasty, by the creation of Damjan Velčev's organization, was to be done away with, and that after the liberation a »Balkan Union« with the Karadjordjević dynasty at its head should be established.

Prosecutor: Of whom was this union to be composed?

Witness: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, Albania, and Macedonia, which was to become independent.

Prosecutor: What was its object?

Witness: The object was to link up Damjan Velčev's organization with Draža Mihailović in order to create a national block in the Balkans, an anti-Bolshevist block.

О В Л А Ш Ћ Е Њ Е

Мајора Др. РАДОМИРА ДЕДУ, на основу одобрења Врховне команде ОВЛАШЋУЈЕМ, да може водити пуноважне разговоре са претставницима румунских војних власти и грађанским лицима, у свима правцима.-

КОМАНДА ШТАБА БРОЈ 67
Југословенске војске
ОТАЏБИНИ
О.Бр.355
14 априла 1944 год.
СЛОБОДНЕ ПЛАНИНЕ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ =

ПОБЕДОНОСНЕ ВОЈСКЕ У ОТАЏБИНИ ГЛАВНИ ШТАБ 67

КОМАНДАНТ,
ђенералштабни потпуковник

Authorization of Major Radomir Deda to negotiate with Roumanian traitors on behalf of Mihailović's organization.

Prosecutor: And your task was to establish connections with the Greek Zervas organization?

Witness: Yes, my task was to establish connections with the Greek Zervas organization.

Prosecutor: Was this part of the same instructions?

Witness: It was. Connections were to be established in Greece and Albania. I discovered one Greek who went with my message, but was quickly arrested and interned. I later learnt that he had managed to do something. Later, the accused Mihailović informed me that he (Mihailović) had direct connections with Muharem Barjaktar in Albania, through Montenegro. He informed me that a link with Greece had been established as well.

Prosecutor: Were you informed that Damjan Velčev had accepted the basic lines of Mihailović's proposal?

Witness: I was informed that he had accepted, and agreed with this policy.

Prosecutor: How did you receive this information?

Witness: I received it from the delegates who were in touch with him, because he was interned at that time. But he was directing affairs.

Prosecutor: This means that you were in contact with him?

Witness: Through his delegates. One of them was Zlatareva.

Prosecutor: Tell me, did you have direct radio connection with Velčev?

Witness: I had no direct connection.

Prosecutor: What connections did you have?

Witness: Through couriers, and channels which he had established. Later, when I formed the Intelligence Department at Niš, Lužajić succeeded in establishing links through this department.

капетан Роберсон послаће јој још.

Бр.499 фор Херман.– Ради остварења наших циљева потребно ступити у тешњу везу са националистима албанске државе које води пуковник Мухарем Бајрактар.Претсетавник Мухарема за везу са нама је Шериф Липа поручник италијанске војске сада са службом у Приштини.Брат Шерифов је капетан Зенел Липа први сарадник Мухаремов.По овоме следују шифре од броја 500 до 503 закључно.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams sent: Instructions to Herman (Đurić) to get into closer contact with Albanian quislings.

Prosecutor: Did he inform you about Bulgaria?

Witness: He transmitted all news to me. He informed me that there were some detachments in the forest round Dragoman. This was in connection with the first agreement about the formation of detachments. Lužajić informed me of this and I passed the information on to Mihailović. But in the autumn of 1943, Lužajić was arrested by the Germans and deported to Germany. I then reported that I had lost this link, so that all interrupted contacts, including the one with Velčev, were transferred to Lazar Trklja in the autumn of 1943.

Prosecutor: What was the basic policy of the task which Mihailović had assigned to you and which, according to Lužajić, had been accepted by Velčev and his group?

Witness: The task was to gather all forces and national detachments together, in order to prevent them from joining the Partisans and spreading the Partisan movement. All national forces

were to be amalgamated. As far as I can remember, Velčev was informed at the beginning that financial means would be put at his disposal.

Prosecutor: Would you remember if I read this message to you?

Witness: I would.

Prosecutor: (reads): »Message to Mr Velčev, through Ginevski — I am very happy to have established connections in these difficult circumstances with the Bulgarian leader Velčev, as well as with the Agrarian representative, Ginevski, successor of the late Stamboliski. Their common work in 1934 forms today the foundations of Yugoslav—Bulgarian relations. I am fully aware of Velčev's hard struggle at the time of his grave suffering... I have connections with Dimitrov, and I could serve as link between himself and his collaborators. The collaboration of Velčev with Stamboliski's men unites the Bulgarian people and the army of our people... Give my regards to Velčev and tell him that I hope our efforts may be fruitful... Inform Velčev of the text of this message...«

Witness: It is correct.

Prosecutor: (Shows the document to the accused Mihailović and asks him whether the handwriting is his).

Defendant Mihailović: Yes.

Prosecutor: That means that the document is authentic. But, you see that this message does not mention this basic policy, apart from the South-Slav Commonwealth.

Witness: It was certainly mentioned in the telegrams which I received.

Prosecutor: Did the telegrams mention something about preventing contact between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Partisans?

Witness: I was principally concerned with preventing the breakthrough of the Partisans to Macedonia and thus preventing contact between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Partisans.

THE ČETNIKS DID NOT FIRE ONE SHOT AGAINST THE GERMANS. »DON'T SHOOT« WAS DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ'S ORDER

Witness Vojislav Mišić, agriculturist from Belgrade, company commander of the Kolubara Partisan Detachment.

President: As a witness it is your duty to speak the truth before the Court; untruthful and lying statements will be punished. What can you tell us about the events of October and November 1941, as far as you were concerned?

Witness: I can say that at the beginning of November, when I was company commander of the Kolubara Partisan detachment, I

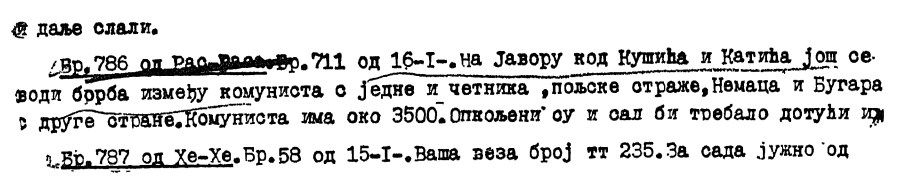
was called by Draža Mihailović and my brother Aleksandar Mišić, and conducted to Struganik village. Draža Mihailović, as well as my brother, tried to force me to go over to Draža Mihailović's Četniks. After my refusal I was kept at Struganik, and I was a witness when over 200 Partisans and members of Partisan families were escorted through Struganik on their way from Ravna Gora, and sent to Mionica, where they were handed over to the Germans, near St. Mark's church.

President: Did you have talks with Aleksandar Mišić and Draža Mihailović at this time?

Witness: Yes.

President: What conversation did you have with Mihailović in connection with his trying to convince and assure you that you should abandon your commandership of your Partisan company and go over to the Četniks?

Witness: Mihailović tried to persuade me by saying that he and his movement were in connection with the emigrant government, through Captain Hudson, who was the emmissary of the British go-



даље слали.

Бр.786 од Рас-Расе.Бр.711 од 16-I-.На Јавору код Кушића и Катића још се води борба између комуниста с једне и четника ,пољске straже,Немаца и Бугара с друге стране.Комуниста има око 3500.Опкољени су и сад би требало дотући их

Бр.787 од Хе-Хе.Бр.58 од 15-I-.Ваша веза број тт 235.За сада јужно од

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Report of Ras-Ras (Kalabić) to Mihailović on the fighting carried out by Četniks, Nedić Field-Guards, Germans and Bulgarians against Partisans at Kušić on Javor.

vernment at Draža Mihailović's headquarters. He tried to assure me that only his movement was recognized, and that only he could carry through a mobilization in Yugoslavia and that in this he would be assisted by the Allies, that the Partisan movement would never be successful because the people would not accept it, and neither would the Allies.

President: What was his attitude with regard to the Partisans?

Witness: His attitude was that of an adversary.

President: What were the relations between the Partisans and the Četniks up till then?

Witness: Up till that day — this was the night of November 2-3 — the relations were tolerable. There were no clashes except some minor ones; but from November 3, armed conflicts began.

President: What did the accused Mihailović tell you about these incidents, how did they come about, why, and by whose orders?

Witness: Draža explained that he had ordered the lifting of the blockade of Valjevo and Kraljevo, and that the Partisan detachments should be attacked wherever they were found. He declared that he was convinced that all the Partisan detachments would be annihilated. He told me that it was only because I was Alexandar Mišić's brother and the son of Voivoda Mišić — it was only for these reasons that they had so much consideration for me, and that was why they had taken me out of the Partisan ranks by a ruse.

President: And what happened to you then? How long did they keep you?

Witness: I was Draža's prisoner till November 3, when the Germans came from all directions and encircled Struganik. I don't know what was their object. On this occasion a number of Četniks were captured. They did not resist. The Četniks did not fire one shot. They had received the order from Draža Mihailović that they were not to shoot. I was captured by the Germans, but during the night, near morning, I escaped.

FROM THE DOCUMENTS APPENDED TO THE INDICTMENT

REPORT OF THE ČETNIK COMMANDER AND CRIMINAL ZVONIMIR VUČKOVIĆ, ON THE TREACHEROUS ATTACK ON THE PARTISANS AT GORNJI MILANOVAC IN NOVEMBER 1941

Report of the fighting carried out by Lieutenant Vučković's detachment against the communists in Gornji Milanovac, and nieghbourhood, from November 4th till November 18th, 1941.

On November 4, 1941, at 11 a. m., while I was conferring with the communist battalion commander Rakić about the defence of Milanovac, Lieutenant-Colonel Pavlović, Chief of the Mountain General Staff, telephoned to me from Braići and curtly ordered me to attack the communists at once and disarm them. Captain Reljić, commandant, and Captain Stojanović, whose detachment had just then arrived in Milanovac, decided that I should go to Braići and tell Lieutenant-Colonel Pavlović that it was impossible to execute his order immediately, as the soldiers would not be inclined to obey it, since we had just succeeded in establishing relatively good relations with the Partisans in Milanovac. Lieutenant-Colonel Pavlović refused to accept my reasons and commanded me to execute his order immediately. On my way to Milanovac I found that Captain Reljić, and Captain Stojanović with his detachment and other officers (about 10 of them) had left Milanovac and were stationed in the village of Brusnica (Konjevića hamlet). They explained to me that they had done this in order to prepare for the attack. As none of them wanted to return to Milanovac, I proceeded immediately to that town with a group of my men, and I found 40 of our soldiers disarmed there (they belonged to the detachment which had gone to Brusnica). In the barracks my detachment, was waiting for me ready for action, and was under the command of sergeant Krsta Kljajić. At the entrance to Milanovac, the communists tried to disarm me and my group, but I resisted and demanded that they should take me at once to their commandant. After short negotiations with

Rakić, I succeeded in the following: the arms were immediately returned to the disarmed soldiers, all the arrested citizens were released, the detachment of Captain Stojanović and other officers were permitted to return to Milanovac, where I brought them after half an hour. Captain Reljić had in the meantime gone to Brajići. All this cost me only my word of honour that I would not attack the communists; that is all that Rakić demanded from me as a guarantee.

Next day Captain Stojanović and I decided that the communists should be attacked immediately by our forces, but it was agreed that I should temporarily go away to make a show of keeping my word of honour in which the communists believed so firmly.

The Communists: the Takovo Detachment was in the Health Home, and the Šumadija Detachment in the Hospital. Stojanović's detachment and part of Smiljanić's detachment were in the Krsmanović café and neighbouring houses, and my detachment in the barracks. We planned our tasks; my detachment was to attack the hospital, and Stojanović's the Health Home. I issued instructions and handed over my detachment to sergeant Kljajić, telling him specially to avoid killing as far as possible, for in that way we had already won over to our ranks a certain number of communists (peasants).

In the night of November 17, Kljajić and his detachment suddenly encircled the hospital and attacked the communists, and for 6 hours he pressed them to surrender. He was holding the ground floor, while the communists were on the first floor. The actual period of fighting was short. Nearly all the communists surrendered (125 men). During the fighting I lost one soldier, Milijan Molerović. The communists were taken to Braići. At the same time Stojanović's detachment attacked the Health Home, drove the communists out of the town in the direction of the village of Vrbava and took 10 prisoners.

After that Milanovac was firmly in our hands, and was left in possession of Major Savović's detachment, as Smiljanović's, Stojanović's and mine were ordered to go to Takovo and then on to Brezna, where they were to form the main reserve. On November 7, 1941, at 10 a. m. sergeant Kljajić handed over the detachment to me, in the village of Takovo.

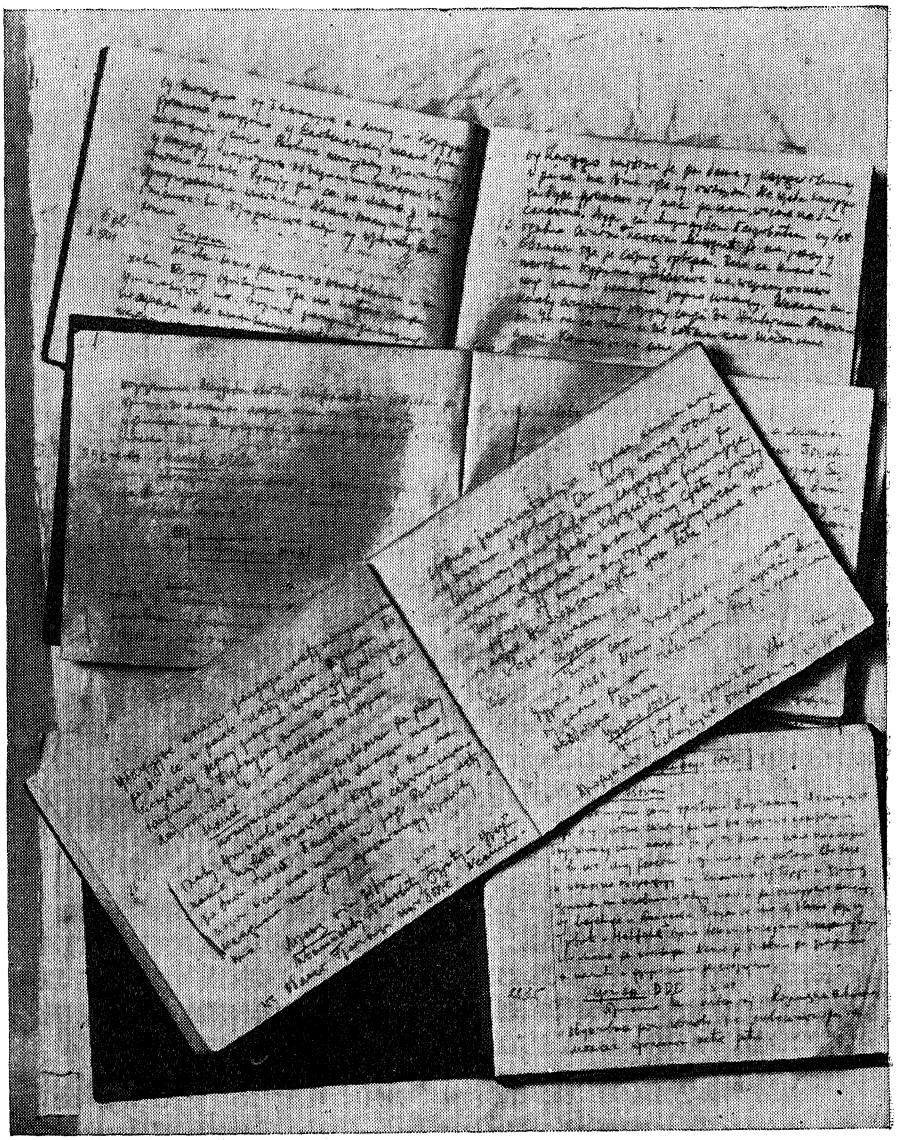
17 June, 1942
Front

Lieutenant Zvonimir A. Vučković

(Facsimile p. 20)

ČETNIK COMMANDER RAKOVIĆ'S REPORT TO MIHAILOVIĆ ABOUT HIS VISIT TO ČAČAK FOR THE PURPOSE OF »LEGALIZATION« WITH THE GERMANS

Report. — After the meeting on Ravna Gora on November 30, 1941, and acting under instructions received, I set off with the detach-



Documents, letters from Mihailović, telegrams and various communications, which confirm his treason.

ment in the night between the 30th and 31st from Koštuic where my position was, to the Ljubić District in my quarter. In the morning of December 1st I was at Gor. Gorevnica. That day the fifth Volunteer detachment from Čačak, accompanied by three German planes, arrived, and I met them at the school at Gor. Gorevnica. I approached, together with another ten, with rifles at the ready, a group of volunteers, and when they saw that I had no intention of firing at them, we began to talk in a friendly way. The Commander of the fifth Volunteer detachment, Lt. Colonel Marisav Petrović, asked me who I was, what I was doing there and where I was going. I answered that I had a detachment of 200 men with 20 automatic weapons, which was true. I told him that my detachment belonged to Colonel Draža and that I was the advance guard of his units. To the question how many soldiers Draža had, I answered that he had 20.000 armed soldiers. Then Marisav went aside and held a short conference with his officers, and then asked me to take part with my detachment in the mopping up of communists in the Gornja Gorevnica area, which I did. It was profitable for me because the Četniks were mixed with the volunteers and got from them supplies of ammunition, of which I had very little, and when we parted I could have even fought them. Further, the Četniks told the volunteers about the heroic fights against the Germans and communists in that area under the most difficult weather conditions, and lacking clothing, food and ammunition. That impressed the volunteers who had good shoes and clothing, ammunition, and a mobile kitchen following them; and these men, who were not all Ljotić men, admired the naked, barefooted and hungry Četniks.

On the same day, in the evening, after the mopping up operations, Marisav called me to go with him to Čačak and to fix up relations between my detachment and...

At the back of this report Mihailović wrote: »Frike — excellent work — To be given to Čika Vasa (Dragiša Vasić).

(Facsimile p. 67)

TELEGRAM FROM FRIKE (PREDRAG RAKOVIĆ) AFTER THE AGREEMENT WITH THE GERMAN COMMANDER OF GORNJI MILANOVAC: »PARTISAN HOMES ON OUR LIST WILL BE BURNT AND ONLY PARTISANS WILL BE KILLED...«

N. 2550 from Frike: N. 110 Continuation I: There will be no more arrests of our men in the territory of the German Command of Gornji Milanovac. If a soldier of the occupying power is killed in this territory, houses will not be burnt wholesale, but only those on our

list which belong to the Partisans, and only Partisans will be killed. Lieutenant Majo was present at the second meeting. We have arranged everything that is necessary and have arranged for the annihilation of the communist group of Labud Labudović, who is operating in the districts of Takovo, Kačer and Orašac. The information service in connection with our hunting down of this group is conducted by Kosta Kostić, former mayor of Rudnik. We will also use Germans for the annihilation of this group. We have agreed that Vučković should use one of his units for mopping up operations in the Kačer District, but he is to do it separately from the Germans, and illegally. His group will not be disturbed by the Germans and others. To be continued.

N. 2551 from Frike: No. 111. Continuation II — I have received 5000 rounds of ammunition for mopping up operations...

(Facsimile p. 385)

MIHAILOVIĆ PERMITS LEGALIZATION OF ČETNIK DETACHMENTS WITH THE INVADER

Authorization. — This is to authorize Infantry Captain Đura Ivetić to legalize his detachment with the occupation authorities in a suitable manner and with the purpose of working better for his Fatherland; but he is to try to remain on the national line. In connection with this he will be given instructions by Major Radulović.

This is to be kept as strictly confidential. Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce, Army General Drag. M. Mihailović (Seal) October 12, 1942. The Free Serbian Mountains.

(Facsimile p. 259)

(TELEGRAM): THE GOVERNMENT OF SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ DECORATES THE TRAITOR, PAVLE ĐURIŠIĆ, WITH THE KARAGEORGE STAR WITH SWORDS

To General Mihailović — All your proposals regarding decorations have been accepted and will be announced by radio, except that of Captain Đurišić. Therefore you will inform him of his award of the Karageorge Star with Swords. Lieutenant Pavlović has been reinstated. V. K. seventy four — Jovanović

President of the Council of Ministers
and Acting Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce
S. J.

(Facsimile p. 375)

REPORT CONCERNING THE DECORATION OF THE ČETNIK COMMANDER, PAVLE ĐURIŠIĆ, WITH THE GERMAN IRON CROSS, PUBLISHED IN THE QUISLING PAPER »LOVĆEN« ON OCTOBER 11, 1944

Lieutenant-Colonel P. Đurišić receives high award — Četnik commander Pavle Đurišić, whom Nedić recently promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and appointed Assistant Commander of the Corps of Volunteers, has been given special recognition for his military services by the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces, and has been decorated with the Iron Cross by the Führer.

(Facsimile p. 303)

MIHAILOVIĆ DEGRADES OFFICERS — PATRIOTS IN THE RANKS OF THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION — FIGHTING AGAINST THE INVADERS

No. 246 of June 17. To the President of the Yugoslav Government. — For breaking the military oath and for treason against the king and the people I propose that the following should be degraded: "Colonel Sava Orović, Infantry Captain Arso Jovanović, Velimir Terzić, Petar Ćetković, Reserve Lt. Colonel Veko Mulatović, Major of Engineers Branko Poljanac, Infantry Lt. Mileta Đukić and Ratko Martinović, Reserve Lt. Nikola Sekulanac". Please broadcast this through the B. B. C. — General Mihailović.

"ČIKA ĐOKA" (MIHAILOVIĆ) WRITES TO BAJO STANIŠIĆ: "I AM DIRECTING THE WHOLE OF THE WORK..."

March 9, 1943 — Dear Bajo, I have received your letter of the 5th inst., Kontić and Jovićević have informed me of the conditions in your area and of your troops. I am extremely happy that the whole people have answered the first call.

You may be assured that the interest of the people comes first with me. There is no reason to fear any thoughtless action on our part, but in all our acts we must be resolute and energetic. We know all our enemies very well, and know exactly how far we can go and what we can undertake.

I am directing the whole of the work through Branko. No orders are given without my permission, Branko informs me of absolutely everything. All his proposals are considered, studied, approved, or modified. In this we are guided by the folowing principles: We are working only for ourselves and no one else; we are only concerned with the interests of the Serbs and of the future Yu-

goslavia; in order to achieve our aim we play one enemy against another, the same as all our enemies, without exception, are doing. We want to achieve success with the smallest sacrifices and we want to spare our people unnecessary dangers, but we are also ready to suffer the greatest sacrifices if it is necessary for the common good. All this is taken into careful consideration. And I think that you agree with me concerning all this.

I send you warmest brotherly greetings,

Čika Đoka

P. S. Kontić and Jovićević will report to you orally.

(Facsimile pp. 80 and 81)

"DEAR MR. BAJO (COLONEL STANIŠIĆ) I AM INFORMED THAT ON THE TERRITORY OF OLD MONTENEGRO THE KERENSKY ATMOSPHERE PREVAILS..."

Dear Mr. Bajo — I am informed that in the area of Old Montenegro the Kerensky atmosphere prevails in regard to the annihilation of communists and profiteers, especially in the area of the Nikšić District.

Thus: recently the Četniks caught two Baletićs, two dangerous communists in Ridjani, near Nikšić. One of these communists was released in the evening of the day on which he was caught, and three days after that the communists took the other criminal from the national Četniks. This happened in Stubi.

Krsto Minić, jailor of the national prison in Nikšić, in July, this year, let out of prison five robbers sentenced to death, and ran away with them, although they were to be shot the next day. The jailor Minić was later caught and is alive to this day; the court of justice and various traitors and their protégés say: the law does not provide for such a case, and therefore Minić should be left to be tried after the war, in more settled conditions.

On November 6 this year, 15 robbers were let out of the national prison in Straševina. They were let out by former communists, who are now nationalists. It is probable that no one will be held responsible for this either.

Sergeant Nikolić, commander of a Četnik battalion, held an all-night conference with communists in Miločani.

Recently in the forests near Gornje Polje the Četniks met with communists and agreed to pass each other without firing a shot. The same thing happened in Zla Gora and twice in Budoš.

On one occasion seven Četniks in Zla Gora met a group of three communists and, after reaching an agreement, parted like brothers, promising not to shoot each other.

From a report of a national subcommittee in Grahovo, a copy of which is in your possession, you can see that there are many other cases which show that the communists have freedom of movement, etc.

Men from all the districts of old Montenegro are asking to be placed under the command of Pavle Đurišić, because the communists there are treated too mildly, and they consider that Đurišić would quickly do away with this Kerensky atmosphere.

I know that you, as a genuine nationalist, are pained by such cases, and that you fervently desire the annihilation of those criminals who mercilessly tortured and killed our people. And therefore, I consider that you will have enough resolution to continue with your present national struggle.

Only, I beg you, always to keep in mind that we are not only in war but that we are passing through a revolution under most difficult conditions — under the invader. The communists count constantly and much on our "bourgeois sentimentality". Therefore we must harden our hearts and mercilessly annihilate those bloodthirsty destroyers of the people, as they would do and are still doing, where they are still maintaining themselves by means of terrorism.

Please inform me what you have done in connection with the above mentioned cases.

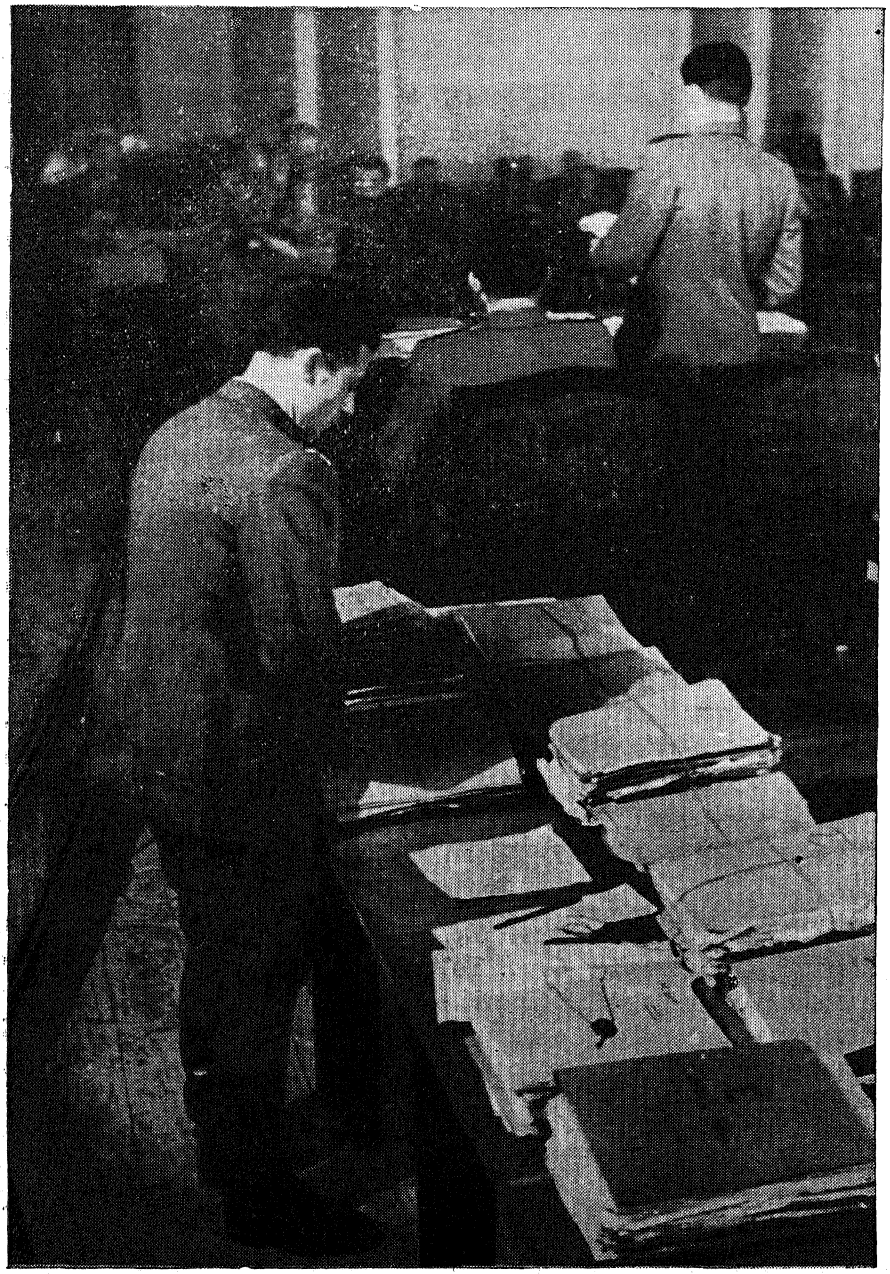
20. I. 1943

Yours sincerely
Drag. M. Mihailović

(Facsimile p. 288)

MIHAILOVIĆ'S LETTER ABOUT PREPARATIONS FOR THE FOURTH OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

222 — Bajo has already gathered 1200 men. Pavle has already gathered 3000 men. Bajo's men are at Ostrog, and Pavle's at Kolašin. The Italians say that the decision will be taken on January 2. So far they allow movement to Nikšić only. Pavle would not bother as to what movement they allow if the question of food, one million and a half rounds, footwear and arms was not still under discussion. There is a particularly great shortage of footwear. Pavle, Ivanišević and Rakočević, spent the night with me. Today Rakočević guaranteed that he would get food and shoes. He is convinced that he will get these.



Deputy Military Prosecutior, Colonel Miloš Minić, during the trial, reading documents from the captured files of the accused Mihailović, which confirm Mihailović's treason. Major Borivoje Nešković handed the documents during the trial. There were over a thousand documents appended to the indictment from Mihailović's files and from other sources.

Whether he gets them or not, Pavle will set out, but it is better to be shod than to go barefoot. Arrange contacts and all the rest in order to complete the preparations. What about Plećaš? Did you establish contact with Bjelajac and Mitranović?

Mitranović with the Dinara men could tear the Soviet republic in two. Therefore Mitranović should have the strongest forces in the action. If Pavle goes by land, he should go across Šćepan Polje. It is very likely that he will ride.

Pavle's station is not functioning yet. I shall inform you when we set it up. Let the Bosnians attack, and Račić will help them when he sees that they want to fight. Račić got out of Majevica with difficulty, because the Bosnians did not fight. It is natural that Račić will help them only under these conditions, although he is helping them as it is, because Damjanović continues fighting on Majevica with his 1000 men, and Račić is helping him. The Bosnians should fight more, and not only wait to be helped. Bjelajac should clear the situation in his area before the main action. Ivanišević went back this morning.

45 — 179 — January 1, 1943

Circular to everybody in Serbia (except Tanasko).

(Facsimile pp. 246 and 247)

FOR A MAN KILLED FIGHTING AGAINST THE INVADERS THE ČETNIKS RECEIVED FROM THE "FERRARA" DIVISION 30.000 LIRE

"The Headquarters of the Zeta Flying Detachment No. 321, May 13, 1943, Danilov Grad. To the Commander of the 4th Četnik battalion Capt. Špiro Stojanović — Danilov Grad. — For the killed deserter and rebel, the communist Jagoš Kontić, the sum of 30.000 (thirty thousand) lire has been paid out as a reward by the treasury of the "Ferrara" division.

As the killing of the above mentioned man on January 14, 1943, was carried out by the men of the 4th Četnik battalion with gendarmes attached, and some peasants, send immediately a list of persons who participated in his capture and killing including gendarmes and militiamen, in order that the allotted rewards may be distributed to them.

Commander Colonel
Bajo Stanišić, signed.

(Facsimile p. 297)

A ČETNIK CRIME AGAINST THE FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

Staff of the Paraćin Četnik Detachment (official), August 30, 1944. — To the Commander of the Paraćin Garrison — We are sending you by courier two Germans whom our troops liberated from the Partisans, so that you can hand them over to the German authorities in Paraćin.

With trust in God, for King and Fatherland.

Commander, Major
(Signature illegible)

(Facsimile p. 36)

GERMANS, BULGARIAN FASCISTS AND ČETNIKS IN APRIL 1944, IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE REGIONS OF JAVOR AND ZLATIBOR

My dear Chief Doctor — I am sending you a report on the situation in the whole territory. The situation on April 17 was as follows:

The Reds held Brekovo — Katići — Kušići, with forces which were strong compared with mine. The disposition of the German satellite forces was as follows:

Krdžaliski (Ljotić) second regiment under the command of Marisav in Čajetina, and a battalion which went on the 17th inst. from Bela Reka probably to Katići.

Germans: 4000 men with some light artillery in the area of Čajetina — Palisad — Kraljeve Vode — Kokin Brod.

Bulgarians: 1500 men at fortified Borova Glava.

Serbian State Guards: 230 men in the fortifications of the village of Rožanstvo.

Marković: 360 men who were cutting off Visoko. The detachments were in the advanced position of Okruglica.

Kondor: 1300 men on the line Klekovo—Ljubiš—Sirogojno. He is cutting off these routes with a reserve ready for attack.

Kalait: One battalion with 80 Germans at Štitkovo, and two companies at the Pavlović Brod. Kalait himself, with other detachments, is with Pavle. Cvetić: I had no contact with him. Zvonko's detachment under the command of Lieutenant Nenadić is in Negbini, with the Germans.

During the 17th inst. Marković was fighting till 11 a. m. with the Reds who attacked him with three columns. After fighting for three hours, often at close quarters, he retreated. The Reds took Katići, Maća, Vodice and Šarenik and halted there.

Result: Marković had 6 killed and 4 wounded. Reds lost 21 men.

For the 18th of April, I ordered Kondor to form a detachment out of Kolarević's brigade and during the night to atack in the direction of Klekovo—Presjek—Kušići with 120 men, and I ordered Paržević to attack Katići from Okruglice with 60 men. Both detachments will do this, with the object of reconnoitring and the collection of data. They will have to stay at the position they take. After this I shall order a further attack if I am sure of success, and this will be a surprise attack, to be carried out during the night of April 18th—19th. I enclose a copy of my order.

So much for the operations.

When I came to Marković and Kondor I found that they were working in agreement and brotherly harmony and that they maintained close contact

After meeting with the two commanders I joined Kondor, because of the radio station. They have taken my arrival in the proper way and I shall have no difficulty in achieving unity. Both are glad that you sent me, because I will personally witness all their efforts in the struggle against the Reds.

Only it will be necessary to reinforce Marković, for he had to send some of his troops to defend and cut off the crossing over Moravica at Divljaka, and to leave some forces at Mirosalce in order to prevent the penetration of the Reds from Dragačevo, and therefore his troops cannot take any active part around Mučanj.

It would be well if you transferred Neško to Kruščica, I would then, after reconnoitring, use him to attack the Reds with stronger forces and repulse them, as they are in an awkward situation around Kušić.

I also beg you to inform me daily by telegraph of the situation at Ibar and Golija and in Sandžak, in so far as you have the information.

I am informing you daily through the station about everything here. Do you get my telegraphic reports in time?

If you have any new instructions for me send them.

18-IV-1944 at 12 a.m.

With cordial greetings
Yours ever,
Dr. Ška

At the top of this report of Dr. Ška (Jevrem-Ješa Simić) "the chief Doctor" (Draža Mihailović) wrote: "This is a mistake, as can be seen from later reports. But, who knows? Enquiry should be made". At the bottom of the report the "chief Doctor" wrote in regard to Neško "No".

(Facsimile p. 222)

ON THE OCCASION OF THE MARRIAGE OF KING PETER II, MIHAILOVIĆ NOTED THE OPINION OF MR. CHURCHILL THAT "THE MARRIAGE CAN ONLY DO GOOD TO AND STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE WITH GREECE"

Your Majesty, — it is with sincere pleasure that I have learnt from your telegram that your engagement to Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra has been consented to by your mother, Her Majesty Queen Mary, Her Highness Princess Aspasia, mother of Princess Alexandra, His Majesty the King of Greece, Your Majesty's godfather and His Majesty the King of England.

With the same pleasure I note that the President of the Government and the Minister of Foreign Affairs have agreed with your step with the proviso that you should wait for your wedding until the situation in the country changes in connection with the successful conclusion of the war. I am happy to hear from Your Majesty that the prospects for a sure and speedy victory of the United Nations are good.

I have also noted as of great significance the fact that The Right Honourable Winston Churchill, Premier of the British Government, who was of great assistance to you in this matter, consented to your step and also his opinion that your marriage can only bring good, since it would strengthen the agreement and alliance of Yugoslavia and Greece.

I am grateful to Your Majesty for asking me for my opinion regarding your fateful decision, for I am in direct contact with the people.

I beg Your Majesty to believe in my expressions of sincere joy in connection with your engagement to Her Royal Highness Alexandra, daughter of the war comrade of your late father King Alexander I, and I beg you and Her Royal Highness, Princess Alexandra to accept my cordial congratulations.

As regards the marrriage itself, which for quite intelligible reasons Your Majesty also desires to be modest and without ceremony, I am of opinion that it should not be performed until I prepare the people for it — as they are not expecting it at present — in order that they may receive it both with understanding and enthusiasm. I intend to make this preparation through my commanders, whose task will be to convince the people that this step of Your Majesty is also for their good. I need permission from Your Majesty for this, and as soon as I get it, I shall issue the necessary instructions for the entire territory.

Thanking you personally and on behalf of our heroes for the greetings which you have sent us, I beg Your Majesty to believe that we will carry our sacred flag through the mountains of Yugoslavia until final and complete victory.

Long live Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra!

Long live Your Majesty!

General Mihailović

(Facsimile p. 240)

THE MOUNTAIN GUARD OF H. M. KING PETER II, WHICH "ON NO OCCASION HAS ATTACKED THE GERMANS", BEGS FOR AMMUNITION

Commander of the group of corps of the Mountain Guard of King Peter II in the Fatherland, Confidential N. — 1944, Free Serbian Mountains. — To the commander of the section of the German army, Rogatica — Sarajevo. — The Mountain Guard of King Peter II, in fighting with the communists, from Ivanjica as far as the northern regions of the mountain Devetke, has used up nearly all its ammunition, so that there are left only about 10 rounds for each rifle, and 100—150 rounds for each automatic rifle.

Because of this state of affairs in regard to ammunition, it is impossible to undertake any large-scale actions against the communists, and by new counter attacks the communists might regain the lost positions and thus threaten the communication lines which you are using now.

As the Mountain Guard of H. M. King Peter II has on no occasion attacked the German army from ambush or trenches, but always fought only against the greatest enemies of the whole world — the communists, it would therefore be in our mutual interest if you helped us with ammunition for rifles, machine guns and mortars, so that we may continue our struggle till the final annihilation of the communists.

For this purpose I am sending you my liaison officer Lieutenant Marković, who will inform you orally of our present most urgent needs.

I hope that you, as a soldier and nationalist, will fully understand me and grasp the situation in which we find ourselves today, and that you will help us all the sooner because of this.

Commander of the Moutain Guard of H.M. the King
Major of Engineers K.

(Facsimile p. 137)

REPORT TO MIHAILOVIĆ THAT BAĆOVIĆ HAS "ACCOMPLISHED HIS MISSION", REGARDING THE TALKS WITH THE ITALIANS

Dear Minister and Brother, I am happy that I am not far from you and that I shall perhaps see you soon.

Your delegate and my friend Pero Baćović carried out cleverly, seriously and conscienciously the task that you had entrusted him with. You could not have found a better man for the job.

Baćović inspected with me a large number of Četnik formations in Hercegovina in order to get a clear picture of their value.

About all the rest he will send you an intelligent report, because he is a man who knows how to see and feel things.

Hoping to see you soon, dear Minister and Brother,

Gacko, July 16, 1942

Yours sincerely,
I. Trifunović

(Facsimile p. 272)

"ALL THE ČETNIK DETACHMENTS ON THE TERRITORY OF HERCEGOVINA ARE LEGALIZED"

Dear Čiča, — The Commander has obtained permission from the Italian Command to remain on this territory 6 to 7 days. He asked me to inform you of everything I noticed in the area.

All the Četnik detachments on the territory of Hercegovina are legalized by the Italians, and receive food, arms and ammunition. They receive no salary, but they are sometimes allotted small sums of money. The number of organized Četniks on the territory of Hercegovina is between 6 and 7 thousand. They have about 6.000 rifles and many automatic weapons...

With trust in God, for King and Fatherland.

16 July 1942
Free Serbian Mountains

Major
Petar Baćović

(Facsimile p. 272)

BIRČANIN, ČETNIK COMMANDER "OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER" (OF MIHAILOVĆ): "SHOULD I DISCONTINUE OR CONTINUE THE COLLABORATION?" (WITH THE ITALIANS)

Your Excellency, my commander, Vojvoda Trifunović-Birčanin, whose health has suddenly become so bad that the worst can be expected, not being able to inform you of an important event which took place on the 22nd inst., has ordered me to do so.

Allow me, therefore, to pass on to the matter immediately.

The commander of the XVIII Italian army corps, General Spigo, at the order of his superior Army commander, General Roatta, after a telegram which Commander Birčanin sent to General Roatta (a copy of which has been sent to you), requested Birčanin to visit him in order to smooth over various incidents. Birčanin, although seriously ill, accepted the invitation and went to the Italian command, without the knowledge or permission of his physician, to the serious detriment of his health. Comander Birčanin had firmly resolved to tell them openly, face to face, all that he thought; and he did so, as you shall see from the enclosed account of the conversation. But still, he refrained from discontinuing the collaboration until you should order it, and in order to gain time to get your answer, he has temporarily and apparently smoothed over the strained relation.

In spite of the advice of the physicians, who have ordered him absolute quiet and isolation, Commander Birčanin ordered me to come, and, lying in bed, said in such a feeble voice that I heard him only with difficulty: "Inform the Minister about the meeting, and beg him in my name to inform me whether to discontinue or to continue the collaboration".

I enclose an account of the conversation between Commander Birčanin and General Spigo, at which I had the honour of being present.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my infinite loyalty.

With trust in God, for King and Fatherland!

23 October 1942

Split

General Staff Captain
Ivanišević

(Facsimile p. 26)

A RESERVE SERGEANT INFORMS MIHAILOVIĆ IN NOVEMBER, 1941, THAT FIGHTING IS ALREADY BEING CARRIED ON "WITH THE HELP OF THE ITALIANS"

HQ of the Priboj Četnik Detachment, No.: Official. Position. — To the commander of the Mountain Četnik Detachments of the Yugoslav Army, Draža Mihailović, General Staff Colonel. — Ravna Gora. — According to your authorization issued by Četnik detachment 16, No. 283 of October 20, I have carried out the organization of the Četnik detachment in the Priboj District (Sandžak).

Today November 26, 1941, at 4 p. m. the Partisans attacked us. After two hours battle, with the help of the Italians, we pushed

them back, but we expect them to attack us again any moment. They intend to capture the HQ. We shall defend ourselyes to the best of our ability.

Please, Commander, send us as soon as possible the officer whom you promised us as the commander of the detachment. Only send us a good man, otherwise we ask your permission to appoint one of ourselves.

Please, send us, by the bearer of this report, a seal for our detachment and let it be made of rubber, without a handle.

Please send us instructions in connection with all the above mentioned matters.

26. 11. 1941 Banja, near Pribor on the Lim River

Dragiša Đ. Jovanović
Reserve Sergeant

(Facsimile p. 151)

FROM THE FOURTH OFFENSIVE: "IF THEY (THE PARTISANS) APPEAR ON THE CLIFFS, THEY SHOULD BE STRONGLY ENGAGED BY THE 22 (ITALIANS)..." WRITES ČIKA ĐOKA (MIHAILOVIĆ)

Dear Branko. — We can have no better line than the Drina — Piva as a defence line. We must defend it with strong forces with a high morale. Therefore do not abandon the flying brigades.

You said that you have two brigades in reserve for the whole sector from Ustikolina to Šćepan Polje. Are there no more?

It is well that you issued the order for decisive defence on the present positions. The morale should now be high.

If they appear on the cliffs, they should be strongly engaged by the 22. Yesterday they helped well.

The evacuation of the population, if it wants to be evacuated, should be carried out via Čajniče, Plevlje and further to Kolašin, and we can later take it over to Hercegovina.

You can remain there. Arrange everything that is necessary for the best defence and reconnaissance on the other side.

Telegrams are just being received. As soon as we de-code them we shall send them to you.

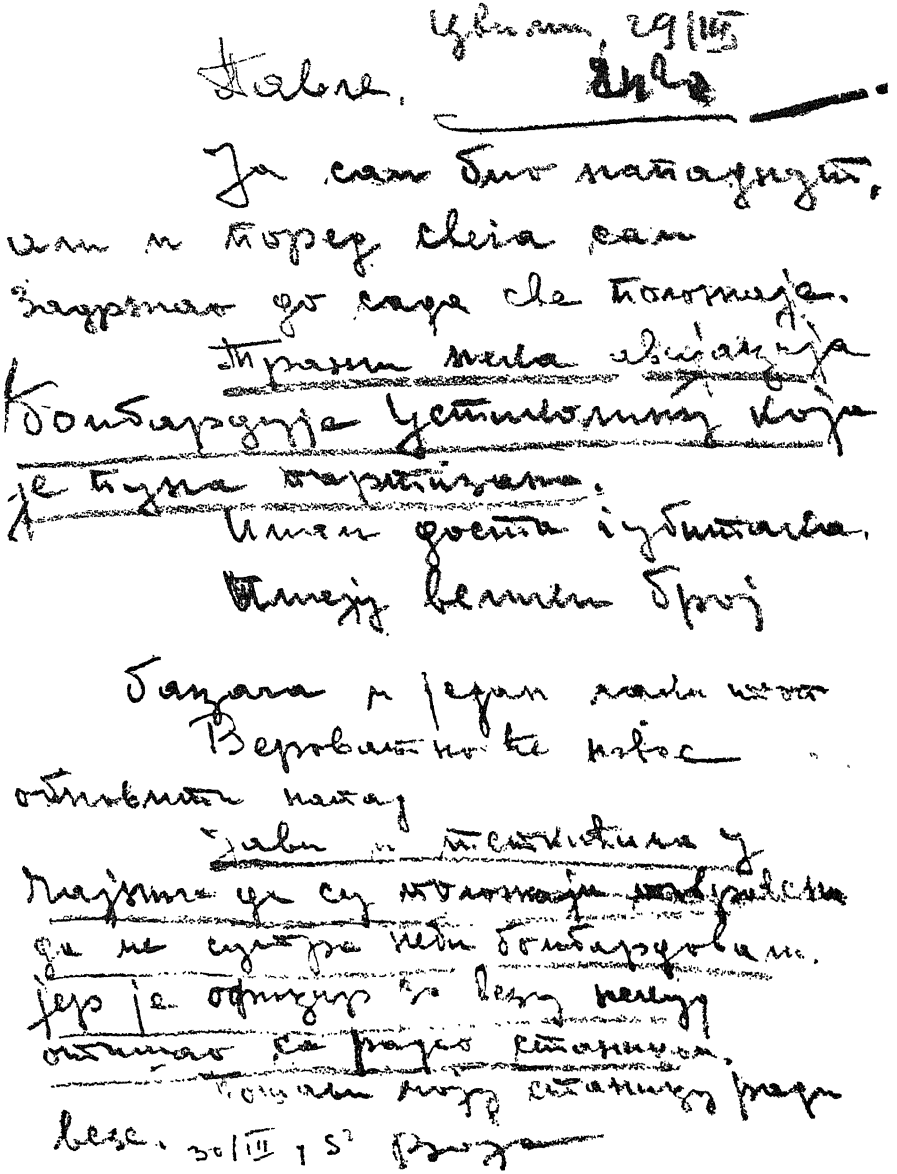
28. III, at 9. 10 hours.

Greetings, Čika Đoka

(Facsimile p. 181)

ČETNIK COMMANDER VOJISLAV LUKAČEVIĆ REQUESTS THROUGH PAVLE ĐURIŠIĆ, "THAT THE AIRFORCE (ITALIAN) SHOULD BOMB USTIKOLINA, WHICH IS FULL OF PARTISANS"

Cvimi, 29. III. — Pavle, I was attacked, but in spite of everything I have managed up to now to retain all the positions.



Letter of Četnik commander Vojislav Lukačević to Pavle Đurišić in which he asks that the Italian airforce should bomb Ustikolina.

You should request that the airforce should bomb Ustikolina which is full of Partisans.

I have considerable losses.

They have many mortars and a light gun.

They will probably renew the attack tonight.

Inform the Italians in Čajniče that I have regained the positions so that they don't bomb me tomorrow, for the liaison officer has gone somewhere with the radio station.

Send me my station in order that I may keep contact.

Voja

(Facsimile p. 444)

CONNECTION OF THE WAR CRIMINAL DOBROSAV JEVĐEVIĆ WITH GENERAL ROATTA, ITALIAN SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE BALKANS

Your Excellency. — I have returned from Knin and Split. The first transport has safely arrived. All the troops will bivouac till the arrival of Branko and the whole force. We have got all we could from the Italians. Dalmatia is in a ferment; the attitude of the pro-Yugoslav Croats is not clear at all. Anđelinović, former cabinet minister, is doing us much harm with his pro-Partisan propaganda. In Hercegovina the situation is satisfactory, and there is no danger of anyone attacking us in the rear while we are in the Dinara. I am sending you several leaflets issued by Maček men in Zagreb and Split. Their tone is very varied. In order to examine the mood of the Italians I proposed in a discreet way to the Italian supreme commander, Roatta, that in case they should lose the war their army should perform police service in this zone, while we finish our work. He was not offended and reported to Rome. All is psychologically prepared for the Dinara, both with our men and the Dinara men. If we win, the Partisans will be liquidated for ever, but if we should lose, it would be fatal, for our defeated detachments, after their return to Hercegovina would bolshevize this zone also. As victors we could force our return by land without asking the Italians.

Yours respectfully,
Dob. Jevđević

I have asked Niko Bartulović and Dr. Arneri for a report on the situation in Dalmatia among the Croats inclined to Yugoslavia, and told them that I shall acquaint you with their report. I enclose their original report.

(Facsimile p. 318)

A ČETNIK LETTER: "5.000 RIFLES HAVE BEEN ALLOTTED TO OUR MEN FROM ROME"

Dear Zare, the results of the Commander's visit to Sušak are enormous.

1) 2.000 rifles have been given for Dinara and 1.000 for Lika (400 for the South zone — Medik, and 600 for the Northern zone — Otočac. Commander of the South zone is General Staff Major Radulović, and of the Northern General Staff Major Bjelajac).

2) A plan has been set them for decisive battle against the communists of Bosnia; the putting into effect of this plan will begin with the so called "minor operation", of which we have already informed you.

3) Mihić has been attached officially by the Italians also (by General Roatta) to the vojvoda who has been given regular papers which entitle him to move freely in the territory of the Vth, VIth and XVIIIth Italian army corps, i. e. in the whole territory occupied by the Italians (Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Lika, part of Croatia and Slovenia).

4) From Rome 5.000 rifles have been allotted to Ljubljana for our men, and delivery has just begun. This was accomplished by Captain Kostić at the order of the vojvoda and to the general satisfaction of all.

5) During October 6.000 rifles will be delivered in instalments to Dinara and 3.000 for Lika.

We realize that the condition for all this is to stop action against the Croats and Moslems, for they are protesting to Germany, which is again exercizing pressure on Rome.

The fundamental interests of the common cause demand that we should not be attacking now, *when we are expecting so much from them.* The Moslems and the Ustašas, i. e. the Croats, will be called to account sooner or later. There is time to settle accounts with them, for they have nowhere to go; they will remain under our hand. I believe that you are of my opinion.

I am deeply convinced that you will know how to solve this big question in accordance with the highest interests of our people. Vojvoda Birčanin must in any case be with Čika Đoka, for otherwise the loss would be terrible and irreparable.

Greetings from
Your Raša

(Facsimile p. 327)

A NOTE

Bernardo: No. 22 are Italians, No. 11 are Germans, No. 33 are Ustašas and No. 44 are Home Guards.

(Facsimile p. 176)

"ČIKA ĐOKA" (MIHAILOVIĆ) WRITES TO HIS CHIEF OF STAFF "ČIKA BRANKO" (ZAHARIJE OSTOJIĆ) TO "SEE TO IT THAT NO. 22 (ITALIANS) SEND AT LEAST ONE COMPANY TO THE RIGHT BANK OF THE DRAGOČEVO RIVER..."

Dear Čika Branko,

Reljić, who went with two of Topalović's N.C.O.-s to the village of Selišta (north of Dragočevo), has returned and informed me that the fugitives have gone further up Čajetina. The peasants say that they were the supply column of Andreja Vešović. I noticed that there were about 50 to 70 men and several horses. I even saw some small cattle which they drove. What I have been observing for hours is being confirmed. This group started from Selišta along the right bank of the Dragočevo river and proceeded to the saw-mills. They were even singing. When they neared the saw-mills a bomb was thrown at them from a mortar and they made an orderly retreat.

Quieten Voja and tell him who was in this "column", but see to it at any rate that No. 22 sends at least one company, as quickly as possible to the right bank of the Dragočevo river. This company should be placed above the saw-mills. It is not necessary to cross it for the moment. The terrain is suitable for the cutting off of that line. During last night I noticed fires lit by the fugitives. Some of our forces should also be sent there. It would be best to find about 50 men and send Lazarević there.

Report what you have undertaken.

7. IV. 23 hours.

Čika Đoka

(Facsimile pp. 168 and 169)

"BRANKO" ANSWERS "ČIKA ĐOKA" AFTER 40 MINUTES: "NO. 22 REPORTS THAT A BATTALION WAS SENT TOWARDS THE DRAGOČEVO RIVER...."

Dear Čika Đoka, I have already sent a report to Voja about the fugitives whom you noticed today, and explained the matter to him.

No. 22 reports that a battalion was sent towards the Dragočevo river. He reports that at twilight this battalion went behind the patrols. During the night I shall send 50 men in the direction of the saw-mills.

Momčilović reports that the Bolsheviks again tried to cross the Ustikolina, but they were repelled and the crossing prevented. The battle began at 8.45 p.m. I ordered him to report to me through No. 22.

7. IV. 23, 40 hours

Greetings
Branko

At the back of this communication Mihailović wrote: "Noted — It should however be ascertained whether battalion 22 actually went to the Dragočevo river. No. 46, 8-IV, 12.05 hours"

Čika Đ.

(Facsimile p. 170)

IŠTVAN (PETAR BAĆOVIĆ) TO ČIKA ĐOKA (TO DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ): "...ITALIANS WANT TO TALK TO YOU..."

Dear Čika Đoka — Since our last parting, there have been constant disagreements among us. I have sent you a detailed report by Voja. Jevđević has at last been freed from police surveilance. Birčanin has gone with his staff to Split. Jevđević is travelling with an Italian general, who has come from Rome and who, by all appearances, belongs to the intelligence service. Jevđević has informed me that this Italian general has asked to meet me for the purpose of negotiation. I refused this meeting for the simple reason that all negotiations with the Italians can be carried out by Jevđević. Jevđević has informed me that this general told him that Pavle Đurišić and I intend to make a revolution in Montenegro and Hercegovina. The Italians are cunning and want to know the details of our organization, and therefore this general visited all our troops which were in the vicinity of the roads. Jevđević has written to you at length about his and Vojvoda's case, and also that the Italians want to have a talk with you. In no case should anyone speak with the Italians in your name. All the others can talk and negotiate, but not you. I reminded Jevđević to point out to the vojvoda also, that no one should talk with the Italians in your name, as no one has a right to do so. You know that you are the ideal of our people, and the people would not take it well. Don't think that I am advising you, but I know the feelings of the people, who wish that you and your cooperators should remain in the free Serbian mountains without any intimate cooperation with the invader. Those three who landed near Nevesinje were noticed by the Turks and some Croats who live in the vicinity.

As soon as you receive this report concerning all questions and requests, inform me at once by courier, through Captain Ružić, or Captain Pejović or Lieutenant Popović, Gacko. They will be informed as to my whereabouts. I am going on a journey with Captain Salatić and Captain Kovačević in order to visit the districts and give detailed instructions.



An Italian officer in company with Mihailović's Četniks.

With trust in God, for King and Fatherland.
August 3, 1942 Ištvan

Free Serbian Mountains

At the back of this report, Mihailović wrote: "Ostojić to be informed of this".

(Facsimile p. 86)

OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY ČETNIK COLONEL BAJO STANIŠIĆ TOWARDS THE ITALIAN INVADERS REGARDING THE QUESTION OF JOINT COOPERATION AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Committee of the Montenegrin nationalists from Podgorica and the Zeta Valley — for their part bind themselves:

1) to wage uncompromising war against communism and communists in Montenegro, against that greatest international enemy;

2) the leader of the Montenegrin nationalists from Podgorica and the Zeta Valley, Colonel Bajo J. Stanišić, either personally or through his delegates, to be in constant contact with the chief command of the Italian troops in Montenegro for the purpose of coming to an agreement for the execution of common action in the struggle against communism in Montenegro;

3) to exclude from the movement all politics and only to keep to the struggle against communism in Montenegro;

4) Italian troops shall maintain order in the towns; in villages this task is left to the Montenegrin nationalists. The work of securing the lines of communication will be divided by agreement;

5) The Montenegrin nationalists, regardless of the final result of the war, will never use their arms against Italian troops.

With mutual respect, confidence and loyalty we shall adhere strictly to the obligations we have accepted.

March 6, 1942, Podgorica

Lieutenant-Colonel Bajo J. Stanišić (signed)

The signature of the Italian commander is illegible.

(Facsimile in Serbian p. 284 and in Italian p. 492)

FRAGMENT FROM A LETTER ABOUT THE PREPARATIONS OF THE ČETNIKS FOR PARTICIPATION IN AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

I shall do everything to facilitate the transport if it is allowed. I must point out that all my reports on the movements of German and Croatian divisions were proved to be true, and this is now also confirmed by the Partisan radio station. At the same time I must inform you that I have been told today by the Italian Supreme Command that a great plan for a general attack on the Partisans has been completed and that in this attack the Italian, German, Croatian troops and our forces will take part in cooperation with the Italians. In answer to your question, they confirmed the fact that it is likely that Montenegrin troops will take part in this operation too. I informed you of this by telegram. In connection with this, it is more and more evident that our plan of action will be realized only if we are a part of the troops in the Italo-German general plan for the destruction of the Partisans. I have always pointed out to Vojvoda Birčanin and also in my reports to you, that we cannot carry out our plan independently of their action, because the direction of

the advance of the Italian and German forces from Banja Luka and Lika coincide with the direction we have determined for our troops. We have to take this into account in order not to be disappointed later at your having made a plan on the basis of untrue reports which were inexact, not only as to numbers, but also, what is more important, as to the independence of our forces here. I should personally prefer that they destroy the Partisans without our aid, which they probably will do, considering the large forces they have at their disposal, and thus we would be spared the accusation of devastating Serbian regions...

"WE NEGOTIATED WITH THE USTAŠA REPRESENTATIVES AND REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THEM"

Headquarters. The Sandžak Četnik Units. Strictly Confidential No. 137. June 13, 1942. Position — In order to prevent the entry of the communists into Foča, and disorders in the town itself, and to reestablish order because plundering and persecutions have already begun, we negotiated with the Ustaša representatives and reached the agreement with them that 100 Četniks be put under the command of Lieut. Stimec for the keeping of order and prevention of an eventual attack of the communists who have 8 battalions on the other side. A letter from the communist Commander asking the people to fight against the invader has been intercepted. This letter has been sent to that division through the commander of the Italian forces at Čajniče.

The Četnik troops are on the line which they have reached according to the agreement with the representatives of the Croatian authorities which provides that the situation at Foča and the surroundings should remain as it is until the decision of the Governor of Cetinje, under whose protection are the Četnik forces of Pavle Đurišić, Commander in Chief of all Četniks in Montenegro and Sandžak. The Četniks especially insisted that the Italian governor should decide on the question of Foča because the representative of the Croatian army, Colonel Jakovljević, at his meeting with the delegates, spoke disparagingly of the competence of the Governor and the Italian troops to solve this problem.

I beg that the delivery of supplies be immediately resumed, for otherwise we shall be obliged to disband the troops and leave the terrain; the communists would at once take advantage of this; they are

on the other side of the Drina, and have already concentrated 10 battalions in the surroundings of the village of Trbušiće, ready to enter this territory as soon as we withdraw.

Commander-Major
Petar Baćović

(Facsimile p. 229)

THE USTAŠA SOLDIERS DECLARE: "THE ČETNIKS HAVE TREATED US WELL"

Statement — We undersigned Ustaša soldiers certify by our signatures that the Četniks of the Montenegrin National Forces treated us well, that we were not ill-treated nor beaten, that our property was not touched and that we were set free at Foča according to our own wishes.

SIGNED

Anton Medić, from Vranac, Vojnica District
Adem Karić, from Zenica,
Ivan Kulaja, from Proslap, Prozor District,
Marko Bazina, from Kočerin, Mostar District,
Galjan Mujić, from Višegrad,
Vinko Šapina, from Bistrane, Visoko District,
Margita Pero, from Klipčić, Mostar District
Jozo Matijević, from Lobašić, Maglaj District,
Ivan Maslać, from Dubrovnik,
Mato Brnos, from Sarajevo,
Franjo Knežević, from Fojnica,
Nikola Vuletić, from Dubrovnik,
Blaž Čuljak, from Gornji Dragac.

(Facsimile p. 227)

A LETTER TO AN USTAŠA COMMANDER, SIGNED BY MIHAILOVIĆ

To brother Mata Matićević, commander of the Croat detachments in the region of Vareš — *Vareš*. I am very satisfied with the first results of the meetings with you. I count much on your cooperation and your personality as a man of the people, who has succeeded in attracting such considerable forces to himself and directing them towards brotherly cooperation and agreement.

Now broad roads are being opened to us, offering us the possibility of intensifying our work and of reaching full agreement and cooperation against the common enemy.

The units under your command shall in future bear the name of Croat units within the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, under the Croat flag, and the name of a celebrated Croatian according to your choice (for instance "Croat Corps of Stjepan Radić").



Jozo Urožnik describes to the Court a massacre by Četniks in the environs of Prozor 1942. On that occasion he lost a hand.

My delegate, brother Mustafa Mulalić, has come into contact with Islamović, commander of the Moslem Militia. As soon as these talks are concluded, I hope that we shall be able to settle this question in the best possible way, at our joint meeting.

We already consider you, brother Mato, to be in secret cooperation with us, and it will be of the greatest significance for

the whole of our people if we succeed in making this cooperation public.

At our meeting, the question of your title and rank in the army will be decided according to your work so far.

December 29, 1944 Front

With brotherly greetings,

(L. S.) General Drag. M. Mihailović (signed)

(Facsimile p. 218)

MIHAILOVIĆ'S LETTER IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE USTAŠAS: "... THANK HIS EXCELLENCY (PAVELIĆ) IN MY NAME FOR HIS KINDNESS..."

Supreme Command April 15, 1943.

Dear Mr. B. — I thank you for the information you sent me about the result of your talks with His Excellency, with the aim of entering upon a joint struggle against the Partisans. In a separate letter, enclosed herewith, will be found all the necessary decisions as regards the object of these negotiations and the concluding of a favourable arrangement. My desire is to draw attention to the proposal, and to my proposed personal visit to His Excellency. Therefore I ask you to be kind enough to inform His Excellency of the contents of this letter.

1) In the first place please thank His Excellency for his kind invitation which he sent through you. For reasons of principle, expressed in the course of these four years, I cannot, unfortunately, accept his kind invitation.

2) But you must assure His Excellency that it is not for considerations of my personal safety, since I am convinced that His Excellency would give me absolute protection in his area.

3) In the course of these four years I have never been separated from my troops. My commanders also, when I acquainted them with the proposal of His Excellency, pointed this out, and expressly begged me not to break this tradition and thus cause uneasiness among my ranks.

While asking you to convey truly these reasons to His Excellency, I take the opportunity of asking His Excellency to trust completely the officers whom I have sent to negotiate, and thus to make possible a successful conclusion of this undertaking for the benefit of both our peoples. Please emphasize to him my determination that I and all my subordinate commanders and troops, in putting into effect the projected agreement, will keep strictly to the conclusions accepted by

the delegates in the name of the Supreme Command. For my part, I express my hope and deep conviction that His Excellency and his commanders and troops will also be imbued with the same spirit of adherence to their word of honour.

In conveying the contents of this letter to His Excellency, please convey my respects him to.

I thank you for the efforts you are making in carrying out this work of national importance, and I believe that in future also, everywhere and in all cricumstances, you will know how to serve the interests of our Fatherland, which, I hope, will give you due recognition.

Cordial greetings,

Yours,

General Dragoljub Mihailović

(Facsimile p. 295)

MIHAILOVIĆ'S LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP STEPINEC

Your Eminence, Having flooded Serbia and other Serbian regions the communist wave has also begun to flood the regions inhabited by the Croat people. It is getting bigger every day and threatens soon to flood your regions, as was the case last year here in Serbia. At his first meeting, the bearer of this letter had the opportunity to inform Your Eminence about all the sufferings which communism has caused the Serbian people during recent months.

Believing it my duty at this moment to draw the attention of Your Eminence, as the spiritual leader of the Croat people, to all the horrors of an eventual communist conquest of the Croat territory, I have the honour to enclose herewith a report which will show Your Eminence my views on the present military and political situation. The bearer of this letter will be at the disposal of Your Eminence and can supply any further information.

Regardless of the factors and circumstances which used to separate us and which might still do so, I consider it my duty to ask Your Eminence to use all Your influence and efforts to engage all the national forces of the Croat people in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. In sending you this letter I assure you of my belief that Your Eminence, following the great examples of your predecessors, will fulfil all the duties and tasks which confront Your Eminence in these difficult days. The place in history which Christian posterity, and the Croat people, will accord to Your Eminence, will depend upon how Your Eminence interprets these duties and tasks.

In that conviction and hope I recommend to you the bearer of this letter and ask Your Eminence to accept the expression of my highest esteem.

Supreme Command — Army General
April 15, 1945 — Dragoljub Mihailović

To His Holiness Dr. Alojzije Stepinec
Archbishop of Zagreb and Croat Metropolitan.

(Facsimile p. 99)

MIHAILOVIĆ'S PROJECT FOR "THE CLEARING OF THE ČAJNIČE REGION OF TURKS"

222, 6—364. In connection with the project for the clearing of the Čajniče region of Turks, I have ordered Pavle to make the necessary preparations with Voja for the middle of January. It is probably the aim not only of the Italians but also of the communists to penetrate among the Moslems. We are in possession of a report that the communists wish to create an island of their own around Zelengora, i. e., around Ćurevo, and another island around Čajniče. All this should be viewed in connection with their push from Majevica towards the south. You should immediately reconnoitre the regions of Ćurevo and Zelengora to see if there is anything there, as these data have been got from a communist courier from Bosnia who has been caught. I am awaiting a report from Pavle about the success or failure of Rakočević. In any case Pavle is coming. I have ordered Voja to establish direct contact with you. Voja's signal is RO. I repeat RO. I repeat RO. I have ordered that the station which moves with the Montenegrins should immediately establish contact with you. I shall communicate its signal to you as soon as I get it from Pevec. I told Pavle to prepare the attack on the Čajniče region through Voja. The attack is to proceed from four points, from Priboj, Ustiprača, Foča and Čelebić. Why is Bajo all the time complaining and asking for help when we have 1400 rifles in the Čajniče and Foča districts? We are ready to help them, but we want to see first that they are also ready to fight.

January 2, 1943.

222 — 5 — 343 — To you and the Hercegovinians warmest greetings

(Facsimile pp. 200 and 201)

ĐURIŠIĆ'S REPORT TO MIHAILOVIĆ IS A TESTIMONY OF CRIME: "ALL MOSLEM VILLAGES IN THE THREE ABOVE MENTIONED DISTRICTS HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY BURNED DOWN. VICTIMS AMONG THE MOSLEMS: 1200 COMBATANTS AND UP TO 8000 WOMEN, OLD MEN AND CHILDREN"

Headquarters of the Lim — Sandžak Četnik Detachment. Strictly confidential, No., February 13, 1943, Front.

To the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command. — The action in Plevlje, Čajniče and Foča districts against the Moslems has been carried out.

The operations were executed exactly according to orders. The attack began at the appointed time. All the commanders and units carried out their tasks satisfactorily.

The resistance of the enemy was weak from the very beginning. The only serious resistance was at the Trebeško Brdo. It lasted 4 hours, and was then broken.

On the night of the 7th of this month our detachments had already reached the Drina river, so that the battles were mostly finished on that day, and then followed the purging of the liberated territory. All Moslem villages in the three above mentioned districts have been completely burned down, so that not one of their houses has remained undamaged.

All property has been destroyed except the cattle, wheat and hay. In certain places the collection of fodder and food has been ordered, so that we can set up warehouses for reserve food supplies and food for the units which have remained on the terrain in order to purge it and to inspect the wooded areas, as well as to establish and strengthen the organization on the liberated territory. During the operations, complete annihilation of the Moslem population was undertaken, regardless of sex or age.

Victims. — Our total losses were 22 dead, two of which lost their lives accidentally, and 32 wounded.

Among the Moslems: 1200 fighters and about 8000 other victims: women, old men and children.

During the first operations, the Moslems fled towards Metaljka, Čajniče and the Drina river. A small part of the population found refuge in Metaljka. It is believed that there are 2.000 fugitives in Čajniče, and some succeeded in crossing the Drina before our units had cut off the retreat in that direction. All the rest of the population has been annihilated.

The morale among the Moslems has fallen. Panic, caused by Četniks, has spread among them so that they were in utter confusion.

Action of the invader in Plevlje and Čajniče consisted simply in safeguarding his garrisons against eventualities.

I shall send a detailed report later, together with appendices and sketches.

Commander Major
Pavle P. Đurišić

(Facsimile p. 202)

A ČETNIK DOCUMENT OF NEW CRIMES AGAINST THE MOSLEMS: 1000 WOMEN AND CHILDREN KILLED, AS WELL AS 400 MEN; AND 33 VILLAGES COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED

Headquarters of the Lim — Sandžak Četnik Detachments, Strictly confidential No. 23; 10-I-1943, front. — To the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command — the front. The action on the right bank of the Lim river in Bijelo Polje District is finished. It was executed exactly acording to plan. The result of this fight is:

1) The following Moslem vilages entirely destroyed (Region: Plevlje, Sjenica, Peć and Kolašin):

Voljavac, Gubavača, Radijevlja, Usakovići, Presečenik, Baturići, Donji Vlah, (Region Plevlje); Murovići, Šolja, Radojeva Glava, Pobratići, Mediše, Donja Kostenica, Stublo, Vrh, Zmijinac, Šipovice, Negobratina, Osman Begovo Selo, Dupljaci, Jasen, Kostići, Kašenar, Ivanje, Godijevo, Žilići, Gornja Crnča, Gornji Radulići, Vrba, Crhalj, Kradežik, Sipanje, Ličine (Region Sjenica—Peć). In all 33 villages.

2) Losses of Moslem fighters about 400; women and children about 1000.

Our losses: 14 dead and 26 wounded, of which 3 are women.

These considerable losses of ours were caused not by bad leadership on the part of our commanders, but because the soldiers were not sufficiently cautious while making heroic onslaughts on the Moslems, who had shut themselves into their houses.

Commander, Major
Pavle Đurišić

(Facsimile p. 261)

A TELEGRAM TO MIHAILOVIĆ, ABOUT GIVING A LIST OF COMMUNISTS TO THE "RIGHT QUARTERS"

N. 314 from Azed. No. 12, 4-I. — Today I received a list of communists in Požega from Diša Jovanović, which was drawn up at

your orders. I immediately forwarded it through the proper channels to the right quarters. UPN.

(Facsimile p. 364)

THE BLOODTHIRSTINESS OF THE ČETNIK COMMANDER KONDOR, ACCORDING TO WHOSE LISTS THE GERMANS SHOT PATRIOTS IN UŽICE

No. 11014 from Kondor. No. 64. 22-XI — At Užice communists have been arrested for two nights already according to the lists given by this Staff to Tomović, official of the town police, who is in our service. Kolić, chief of the German Intelligence Service, has also helped in this matter; the data at our disposal have been indirectly made known to him. I am informed that on the night of 21/22 inst. several communists were shot. The communists had begun to show signs of activity, criticizing us loudly and calling us fifth columnists, and spreading panic through the town, but we have now outwitted them. Kondor.

(Facsimile p. 353)

THE ČETNIKS ASKED THE INVADER TO SHOOT 300 PATRIOTS BECAUSE THE PEOPLE EXECUTED THE TRAITORS BLAŽO ĐUKANOVIĆ AND BAJO STANIŠIĆ

No. 9861 from Dra-Dra. No. 60, 22-X- For the murder of Bajo and Blažo I have asked our men in Podgorica to appeal to the Germans through Arsa Petrović, to shoot 300 communists released from the prison at Bar, who were again arrested in Podgorica. To be continued.

No. 9862 from Dra-Dra No. 66-X- Continuation. Vaso Vukčević.

(Facsimile p. 348)

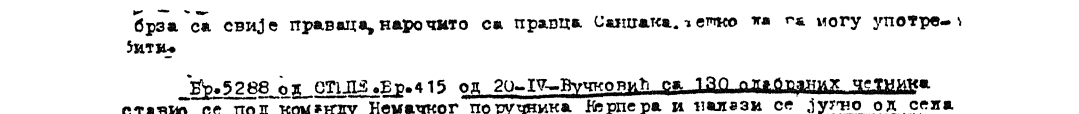
ALL THE ČETNIK COMMANDERS IN MONTENEGRO HAVE ACCEPTED COOPERATION WITH THE GERMANS

No. 1272 from Bene. No... 27-I — All the commanders in Montenegro have accepted cooperation with the Germans; they have signed an agreement. There is not a single group in the forests. The news about the coming of the Serbian army is everywhere greeted with enthusiasm, but the arrival of Ljotić's men has encouraged their supporters and they are threatening that whoever is not with them is a communist. In the towns hardly any one will resist them, for this formula exposes everyone to the hand of the invader as a communist. Continuation.

(Facsimile p. 367)

VUČKOVIĆ WITH 130 SELECT ČETNIKS HAS PLACED HIMSELF UNDER THE COMMAND OF A GERMAN LIEUTENANT . . . "

No. 5288 from Stipa. No. 415, 20-IV — Vučković, with 130 select Četniks, has placed himself under the command of a German lieutenant Kerper, and is now south of the village of Jasenova at Bela



брза са свије праваца, нарочито са правца Саншака, нећу ли са могу употре-
бити.

Бр.5288 од СТИПЕ.Бр.415 од 20-IV-Вучковић са 130 одабраних четника ставио се под команду Немачког поручника Керпера и налази се јужно од села Јасенова на Белој Глави.Наредио сам му да одмах изиђе на Округлицу и ојача и е х в д е.Детаљну ситуацију првених јавио ти Кондор.Дрска.

Бр.5289 од СТИПЕ.Бр.417 од 20-IV-У области Мучња без хране.Исхрана

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Drška (Colonel Ješa Simić) reports that Vučković (Zvonimir), with his Četniks, has placed himself under the command of a German officer.

Glava. I have ordered him to come at once to Okruglica and reinforce our troops there. Kondor has sent you a detailed report on the situation of the Reds. Dr. Ška.

MIHAILOVIĆ'S TELEGRAM: "I REPEAT, USE SECRET TACTICS, BUT DO NOT GET COMPROMISED"

No. 577, 13-XII-43. Hugo (Mitranović): Our struggle must not be compromised. Take all steps to prevent being compromised. If you use tactics, then use tactics but they must be secret. I repeat, use secret tactics but do not get compromised.

(Facsimile p. 373)

FROM THE BOOK OF TELEGRAMS: "DR. TOŠO PEROVIĆ FROM TREBINJE IS MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH THE GERMANS

No. 12. 792 from Nav-Nav. No. 299, 23-VI. — Dr. Tošo Perović from Trebinje, who is maintaining contact with the Germans, has secretly informed me that the Germans have urgently called him to Sarajevo. Nav-Nav. End.

DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ ENTERS INTO CONTACT WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ "ON CONDITION OF ABSOLUTE SECRECY"

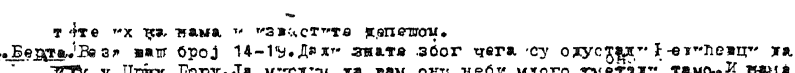
No. 411 from Valter. — Dragi Jovanović offers his services through Božinović on condition that absolute secrecy is preserved and that he will maintain an apparently hostile attitude. He wants contact

only through one person. I think we should use him. Please answer and keep it secret. Use the code name Adolf for him. As Minister of Police he will have two deputies, one of whom will be an officer with the rank of Lt. Colonel at least.

(Facsimile p. 391)

FROM THE BOOK OF TELEGRAMS: "UTILIZE THOSE COMMANDERS WHO COOPERATE WITH THE GERMANS..."

973 Berta — Link our number 14—19. Do you know why the Ljotić men have given up their project of going to Montenegro? I think that they could not hinder you much there. We also seldom hear from Lašić and Vukadinović. It seems that their stations are



From Mihailović's book of telegrams sent: to Nelog Berta (Pavle Đurišić) to utilise those Četnik commanders who are cooperating with the Germans in Montenegro.

weak. You did well to send a courier to Sava in order to obtain simultaneous action against the communists. For fighting against the communists utilize those commanders who cooperate with the Germans in Montenegro. It is well that Vukčević... Continuation.

"ČIČA" (MIHAILOVIĆ) WRITES THAT SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ IS UNDERTAKING ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES TO PREVENT PROPAGANDA FOR THE PARTISANS

Bernardo via Ištvan 6-506 — I am undertaking all in my power to prevent London propaganda for the Partisans. The President of the Government is undertaking the most energetic measures to prevent this propaganda. Rest assured of this. We should therefore annihilate those hyenas of our people as soon as possible — and then London will not be able to spread lies in their praise. The British are not on their side, but they are trying in every possible way to provoke our jealousy, in order to make us attack the Germans and the Italians soon; but we cannot do this until we first annihilate Moša Pijade. Have confidence in Slobodan Jovanović and the Supreme Command. I send greetings to all. — Čiča.

I am doing all I can to direct the Montenegrins to follow my main line.

(Facsimile p. 266)

COOPERATION OF TRAITORS AND INVADERS ON JAVOR

No. 786 from Ras-Ras. No. 711, 16-I-1944. — On Javor at Kušić and Katić fighting continues between the Communists on one side, and Četniks, field guards, Germans and Bulgarians on the other. There are about 3.500 communists. They are encircled and should now be finally defeated".

"TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE GERMANS AND BULGARIANS"

Sto-Sto. Link your No. 37 and 44. — Take account of the Germans and Bulgarians and utilize their action against the Reds to the

855 STO STO. Vega Vaš br.37 i 44. Vodite računa o Nemcima i Bugarima i iskoristite njihovu akciju protiv crvenih do krajnjih mogućnosti Napad na Plevlje iskoristite za napad s ledja na komuniste. I nama se Hugo ne javlja odavno.

856 KMIL. Primljen Vaš br.329-331. Kod Vas stalno neke svadje. Vanl n'su

From Mihailović's book of telegrams sent: Order to number Sto-Sto (Zaharije Ostojić) to utilize Germans and Bulgarians to atack communists from rear.

maximum. Utilize the attack on Plevlje in order to attack the communists from the rear. We also have not heard from Hugo for a long time.

FROM MIHAILOVIĆ'S BOOK OF TELEGRAMS RECEIVED: "...WE GERMANS APPRECIATE THE STRUGGLE OF YOUR MEN..."

No, 13. 017 from Nav-Nav. 70, 327, 28-XII — Perović has returned from Sarajevo. In Sarajevo he was with General Fromm, rear commander for the whole Balkans. Among other things he told him: "The Serbs are genuine fighters against the Partisans. We Germans

Нав-Нав.Крај депеше.

Бр.13.017 од Нав-Нава.Бр.327 од 28-XII-.Перовић се вратио из Сарајева. У Сарајеву о-о је код генерала Фрома,команданта позадине целог Балкана.Између осталог рекао му је:"Срби су истински борци противу партизана,ми Немци ценимо ооробу ваших људи.У томе се истиче нарочито ваш крај.Нарочито ценимо сарадњу мајора Лукачевића.У кратко време присаединиће се српски крајеви Србији и у том случају српски ће напон добити пуну економску помоћ.Наставак.

Бр.13.018 од Нав-Нава.Бр.328 Наставак:У најкраћем року долази још 12 дана

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Report of the meeting of the Četnik delegate, Todor Perović, with a German general in Sarajevo. (Nav-Nav is the radio station of the Staff of the Četnik commander Petar Baćović).

appreciate the struggle of your men. In this respect your district has specially distinguished itself. We particularly appreciate the cooperation of Major Lukačević. The Serbian districts will soon be joined to Serbia and then the Serbian people will get full economic assistance".

THE KING AND SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ APPROVE AND COMMEND THE WORK OF MIHAILOVIĆ

To General Mihailović — Your number 264 and 265 link.

I approve and commend your work and the work of your cooperators for the good of our people and the resurrection of our Fatherland. Set up similar organizations in all the parts of Yugoslavia. Supreme Commander Peter. S. C. 75 — Jovanović, President of the Ministerial Council and Deputy Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce.

S. J.

(Facsimile p. 412)

TELEGRAM OF SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ: "ALL DECORATED"

D. 110
11 septembra 42

DJENERALU MIHAILOVICU

VEZA VAS PETSTO CETRDESET SEST.

SVI ODLIKOVANI. PRVI CETNICKI VOJVODA NIJE OBJAVLJEN IZ NAROCITIH RAZLOGA. VK STO DESET - JOVANOVIC

Pretsednik Ministarskog saveta
Zastupnik Ministra vojske, mornarice i vazduhoplovstva,

AU GENERAL MIHAILOVIC
Reference votre 546.
Tous decorés. Pour des raison speciales le nom au premier voyevode de chetniks n'est pas publié. VK 110 - Jovanovic

From the telegram file of the emigrant government: president of the emigrant government, Slobodan Jovanović, reports, that the proposed Četnik commanders have been decorated.

D. 110 September 11, 1942 — to General Mihailović — Your number 546 link. All decorated. Decoration of the first Četnik vojvoda not announced for special reasons. S. C. 110 — Jovanović.

President of the Ministerial Council
and Deputy Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce
S. Jovanović

SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ ASKS FOR CREDITS FOR MIHAILOVIĆ

Report to the Ministerial Council — For the maintenance of the army of our Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce, General Draža Mihailović, in Yugoslavia, I request that a credit of £ 40.000 be granted.

This money should be sent to Mihailović secretly, in dinars which are in circulation in Serbia, counting 600 dinars to the pound.

The money should be given to the English in London.

I beg that this be immediately approved.

President of the Ministerial Council
and Deputy Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce
S. Jovanović

(Facsimile p. 396)

COMMUNICATION TO THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT: »THE LINK WITH MAČEK'S ORGANIZATION ESTABLISHED«

No. 240 of June 12. — To the President of the Yugoslav Government. Link your No. 131. In January the link with Maček's organization was established through his secretary Dr. Pinterović. Instructions regarding work and tasks have been given to him. No action was noticed until recently. Now we have been informed that the Croats escaped to the forests, because of their being recruited for the Eastern Front. In general the Croat army in Bosnia does not fight against the Četniks. Only the Ustašas and the Moslems do so. — General Mihailović.

(Facsimile p. 335)

CONVERSATION OF MR. V. MILINOVIĆ WITH SIR ORME SERGEANT

Note regarding the conversation of the Assistant Minister V. Milinović with Sir Orme Sergeant, at the Foreign Office, on December 22, 1942.

I handed him the Aide Mémoire on the campaign of the »Free Yugoslavia« radio station and asked him to give a favourable answer, so that we could react over the broadcasting station »Karađorđe«.

Sir O. Sergeant answerd with indifference and cynicism that the communists were much more active than General Mihailović, that they were the only ones now fighting in Yugoslavia, that Mihailović had stopped fighting in October last year, which made it difficult to fight the Soviet propaganda against Mihailović.

I remarked that the activities of General Mihailović had been reduced for a time by agreement between us and the British authorities, and that lately the general had again been fighting very actively against the invader.

Sir Orme answered with the same cynicism that he was surprised that any Englishman could have ever agreed to the reduction of Mihailović's activity and that he was not at all aware that the General's Četniks were fighting.

(Facsimile p. 314)

CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGES OF THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT THROUGH COLONEL BAILEY

D. V. K. April 6. — To General Mihailović. — Absolutely necessary that you meet Bailey as soon as possible either at Foča or any other place. Bailey has to communicate to you urgent and important messages on behalf of the Yugoslav Government. — S. C. 34 — Jovanović.

(Facsimile p. 341)

1001 (MIHAILOVIĆ) WRITES: »PROMINENT ENGLISH OFFICIALS HAVE SENT US A MESSAGE THAT WE SHOULD LIQUIDATE THE COMMUNISTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

Strictly confidential. — Copy of letter from the Minister of Army and Navy — June 1944.

Dear Vojvoda,

In this letter I am giving you instructions for your work in your town. It will give you a general outline, because it would take too long to go into details. Otherwise you know already, in general, how to approach many problems.

First we shall give you information about our situation abroad and the attitude of the King and the Royal Government in exile.

Lukačević and Baćović have recently arrived from Cairo. They personally spoke with the King and all our political leaders, and with the Prime Minister.

Here is an important and very interesting piece of information. Very important and prominent British officials have sent us a message that we should liquidate the communists as soon as possible. As soon as the communists are liquidated, more favorable conditions will be

created; that is, they will immediately change their attitude, their propaganda, and, what is most important, their policy towards us.

Baćović and Lukačević are firmly convinced that this is only temporary.

Fraternal greetings, Yours 1001

(Facsimile p. 359)

CAPTAIN HUDSON OF THE BRITISH ARMY, TO MIHAILOVIĆ: »I WANT TO INFORM YOU ONCE MORE THAT I PLACE MYSELF FULLY AT YOUR DISPOSAL . . . «

Your Excellency. — I want to inform you once more that I place myself fully at your disposal if you consider that I can be of use to your organization.

I should like to meet Captain Đurišić and Colonel Stanišić and other leaders who fought so successfully against communism, and liberated all districts from them.

I think it would perhaps be a help if I told them personally, that Great Britain is resolved to help you a hundred percent in uniting all the national forces in the country and in preparing for the action against the invader, at the time when your chances for success become good. The fact that I have been promoted is, I consider, one proof more of the efforts of the British Government to support your national action.

I should like to be able to communicate to my command that I have personally been with the leaders of these districts, and that I have been in the territory which they have now cleared from the communists, to strengthen them in their nationalistic views and to tell them to act only according to your instructions.

I consider it important that I should first talk over with you everything that I am going to say to them, in order that it may be all the more efficacious for your organization and in order that you may have no doubts as to what I am going to tell them.

On the other hand, perhaps you think that I want to mix in purely Yugoslav affairs. But rest assured, if you consider it better for your interests, that I remain in an isolated hut till the end of the war, without seeing, hearing, or saying anything, you just order this and I shall do it.

The time is past for a primitive dramatization of my role. Formerly your officers imagined, it seems, that my role was that of a Lawrence, and that hampered my work consideribly, and caused suspicion. Now they loudly, and occasionally even in my presence,

speak of me as of one who has brought bad luck to their project of arming the Serbs. My function is that of a liaison officer who is to observe the conditions under which Great Britain could give greater help in the form of war material or eventual action.

I am here in order to help your action in all possible ways and I am placing myself at the disposal of your national movement. You will perhaps inform me one day of the way in which your cause could best be helped, if you consider it useful.

June 11, 1942
Front

Yours very respectfully
Hudson

(Facsimile p. 122)

COLONEL BAILEY OF THE BRITISH ARMY COMMUNICATES A MESSAGE FROM ZERVAS, TRAITOR OF THE GREEK PEOPLE, TO THE TRAITOR DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

Dear General, a couple of weeks ago, we spoke of the action in Greece and of connections with Colonel Zervas. On that occasion I informed my colleague in Greece that the answer which the Greek colonel sent you after receiving your message last year, somehow went astray, so that you did not get it. Now I have received through my colleague a message from Colonel Zervas, which reads: Please be so good as to convey to General Mihailović brotherly greetings from myself and from Free Greece to him and to the heroic Serbs. I desire speedy contact with him for the settlement of the plan for common action with the cooperation of the British.

My people have sent me certain proposals for bringing about a meeting between your representatives, those of the Greeks and ours. We can talk of it in greater detail when I come. I only wanted now to convey the message to you.

I have received the proposal of Mr. Moljević and have already taken the necessary steps with my people.

Yours sincerely
Bailey, Colonel.

(Facsimile p. 234)

THE EMIGRANT GOVERNMENT WAS INFORMED OF MIHAILOVIĆ'S COOPERATION WITH THE INVADER

Report to the President of the Council of Ministers and Deputy Minister of Army, Navy and Airforce. — On December 29, from 4 to

5,15 p. m. I had an extremely interesting and important conversation with Major Bowie of the British Army, who is one of the chief men in Mr. Mastersons' service, who is looking after the sending of help to General Mihailović and maintaining contact with him.

Major Bowie came on his own initiative in connection with the sending of 3.000 copies of »The Official Gazette« № 10 into our country.

I informed Major Bowie of the great lack of food, clothes and arms in General Mihailović's detachment caused by the difficult conditions of our people. I mentioned to him that H. M. the King had sent a note to Mr. Churchill, requesting, among other things, that food, clothes and arms be sent to Mihailović.

Major Bowie, an Englishman who does not like diplomatic circumlocutions and who openly says what he thinks, told me, in an hour's conversation, the following:

1. We must speak openly and sincerely. Mr. Churchill, after receiving the note from the King, asked Mr. Eden's opinion. The Foreign Office asked the opinion of Mr. Masterson's service, and Major Peter Bowie, who acts for his chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, gave the opinion requested in connection with the note.

He declared that no arms could be sent to General Mihailović for fighting against the Partisans, who are now the only units fighting against the Axis. The sending of food depends on the Blockade Ministry, and according to their reports, conditions in that part of our country which was under Italian occupation were not difficult. He admits that in Serbia conditions are difficult.

2. General Mihailović openly cooperates with the Italians, and his detachments, fully armed, are transported in Italian lorries to Western Bosnia, to fight against Partisans, and this in cooperation with the Italian troops. He said that at that very moment a battle was being waged north of Mostar, in which one of Draža's detachments of 2.400 men from Montenegro was fighting with the Italians, against the Partisans.

Major Bowie said: »Draža Mihailović is a quisling, just like Nedić, for Nedić is cooperating with the Germans and Draža with the Italians.

3. The detachments of Draža Mihailović are not fighting at all now.

Chief of the
Military Chancellery,
Major Živ. L. Knežević

(Facsimile p. 186)

ŽIVAN KNEŽEVIĆ'S REQUEST FOR STILL GREATER SUPPORT FOR DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ

Conslusion. — All these statements of Major Bowie, who is acquainted with General Mihailović's telegrams, clearly show the following:

1. — That the Yugoslav Government as a whole has done nothing to explain to the English the situation in our country and to point out that by now the number of the dead in Yugoslavia is nearly a million, and that it is impossible to demand from our people further aimless and disproportionate sacrifices.

2. — Because of this attitude of the Royal Government the whole struggle of our people will be reduced to nil. Open opposition of certain members of the Government, and the active support of the



A peasant woman, Danica Marinković, whom the Četniks attempted to butcher, declares before the Court: "Here the Četniks cut my wind-pipe".

malicious propaganda of the Directorate for Information in London and the Information Center in New York, against Draža Mihailović, has harmed the vital interests of our people to the greatest degree.

3. — My impression is that it is of little concern to the English that the Serbian people should be completely exterminated, without any real contribution to the cause of the Allies. Certain Bri-

tish services desire to hurl our unarmed people at machine guns, but that would be a mere adventure, into which our people must not be led. Our people have never grudged sacrifices for their liberty, but if they again enter unarmed into this adventure, the Serbs will be exterminated, and I don't know what use Yugoslavia would be, even if it extended as far as India, if there were no Serbs in it. All of us here in exile bear a great responsibility, both to our people and to history.

4. — It is high time that the Royal Government should take an unequivocal attitude towards the question of the detachments of the Yugoslav Army under the command of General Mihailović, and that it should openly and energetically proclaim its attitude everywhere. The struggle of General Mihailović represents in fact the struggle of the Serbian people for the revival of Yugoslavia. A million men have fallen in this struggle. Instead of recognition, General Mihailović is today — even by the service which knows his work and which used to issue orders to him without the knowledge of the King and the Government — being placed on the same footing with Antonescu and Nedić and tomorrow he will be ranked with Pavelić.

It is not necessary that I should further expound to you, our Prime Minister, the grave responsibility both of the Royal Government and of us soldiers outside the country for this situation, which is so catastrophic, especially for the struggle which the Serbs have waged and for which they have given over one million lives.

I consider it my duty, as the secretary of the War Cabinet, as a soldier who will tomorrow be held responsible both before General Mihailović and before his colleagues, — to expound these facts to you for your consideration and urgent decision, in order that the struggle of our people may be represented to the Allies in its true light.

Chief of the
Military Chancellery,
Živ. L. Knežević, Major

(Facsimile p. 187)

THROUGH THE ČETNIK STAFF FOR VOJVODINA, CONTACT WAS BEING MAINTAINED WITH HUNGARIAN FASCISTS

Report to the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command and Minister of the Army, Navy and Airforce.

With reference to the earlier offer of the Hungarian Government to establish contact with you, and your instructions on the same matter, I beg to inform you as follows:

Towards the end of January 1944 (about January 28) the Hungarian official through whom Arsen is maintaining contact, was received in Budapest by Colonel Ujszaszy who told him the following:

»Immediately on the receipt of your report about the establishment of contact with Draža Mihailović, I informed the Prime Minister Kálay who showed great interest in this contact«. Further, Colonel Ujszaszy said that he is only awaiting a written invitation from DM to come to meet him at a place designated by DM. On this occasion he repeated the *full readiness of the Hungarian Government to establish permanent contact with DM and to help him to the best of their ability,* and also to try in the most sincere conversation with him (with D.M.) to find a basis for the solution of post-war Serbo-Hungarian problems.

This official asked Arsen the following: that this whole affair should be kept secret, that everything concerning this matter should go through him, showing his fear that this link might be carried out through somebody else.

This official was deputy Hungarian Liaison Officer to the Commander of Serbia and South East, a reserve officer, a journalist by profession, Laszló Hori; the most convenient channel for the Supreme Command was established through him. In view of the fact that in the name of Colonel Ujszaszy, he expressly insists on getting an answer concerning this matter, it can be concluded that Colonel Ujszaszy, up to January 28 of this year, did not receive your special envoy, as well as that Colonel Ujszaszy himself considers this Hori as the most convenient person for the establishing of this channel.

With regard to conditions under which this channel has been established, the undersigned is of the opinion that this is the most convenient channel for us, since it leads directly from Budapest to Belgrade under their supervision, and comes under this command only from Belgrade. In view of the fact that the person delegated by the Minister evidently has not established contact up to now, this channel may be regarded as more convenient than the one which this person was to establish.

Since the Hungarians energetically demand a concrete answer in the name of Colonel Ujszaszy, I ask the Minister to issue orders to me as to what I can answer them:

»What is your concrete answer to the proposal which I made, as authorized by Colenel Ujszaszy, and why was it not utilized«.

February 9, 1944

Front

Commander, Major

(L. S.) Drg. J. Rakić

To Luka: Inform the HQ of Vojvodina that it is not necessary to maintain the link through László Hori for the time being.

— Ad acta — B.

(Facsimile p. 90)

LIST OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION SUPPLIED BY HORTHY'S HUNGARY TO MIHAILOVIĆ

1. Arms and ammunition

1. 1.000 (one thousand) cases of rifle ammunition 7.92 M. 24 (1000 rounds in each case)
2. 10.000 (ten thousand) 7,92 mm. rifles M. 24.
3. 30.000 (thirty thousand) hand grenades (offensive)
4. 20.000 (twenty thousand) hand grenades (defensive)
5. 200 (two hundred) 81 mm. mortars (»Stocksbrand«)
6. 20.000 (twenty thousand) mortar shells (81 mm. »Stocksbrand«)
7. 200 (two hundred) heavy machine guns
8. 300 (three hundred) light machine guns
9. 1000 (one thousand) 9 mm pistols
10. 50.000 (fifty thousand) rounds of 9 mm. ammunition.

II. Radio material

1. 1 complete wireless transmitter.

(Facsimile in Hungarian p. 475)

DECLARATION OF THE FORMER HUNGARIAN MAJOR-GENERAL UJSZASZY ABOUT DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ'S ESPIONAGE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE AXIS POWERS

In connection with the treacherous activity of Draža Mihailović, István Ujszaszy, former Major-General of the Hungarian Army and former chief of the Central Committee of the Hungarian State Defence, has forwarded to the Soviet Government a declaration in which it is stated in part:

I have learnt from my colleagues that the Yugoslav authorities have arrested General Mihailović and that he is to be tried as a war criminal.

As I have known Draža Mihailović for over 15 years, I consider it my duty to declare, for the sake of historical truth, that he was an agent of Horthy's Hungarian Government, and that he worked for the interests of the bloc of the fascist states, headed by Hitler Germany.

In 1936, I met Mihailović in Prague, where I was Hungarian military attaché, and he was Yugoslav military attaché with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. As the Hungarian General Staff had instructed me to establish particularly close relations with the Yugoslav attaché in order that I might, in the interests of Hungarian policy, work on the breaking up of the Little Entente, I resumed the friendly relations with Mihailović which I already had in 1930 in Paris. Mihailović was well informed about the German Army, thanks to his friendship with Colonel Tschunke, German military attaché in Prague, and with his successor, Colonel Rudolf Toussaint of the German General Staff.

Mihailović and I parted cordially at the end of 1937, when he left Prague for Ljubljana, where he was to occupy the post of chief of a divisional staff. During the war, I again met Mihailović, in the course of my work on the Hungarian General Staff.

In the course of my activites in the Hungarian military intelligence service, I learnt that Mihailović was an agent of the Hungarian General Staff, a close cooperator of the Hungarian Regent, Admiral Horthy, and that he acted in the interest of Hitler's Germany. I also know that Mihailović, during the Second World War, closely collaborated with the Italian and Roumanian General Staffs, from which he received arms and ammunition for his fight against Tito's army. For the Italian and Roumanian intelligence service he performed acts of espionage, directed against the Soviet Union and Tito.

In the summer of 1942, in Budapest, where I was Chief of the Second Department of the Hungarian General Staff, I submitted a report on the situation in Yugoslavia to Admiral Horthy's adjutant Colonel-General Ludwig Keresztes-Fischer, at his office in the Royal Palace. While I was submitting the report, Keresztes- Fischer took out of a drawer a letter, written in Serbian, from Mihailović whose handwriting I knew very well.

In his letter to the Regent, Mihailović declared that he desired the establishment of friendly and good neighbourly relations between the Yugoslav Government and the Hungarian Government of Admiral Horthy, for they had a common enemy: Tito's Partisans and the Soviet Union. The letter also stated that he condemned the violation of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Treaty.

In the course of the conversation, I told Colonel-General Keresztes-Fischer that I had known Mihailović for a long time and was on friendly terms with him. We came to the conclusion that it was essential to make the utmost use of Mihailović in the interests of Hungary and the Axis Powers, in the struggle against the antifascist Partisan movement in Yugoslavia, particularly in Bačka and in the region between the Mura and the Drava.

Keresztes-Fischer also told me that Horthy had sent to Mihailović, through a widow, a letter informing him that he was ready to maintain friendly relations with him. Keresztes-Fischer also told me that the Regent, in the same letter, informed Mihailović that he (Horhy) was Hitler's ally and that in every sphere of activity he was directed by the interests of the Axis Powers.

About a week later, while I was submitting one of my regular reports to Admiral Horthy at his palace in Budapest, the Regent told me that Colonel-General Keresztes-Fischer had informed him about my friendly relations with Mihailović. Horthy asked me what I knew of Mihailović, of his past and his political views, and told me that my friendship with him must be utilized in the interests of Hungary.

In August 1942, while I was on official duty in Uzhorod, I was urgently summoned to visit Horthy in his summer residence Gödöllö, in the vicinity of Budapest. During the audience, Horthy told me that it was urgently necessary to establish direct contact with Mihailović.

It was necessary to choose among the officers of the former Royal Yugoslav Army a person who would come into contact with Mihailović, a man who shared his views, while at the same time enjoying the full confidence of the Hungarian authorities.

We chose the Serbian deputy for the Bačka Province in the Hungarian Parliament — Dr. Milan Popović, a Novi Sad lawyer. The Hungarian Military Intelligence Service was getting useful information from Popović about Serbian antifascist circles, and also about the activities of the Partisan Detachments and anti-Hungarian individuals in Bačka. On the basis of his information a series of Partisan groups was discovered, and many arrests of Serbian antifascist leaders were made.

In the spring of 1943, Dr. Milan Popović visited me in Budapest, and informed me that Lieutenant Trumbić of the former Yugoslav Army was ready, together with an other officer of the Yugoslav Army, to visit Mihailović, in accordance with our instructions. I gave Trumbić about 1.000 dollars in various currencies, and an official passport of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We sent Trumbić to

Istanbul with instructions to approach the representative of the Yugoslav emigrant Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Perić, who was consul of that Government in Istanbul.

In September 1943, Trumbić returned to Budapest and informed me that consul Perić had sent his report to Ninčić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Yugoslav Government in London. Ninčić answered that the Royal Yugoslav Government agreed to the Hungarian proposal and thought it advisable, for the discussion of practical questions relating to joint political and military actions, that a special Hungarian representative be sent to Istanbul for the purpose of negotiating with the representative of the Yugoslav emigrant Government.

We first intended to send the Orthodox Bishop of Novi Sad, Irinej Ćirić, as he was our trusted man and had repeatedly rendered good service to the Hungarian authorities in their struggle against Tito's Partisans.

I. FEGYVER ÉS LŐSZER

1.- 1.000 /egyezer/ láda puska töltény 7,92 M.24 /egy láda értve 1.000 tölt/
2.- 10.000 /tizezer/ darab 7.92 mm. puska M.24
3.- 30.000 /harmincezer/ kézigránát /ofanziv/
4.- 20.000 /huszezer/ kézigránát /defanziv/
5.- 200 /kétszáz/ gránatdobo 81 mm. "Stokesbrand"
6.- 20.000 /huszezer/ gránát a dobohoz /81 mm. "Stokesbrand"/
7.- 200 /kétszáz/ drb. nehéz géppfegyver
8.- 300 /háromszáz/ drb. könnyü géppfegyver
9.- 1.000 /egyezer/ drb. 9 mm. pisztol
10.- 50.000 /ötvenezer/ drb. 9 mm. pistol töltény

II. RÁDIO ANYAG

1.- egy teljes rádio állomás felszerelés

Original order in Hungarian about the delivery of arms and ammunition from Budapest to Mihailović.

Kálay advised that the task of establishing contact with the Yugoslav Government in London should be entrusted to the Hungarian ambassador in Berlin, Baron Georg Bakach-Besenyey, who was at one time Hungarian Minister in Belgrade.

In July, 1943, Horthy told me that he had received another letter from Mihailović, in which he, in his own name and on behalf of the Yugoslav Government in London, requested Hungary's aid in the struggle against Tito.

Mihailović further stated in the letter that the Yugoslav Government in London had consented to cede to Hungary the northern half of Bačka and to establish a new state frontier along the river Drava.

On January 5, 1944, Pera Ilić, of the former Royal Yugoslav General Staff, arrived in Budapest as Mihailović's permanent liaison officer with the Hungarian General Staff. In order to prove his connection with Mihailović, he brought me Mihailović's greetings, and as a password mentioned the family name of the french language teacher who had taught both of us in Paris, and reminded me of my visits with Mihailović to the »Manes« Café in Prague. He gave us a radio code for direct connection with Mihailović.

Ilić at the same time communicated to us the request that we should immediately send to Mihailović 500 machine-guns, 20.000 rifles and 50 mountain guns, with the corresponding quantity of ammunition, and also signal corps equipment and medical supplies. This war material represented in fact the arms which had been seized from the Yugoslavs. Kálay was also told that the German authorities in Serbia, represented by the General of Police and SS. Gruppen-Führer Meisner, representative of the Gestapo in Belgrade, had given Mihailović permission to import arms from Hungary.

Kálay told Ilić officially that he could remain with us as Mihailović's representative, that he would be allowed to maintain radio connection with Mihailović through the Hungarian General Staff and that Mihailović's troops would soon get ammunition, radio stations and medical supplies from Hungary.

About the same time that they got Ilić's report, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a similar report from Bolla, the Hungarian General Consul in Belgrade, who had also established contact with Mihailović's General Staff.

The Second Department supplied Ilić with confidential information, in possession of the Hungarian Intelligence Service, about the Soviet Union and Tito's armed forces; he was to transmit this information to Mihailović. Ilić told my assistant, Colonel Kudar, that Mihailović was maintaining close contact with General Pieche of the Italian Army, who had, for that purpose and by the order of the Italian Government, come to Abbazia, in the vicinity of Rijeka.

In conformity with the agreement previously reached, Hungary sent to Mihailović, in February, 1944, by the Danube, a transport of ammunition, a powerful radio station, two lorries of rifle ammunition, signal equipment and medical supplies.

Colonel-General János Vörös of the Hungarian General Staff, informed me in October, 1944, of Mihailović's further cooperation with the Hungarian and German General Staff.

He gave me a note written by Mihailović in French, which read:

"My Dear Friend, I am sending you my best wishes. As you see, my cooperation with the Hungarian General Staff, which I began with you, is being successfully continued.

Yours sincerely,
Draža Mihailović".

Colonel-General János Vörös told me that in April, 1944, he informed Major-General of the German Police and SS. Gruppenführer Winkelmann and Lieutenant-General Greiffenberg, German military attaché in Budapest, about Mihailović's secret cooperation with the Hungarian General Staff.

They both approved of this cooperation, and especially the supplying of Mihailović with the seized arms of the former Yugoslav Army, for it served the interests of Germany, and it could not compromise Mihailović in the eyes of Great Britain and the United States of America.

Colonel-General Vörös also told me that on his instructions Mihailović had at that time received a considerable quantity of rifles, machine-guns, ammunition, signal equipment and medical supplies, and that cooperation between Mihailović's intelligence service and the intelligence service of the Hungarian General Staff continued as formerly, against the Soviet Union and Tito.

The above facts show that during the war Mihailović actively cooperated with the Axis Powers, receiving aid for his operations against the Tito army from Hungary, Italy and Roumania, which were under German leadership.

I affirm, by my signature, that the above facts are true; and I am, if necessary, prepared to testify to this before any court.«

MIHAILOVIC'S LETTER TO DAMJAN VELČEV

Dear Colonel, — I had not the chance of making your acquaintance during my stay in Sofia in 1935 and 1936, but your deeds are known to me, as they are known to the whole of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Your struggle has been difficult and glorious. Your efforts for the success of Bulgaria have been fruitful, and I personally entertain the greatest esteem and respect for you. Now is the chance for us to put our common idea into effect. Destiny has decreed that I be at the head of the new, invincible Yugoslav army, which sprang from forest and village, during three and a half years of strenuous work under the occupation. Your strivings are known to me, for, as an advocate of the greatest rapprochement

between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and especially Serbia, I have watched your work with admiration. It is time that the rapprochement between Serbs and Bulgarians became a reality. The Bulgarian occupation troops in Serbia have given many proofs of the friendship of the Bulgarian people towards the Serbs. For the deepening of this friendship I am at your disposal. Be assured that this desire is most sincere and cordial. We shall be strong if we, the nationalists of Bulgaria and Serbia, become closely associated. I intend to maintain connection with you. It would be desirable if you on your part, would undertake measures for this connection in the interests of our common cause, for Bulgaria and Serbia have the greatest opportunity for the closest friendship and cooperation.

August 28, 1944 I remain at your disposal

To Colonel Velčev.

(The address on this letter is written by Mihailović's hand: "To Colonel Damjan Velčev").

(Facsimile p. 157)

PART OF A LETTER FROM DIMITROV-GEMET TO MIHAILOVIĆ

Dear brother and Vojvoda Draža,

In these historical and fateful moments through which our peoples and the whole world are passing ...

Looking forward to seeing you, I greet you and embrace you in token of eternal brotherhood and unity.

24. XI. 1942 Yours,

Dimitrov G.

(Facsimile p. 154)

COOPERATION WITH ALBANIAN FASCISTS (TELEGRAM)

No. 499 von Herman. — For the realization of our aims it is necessary to establish closer contact with the nationalists of the Albanian State who are led by Colonel Muharem Barjaktar. Muharem's representative for liaison with us is Lieutenant Šerif Lipa of the Italian Army, who is now on duty in Priština. Šerif's brother is Captain Zenel Lipa, Muharem's principal collaborator. The code is from 500 to 503 inclusive.

(Facsimile p. 422)

AUTHORIZATION FOR A DELEGATE TO GREECE

Hereby I authorize Captain of the Airforce, Mihailo Vemić, who is going to Greece, to establish contact with the Greek national forces in the Free Greek Mountains under the command of General Ellas.

Plain pouvoirs

par lesquels j'autorise le capitaine aviateur Mihailo Vemić, qui se rend en Grèce dans le but de prendre contact avec les forces nationales grècques, dans les montagnes libres de grèce, sous le commandement du général Ellas.

Le capitaine Vemić se mettra en route pour la Grèce le plus tôt possible. Dès qu'il sera sur place il établira contact permanent avec le général Ellas et agira conformément à mes instructions

De la Grèce, le capitaine Vemić établira et maintiendra liaison directe par T.S.F. avec moi, m'informant sur la situation dans le pays, et tout particulièrement sur la prise du contact avec le général Ellas.

Le capitaine Vemić transmettra mes messages au commandant des forces nationales grècques libres, et spéciatement aura soin à ce que le général Ellas établisse communication directe par T.S.F. avec Grand Quartier Général de l'Armée libre yougoslave

le 5 ~~février~~ mars 1944

Le Chef du G.Q.G.
Ministre de la guerre
Général d'armée,
Drag. M. Mihailovi

Mihailović's authorization in French to Captain Vemić to répresent him with Zervas in Greece.

Captain Vemić will leave for Greece as soon as possible. As soon as he arrives there, he will establish permanent contact with General Ellas, and will act according to my instructions.

In Greece Captain Vemić will establish and maintain direct wireless contact with me, informing me about the situation in the country and especially about the establishment of the contact with General Ellas.

Captain Vemić will transmit my messages to the Commander in Chief of the Free Greek National Forces, and will see to it that General Ellas establishes direct wireless communication with the GHQ of the Yugoslav Army.

March 5,1944

Chief of the GHQ
Minister of War
Army General,
Drag. M. Mihailović

(L.S.)

(Facsimile in Serbian language p. 279 and facsimile in French p. 479

THE ROUMANIAN PETROL GROUP OFFERS US ARMS AND MONEY

No. 1126 From Ditrih. The Roumanian Petrol group offers us arms and money without any obligation. Transport of arms across the Danube river. If you approve of this, I should ask automatic

Моје мишљење ово добар предлог.

Бр.1126 од Дитриха.– Румунска петролејска група нуди нам оружје па и новац без икакве наше обавезе.Пребацивање оружја преко Дунава.Ако одобраваш тражио бих што више аутоматског оружја и организовао пријем.Треба ми само твоја начелна одлука.Најхитније ми одговори.Дрења.

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Dronja (General Trifunović) reports that "the Roumanian Petrol Group" offers arms and money to the organization of Draža Mihailović.

weapons and organize the receipt of them. I need only your decision. Answer me as soon as possible. Dronja.

THE "SUPREME COMMAND" AUTHORIZES ITS DELEGATE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE ROUMANIAN SATELLITE AUTHORITIES

Authorization. — I authorize Major Radomir Deda, on the basis of the approval by the Supreme Command, to negotiate with the representatives of the Roumanian military authorities and civil persons, on any subject.

Commander
General Staff Lt. Colonel
Veliša Piletić

(L.S.)

The Command of the Staff No. 67
of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland O. No. 355
April 14, 1944
Free Mountains of Yugoslavia

(Facsimile p. 421)

THE FINAL SPEECH OF THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR

THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR DEMANDS THE SEVEREST PUNISHMENT FOR THE TRAITORS

The Prosecutor, Colonel Miloš Minić: Comrades judges, during the course of the trial I watched to see whether the statements of the accused or the evidence offered to the Court would confirm every part of the indictment of Mihailović and the others who are on trial with him. After all the evidence had been presented I was able to observe that the indictment as a whole, and in each and every part, has obtained the strongest, most convincing and irrefutable confirmation at this trial. What is more, the trial has by far transcended the indictment by the multiplicty of proofs that have been brought forward of concrete crimes of treason and of war crimes for which the accused Mihailović and the others are responsible. Nevertheless in my opinion, this has not necessitated the extension of the indictment in order to include also those crimes which have been proved during the trial but were not mentioned specifically in the indictment, for in fact, all those crimes are comprised in a few general statements contained in the indictment.

One of the principal characterstics of the trial is the fact that the accusations against Mihailović and the others were supported during the proceedings by numerous original written documents. About 1000 written documents were read at the trial, and each document confirmed and supported various statements in the indictment. Confronted by their own and other written documents, Mihailović and the other accused were forced to confess, fully or in part, nearly all the criminal deeds of which they were accused, and in so far as they did not confess particular acts, I think that they themselves realized, after the conclusion of the production of evidence, that their mere denial, unsupported by any proofs, or, at least, by any serious proof, would fail to invalidate the proofs presented in the evidence which by weight of its inexorable truth, confirmed, one by one, all the statements in the indictment.

In the course of the trial it was clearly seen that the general line of action of all the accused during the war and the occupation was one and the same. It was the line of treason towards the people,

the line of helping the fascist invaders in all their efforts to suppress the national liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The most urgent task, which the war and the occupation set to the peoples of Yugoslavia, was the struggle against the fascist invader, the struggle for national liberation.

The broad national masses, wanted to, and were ready to rise in arms against the fascist invaders. Without hesitation they answered the call of the Communist party of Yugoslavia to rise in arms against the invaders. As early as the summer of 1941, the uprising took place, first in Serbia and Montenegro, and then in all other parts of Yugoslavia.

Against the uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia for liberation not only the invaders, but the national traitors of all colours, from Nedić and Pavelić, to Mihailović, Slobodan Jovanović, Lazar Marković and others like them, fought with every means at their disposal. The hirelings and assistants of the invaders wanted, by the help of the invaders, to suppress the rising and, with the help of the fascist invaders to establish a regime of dictatorship and national oppression, and in some parts of Yugoslavia even to exterminate certain nationalities. For them the most urgent task was not the struggle against the invader, the struggle for national liberation. For them the most urgent task was the struggle for the suppression of the uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia for liberation, and the annihilation of everyone who had risen in the struggle against the invaders. They feared the movement for liberation, they thought that with the cooperation with the invaders they would check it and thus remove the danger to their interests which they saw in that uprising, and that they would thus secure the positions which they had held for twenty years in former Yugoslavia at the expense of her peoples.

For the purpose of realizing their most urgent task — the suppression of the movement for liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia — all these traitors entered into cooperation with the invaders with the aim of stifling the national rising for freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia, by the hand of the fascist invaders and by their own hand.

This was the general line of action of all the accused, from Mihailović, Moljević, Slobodan Jovanović, Jonić, Dragomir Jovanović to Lazar Marković and Kumanudi.

This identity of the general line of action of all the accused hirelings and assistants of the invaders, was more clearly seen in the course of the trial than in the indictment itself.

As we have seen during the trial, all the accused tried to justify their treacherous work before the national masses and the

world public by identical lies and excuses: that they had been waging a struggle against communism, which they alleged the Communist party wanted to establish by means of the liberation movement, and that they had been saving the Serbian people from extermination. In the course of the trial it was shown with extreme clarity how false were their slogans: the struggle against communism, and the saving of the Serbian people.

From their statements before the Court and from numerous documents and other evidence, it is clear that they all knew that the broad national masses participated in the national liberation movement, that the participants in the liberation movement were not all communists, and that the chief aim of the rising was national liberation from the invader's yoke. With their own eyes they could have seen that the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia, with the Communist party at its head, was fighting simultaneously against the Germans and Italians and all their hirelings and assistants. It was clearly seen at this trial that they deliberately spread the false slogan of the struggle against communism, in order to represent falsely the liberation rising in Yugoslavia against the fascist invaders as a civil war, in order that they might thus gain support from abroad. The false slogans of the struggle against communism were best exposed by the war crimes, proved in the course of the trial, which show that the national traitors were annihilating not only the communists, but all those who participated in the national uprising, in the struggle against the invaders, or who in any way helped the people's struggle against the invaders.

In the course of the trial, the revolting perfidy of the false excuses of the accused hirelings and assistants of the invaders, that by the struggle against the national rising they were saving the Serbian people, has been completely exposed. Contrary to their false slogans of saving and preserving the Serbian people from extermination, it became clear during the trial that either with the invaders, or by themselves, they were exterminating the Serbian and other peoples of Yugoslavia, that they were annihilating all those who rose in arms against the invaders. As the Serbian people were among the first to rise in arms against the fascist invaders, the accused hirelings and assistants of the German fascist invader hurled themselves with the greatest fury against the Serbian people. This trial has shown us that these crazed and bloodthirsty traitors killed even feeble old women, and children in their cradles. The reading of written documents and the hearing of the testimony of witnesses has shown us that Mihailović's Četniks, together with the invaders, or alone,

slaughtered tens of thousands of Serbs, Croats and Moslems. We have also learnt that Nedić's collaborators, who are in the dock, killed, in collaboration with the Germans or alone, some 70.000 persons in Jajinci near Belgrade, and about 7.000 in Kragujevac, and in many other places tens of thousands of Serbs.

Before the peoples of Yugoslavia and before the whole world the false saviours of the Serbian people have been completely unmasked. The mask of false nationalism and anti-communism has been torn from the face of the hirelings and assistants of the fascist invaders. And all the peoples of Yugoslavia, and the whole world, have seen before this people's court of justice, not saviors of the Serbian people, but a miserable band of renegades of the Serbian people, sunk in the mud of treason and smeared with the blood of the peoples of Yugoslavia, a band of German-fascist hirelings, and their assistants and other war criminals.

At this trial there were shown a series of proofs of the cooperation of the Četniks, Nedić's men, and other hirelings of the enemy with the fascist invader, in the struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and also proofs of contacts, cooperation, and mutual assistance, among all the hirelings and assistants of the invader against the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia. As we have seen there was cooperation between Mihailović and Nedić, Mihailović's Četniks and Pavelić's Ustašas and Homeguards, Mihailović's Četniks and the Slovene White Guard, Mihailović's Četniks and Šiptar balists — German agents in Kosovo and Metohija, Mihailović's Četniks and the fascist-Moslem militia. Many documents referring to all this have been shown at the trial.

There are proofs that there were some sharp differences between Mihailović and some quislings, as, for instance, Pavelić, on the basis of an unbridled chauvinism. Nevertheless, as we have seen during the trial, there were no unbridgeable differences between them. On the line of the struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, on the line of cooperation with the invader, agreement was reached as early as 1942, particularly in the area of Bosnia, for full and open cooperation between Mihailović's Četniks and Pavelić's Ustašas and Homeguards, and in 1945, as we have seen, contact was established between Mihailović and Pavelić.

Mihailović and his Četniks were not deterred in their cooperation with the Ustašas by their false propaganda that they were slaughtering the Croat people as a reprisal for the crimes committed against the Serbian population by Pavelić's Ustašas. Against the Serbian

and Croat people, and against all other peoples of Yugoslavia — Mihailović, Pavelić and all the others found themselves on the same side.

It has been seen that as early as 1941 Nedić and Mihailović concluded an agreement for the suppression of the rising in Serbia, and that in December 1941, Mihailović, under the aegis of Nedić, legalized his detachments; that is, he placed them openly in the service of the invader. And finally, it was seen that Nedić, Ljotić and Mihailović, at the end of 1944, formally united all their forces under the command of the accused Mihailović.

The trial has disclosed that the greater part of the Yugoslav emigration, with the Yugoslav emigrant government and the king at its head, convulsively clung to the accused Mihailović and his organization, giving him the authority of the only legal representative in the occupied country and extending to him full moral, political and material assistance, in spite of the existence of the National Army of Liberation and Partisan Detachments in Yugoslavia, who alone were waging a struggle against the invader. In this way, as was seen during the trial, especially from the clear and convincing statement by the witness Dušan Simović, a retired general, they wanted to preserve the legality and continuity of the emigrant government and monarchy before the official Allied representatives, in order to secure for themselves and for the accused Mihailović support from the Allies, in spite of the cooperation of Mihailović and his Četniks with the fascist invaders in the sruggle against the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

In the course of the trial it was also shown that a great majority of leading politicans of former political parties, i. e., the Democrat, Radical, Agrarian, Socialist, Yugoslav Nationalist and other parties, participated with the accused Mihailović and his organization in their cooperation with the invader in the struggle against the national liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia. At the end of 1943 and the beginnig of 1944 there was, with the exception of a few inidividuals, a formal fusion of the leaderships of all these parties and Mihailović's Četnik organization into a single traitorous organization which, at the Četnik congress in the village of Ba, was given the name of »The Yugoslav Democratic National Union«. That the aim of this union was a struggle, in cooperation with the invader, against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, is best seen from the fact that, in 1943 and 1944, Mihailović's Četniks openly cooperated with the invaders which was only too manifest to everyone, and also from the fact that even after this union of the leadership of

former political parties with Mihailović's organization into a single body, the cooperation between Mihailović's Četniks and the invaders was continued.

From the deposition of the accused Mihailović and the relevant documents, and especially from the letters of the accused Mladen Žujović, it is clearly seen that Maček and the leading men of his party maintained contact with the accused Mihailović ,with the aim of cooperating with the invaders against the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia. It has also been irrefutably established that the Slovene reactionary politicians cooperated with the accused Mihailović in the joint struggle with the invaders, against the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia.

There can be no doubt that the hirelings and helpers of the fascist invaders, from Mihailović, Nedić and Pavelić to Marković and those like him, by their struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, weakened the war efforts of Yugoslavia, and thus caused inestimable harm, not only to the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also to the common general Allied struggle against the fascist conquerors. It is clear to everyone, for instance, that in the Fourth Offensive, against the units of the Army of National Liberation, the Germans and Italians would have needed at least two or there more divisions in order to attain the efect which they achieved, if, in the course of the Offensive some 20.000 of Mihailović's Četniks had not fought shoulder to shoulder with the Italians, Germans and Ustašas, not to speak of the valuable help which the hirelings and assistants of the invader gave to the enemy by their incessant four years' struggle against the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia. Beside the help from their hirelings and assistants in Yugoslavia, the German and Italian invaders were obliged to keep in Yugoslavia against the national liberation rising, about 40 of their own and satellite divisions, but it was clear that they would have had to withdraw from the Allied fronts and bring into Yugoslavia a still greater number of their divisions, if they had not got valuable help from their hirelings and assistants in Yugoslavia. If there had been no traitors, the contribution of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the common Allied struggle and to victory over the fascist conquerors would have been still greater.

From the deposition of Mihailović, and the documents read at the trial, it was seen how Mihailović established contact with the quisling and reactionary elements of the neighbouring countries: Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary, on the basis of mutual assistance in the struggle against the liberation movement in Yugo-

slavia and the neighbouring countries. Mihailović's connection with Zervas, Muharem Barjaktar, generals and higher officers of the Bulgarian army of occupation, as for instance with general Stančev and Colonel Marinov, with various Bulgarian reactionary politicians, such as Gemeto, Velčev, Ginovski and others, Horia Sima and Maniu in Rumania, with General Ujszaszy and Kálay in Hungary; all those connections were disclosed at the trial, and it has been irrefutably established that they were based on mutual assistance in the struggle against the liberation movement in Yugoslavia and the neighbouring countries.

And finally, it was revealed by the deposition of the accused Mihailović, and by written documents read at the trial, that the British and American military representatives, which were with Mihailović's General Staff, by inciting Mihailović to fight against the Partisans, were in fact encouraging him to cooperate with the invader in the struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia. There is no doubt that the conduct of these officers was an expression of the policy of certain foreign reactionary circles, which wanted to give a direction to political development in the Balkans corresponding to their interests, and not to the interests of the Balkan peoples.

It is quite clear that Mihailović could not have held out so long if he had not been receiving moral, political and material help from abroad. That help made it easier for him to hide from the national masses his cooperation with the invader. Mihailović derived especially great benefit from the arrival of the American officers to his General Staff in 1944, after his General Staff had been left by the British officers, at the time when his cooperation with the invader and his hirelings was quite open and evident. These American officers remained with his Staff till January 1945, and that enabled him to continue, until the final breakdown and annihilation of his organization, to conceal from a certain number of men in our country the fact that he was cooperating with the invader;for those men understood the matter thus: if Mihailović cooperated with the invader, American officers would not be with his General Staff. If Mihailović had not been receiving help from abroad, his whole organization and he himself would have been liquidated, as an ordinary hireling and assistant of the invader, much sooner, and with much smaller losses on the part of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Mihailović tried to spread a calumny that the Partisans had attacked him from the rear at Sokolac. Such unscrupulous slanders were usual with Mihailović. The Partisans attacked Sokolac and, of

course, routed everyone there, the Četniks as well as the Ustašas, but they did not attack the Četniks from the rear. the Partisans attacked the Četniks, for the Četniks served the invader at all times, and wherever it was possible, the Četniks attacked, jointly with the invader, or by themselves, the units of the Army of National Liberation which were fighting simultaneously against the Germans and against the Italians, Ljotić men, Nedić men, the Russian White Guards, the Moslem Militia, the Slovene White Guards and other enemies, while Mihailović cooperated with all of them, and fought only against the Army of National Liberation. It is therefore clear why the units of the Army of National Liberation, when they attacked Sokolac, attacked both Mihailović's Četniks and the Ustašas who were mutually skirmishing. That is the truth about Sokolac, which if it were necessary, could be supported by many proofs and documents. But, it is of no special significance. I say this only in order to unmask the unscrupulous calumny made by Mihailović.

Mihailović also alleged at the trail that he was not able to undertake more serious operations against the invader, because he was being attacked by the Partisans; because the Partisans, so he alleged, wanted to conquer the territories he held in order to win over the people of those territories to themselves. This contradicts many of his declarations that he was awaiting an opportune moment for a general rising against the invader; it also contradicts his declaration that he received instructions from the Yugoslav emigrant government not to wage a struggle against the invader till the breakdown of Germany and till the landing of the British and American troops in Yugoslavia. We have seen from the documents that Mihailović did get such instructions from the emigrant government. It also contradicts Mihailović's statement that his passivity was preserving the Serbian people. Now the real truth can be clearly seen. Either Mihailović wanted to fight the invader, but could not do so because he was attacked by the Partisans, or he could not fight against the invader before the landing of the British and American troops in Yugoslavia and before the breakdown of Germany, as he allegedly wanted to preserve the Serbian people, and therefore he considered that his chief enemies were the Partisans and that he should fight against them and clear the territory of them, and the invaders would in any case be cleared by the Russians, the British and the Americans, and he would then, as a hero, step into the position which he anticipated for himself.

It is not true that he wanted to fight the invader but could not because he was being attacked by the Partisans, or that he was waiting for the landing of the Allies and the breakdown of

Germany. The real truth is that Mihailović did not want to fight against the invader at all. The real truth is that his paramount task was to suppress the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In the course of the trial it was clearly seen that Mihailović's assertion that the Partisans were attacking him and hindering his struggle against the invader was in reality a false pretext for his cooperation with the invaders, a pretext as false as the one about the saving of Serbian heads.

Let us consider a little further this question as to who was attacked by whom: the Partisans by Mihailović, or Mihailović by the Partisans, and whether the Partisans prevented him from fighting against the invaders. Mihailović, for instance, tried to justify the participation of his Četniks in the Fourth Offensive on the side of the enemy, by alleging that the Partisans attacked his territory and his forces in Dalmatia. Mihailović does not realize how absurd he is, when he speaks of his territory in Dalmatia and at the same time admits that his Četniks cooperated with the Italians. This assertion of his is still more absurd in view of the documents that have been read in Court, from which it is seen that his Četniks in Dalmatia were fed, garrisoned and supplied with arms and ammunition by the Italians, that the Italians in their correspondence with the Ustašas called Mihailović's Četniks the anticommunist militia. The Četniks had no territory whatever in Dalmatia; this has been clearly shown in the course of the trial. It can only be said that the Italians permitted Mihailović's Četniks to organize themselves as collaborators in the Italian zone of occupation, and they permitted this because the Četniks were helping the Italians. It is clear that no rational man would reproach the Partisans for attacking such territories in which the Italians and the Četniks were together; or in areas where they were not together, but where the Četniks were alone, as in Serbia where as collaborators with the Germans and with their permission they held certain villages. And when Mihailović admits cooperation with the invaders in the Fourth Offensive, and at the same time tries to justify his Order № 1, in which he ordered the attack on the Partisans, that is, participation of the Četniks in the Fourth Italo-German Offensive, he is in reality trying to justify cooperation, to justify his crimes and the crimes of his commanders. This is the only way in which his allegation that the Partisans attacked him can be understood.

And now a few words about the alleged holding of territory. We have seen what Mihailović's holding of a territory means. We have seen it, for instance, in Montenegro. Kolašin was in the hands of the Četniks and Mihailović was staying in Gornje Lipovo;

IL COMITATO DEI NAZIONALISTI MONTENEGRINI DI PODGORITZA E VALLE ZETA

da parte sua assume i seguenti impegni

1) - Condurrà senza alcun compromesso la lotta contro il comunismo ed i comunisti nel Montenegro - e cioè contro il più terribile nemico dei popoli;

2) - Il Comandante delle formazioni nazionaliste montenegrine di Podgorica e Valle Zeta, Colonnello Bajo J. Stanisic, personalmente od a mezzo di persone a tale scopo delegate, sarà in contatto continuo col Comando Superiore delle Truppe Italiane nel Montenegro, per tutti gli accordi per il proseguimento della lotta in comune contro il comunismo nel Montenegro;

3) - Dal movimento sarà completamente eliminata ogni politica ed esclusivamente verrà condotta la lotta contro il comunismo nel Montenegro;

4) - Mentre le forze Italiane manterranno l'ordine nelle città. questo compito nei villaggi verrà eseguito dai nazionalisti. Per quanto riguarda le vie di comunicazione verranno presi accordi per la ripartizione dei compiti;

5) - I nazionalisti montenegrini, senza riguardo all'esito finale della guerra, non adopereranno mai le armi contro le truppe italiane.

Con reciproco rispetto, fiducia e lealtà strettamente terremo fede agli accordi assunti.

P o d g o r i c a , 6 Marzo 1942/XX.

Bajo J. Stanisić

IL COLONNELLO
CAPO DI STATO MAGGIORE
(G. Boglione)

Facsimile of the document in Italian about the cooperation of the Četniks with the Italian fascist invader. The document was signed by Mihailović's commander Bajo Stanišić and a representative of the Italian Military Command.

the Italian commander Pirzio Biroli with some Italian Generals, came to Kolašin, he was met and welcomed by Mihailović's commander Pavle Djurišić, who informed Mihailović that the Italian manoeuvres would extend only as far as Donje Lipovo and would not reach Gornje Lipovo. Does this not clearly show that the Četniks were allowed to stay in certain territories only by permission of the invader, as his collaborators, to whom he was giving an opportunity to collect their forces with the object of acting jointly with the invader, in order to bring about the suppression of the national rising. It was also in this way that Mihailović apparently held territories in other districts. And now you see how absolutely absurd is Mihailović's complaint that the Partisans used to attack territories which he held, and that therefore he had to defend himself. You see, comrades judges, how absurd his pretexts are. He declared during the examination that the emigrant government instructed him to hold Serbia, for Serbia, as the largest region, containing the capital, had to be held in order to make possible the return of the king and the government. These were the instructions he was receiving; even foreigners were giving him this advice as late as the end of the summer of 1944; we have seen how McDowell advised this. And then Mihailović, quite absurdly, asserts that the Parisans were attacking his territories in Serbia, and he tries to justify his attitude by the fact that the units of the Army of National Liberation entered Serbia, which he held together with the Germans, Nedić's and Ljotić's men and with the Russian White Guards, and in the spring and summer of 1944, with the Bulgarians also. On this territory the Germans were using the main communication lines, the Germans were making requisitions, the Germans were getting all they needed, the Germans were driving men to forced labour, and after repulsing the Second and the Fifth Partisan Divisions, the Germans were again on this territory, and Mihailović's Četniks did not attack them. This clearly shows the cooperation between the Germans and the Četniks against the Partisans, and disproves the allegation that Mihailović held certain territories in order to prevent the Germans from entering them. Mihailović alleges that the Germans were able to enter certain villages only by his permission. On the contrary, the opposite is the truth, the Četniks could move through occupied territories only if the Germans permitted them to do so. In fact, Mihailović's units were only acting as subsitutes of the German units in our country. That is the real truth, and the whole problem of holding the territory should be looked at from that point of view. It is clear that the Partisans attacked, not the territories which he held, but the territories which the invaders held jointly with Mihailović, and that

those attacks represented nothing but the true struggle for national liberation. The Partisans never forgot that their chief enemy was the invader, and that their chief task was to wage war against the invader. But they also knew that by breaking the forces of the assistants of the invader, they were also defeating the invader himself.

I shall here read to you, comrades judges, a passage from an article in the »Proletarian« of 1942 headed »The Struggle Against the Invader is the First and the Most Important Task«. In this article Marshal Tito says the following about the traitors: »These gentlemen hope by the cooperation of the invader to stop the wave of the national uprising. And therefore the breaking of the fascist conquerors means also the breaking of those traitorous gentlemen and of their antinational plans. On the other hand, with the breaking of the invaders and the traitors of our peoples, there will be realized an even firmer unity of all patriots, and conditions will be created for the brotherhood of all the peoples of Yugoslavia«. He futher writes: »And just because of all this, the first and the most important task at the present is a merciless struggle until the final annihilation of all fascist conquerors, together with their assistants, is achieved«. This was written in December, 1942. At the conclusion of the article, addressing the communists, he said: »And just because of this, the communists must, by their correct work, keep the confidence which our party has so far gained, and they will preserve it by continuing to devote their work and their energy exclusively to the present national liberation struggle, the struggle against the fascist invaders, considering it the first and the most important task of the present time, but at the same time not losing sight of the merciless struggle against the traitors of our country, for it is inseparably connected with the struggle against the invader«.

That is, comrades judges, how Marshal Tito wrote in December, 1942; and those words of his were sacred to all the Partisans, who never forgot that their main task was the struggle against the invader, and since Mihailović was on the side of the invader, the Partisans fought him wherever they found him. No rational man could reproach the Partisans because in fighting the invader, they also fought all the traitors and assistants of the invader.

A few more short statements

Mihailović's Defence tried hard to induce Mihailović to declare that he fought against the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia as a communist movement, and that he considered the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments as a communist organi-

zation. But Mihailović refused to be so ridiculous as to make such a declaration, for he knew that it could easily be proved in court that the Communist party of Yugoslavia was only the organizer, the leader and the inspirer of the rising, and that the hard struggle against the invader and his forces was born by our peoples, headed by the communists who, in this struggle for liberation, were the most selfsacrificing fighters and the best leaders. Mihailović also knew, or at least he could have seen from all the messages of the General Staff of the Partisan Detachments sent him for the common struggle and cooperation in the struggle against the invaders, and also from the conversation with Marshal Tito at the meeting in 1941, that in no message and in no word of Tito, was he called upon to fight for communism, but only to fight against the invader and the invader's hirelings. Mihailović knew this, although his Defence had forgotten it, and therefore he did not want to appear ridiculous. The intention of the counsel for the defence was to represent the whole struggle of

Чт Немаша.Нав Нав.

Бр.12.792 од Нав Нава.Бр.299 од 23 -XII-.-Др.Тошо Перовић из Требиња,који држи везу са Немцима, известио ме тајно да су га Немци хитно позвали у Сарајево.Чав Нав.Крај.

Бр.12.793 од Нав Нава.Бр.300 од 23 -XII-.-Салатић јавља из Калиновика,да

From Mihailović's book of telegrams received: Report on the visit of the Četnik delegate Todor Perović, to Sarajevo, with the object of negotiating with the Germans.

the accused Mihailović against the Partisans as a civil war, in which Mihailović and his men fought against communism, against the Army of National Liberation and the Partisan Detachments, which, by the by, some men in our country and also some men abroad would forgive Mihailović.

But Mihailović knew that he was in a court of justice and not at a propaganda meeting, and that the false slogans of his propaganda, which he used during the occupation, if used before the court, would be quickly exposed, and therefore he did not use them. He declared before the Court that he was fully aware that the Partisan units comprised not only the communists, but the people. And thus Mihailović did not give the answer which his counsel for the defence desired.

If it can be said at all that some kind of a civil war was being waged during the occupation, then every objective observer, even if he relies only on the proofs revealed at this trial, must ascribe it to Mihailović, who began, and waged to the very end, a fratricidal

struggle; for it is proved that he waged no struggle against the invader and his hirelings, but only against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, while the Army of National Liberation and the Partisan Detachments fought against all the invaders, against the Germans and the Italians and their satellites, and against their servants, from Nedić, Ljotić and Mihailović to their last assistants, such as Lazar Marković and those like him. Only in that sense and in no other can we speak of a civil war.

In the course of the trial, Mihailović stated that he had been of the opinion that it was no time for a struggle against the invader, but he considered that it was time to fight against the Partisans, and he did so.

And therefore, both for cooperation with the invader and for all the war crimes commited by the Četnik organization which was under his leadership, the accused Mihailović, as the leader of that organization, is fully responsible.«

(The Prosecutor then referred to the acts of each of the accused, and finally said):

»In conlusion, comrades judges, in the name of our peoples, in the name of all those sons and daughters of our peoples who gave their lives in the struggle for the national liberation of our country from the yoke of the fascist invaders and their servants, in the name of the mothers who gave their sons for the liberation of our country, in the name of the children who have become orphans, in the name of all the victims of the fascist invaders and their assistants — and their assistants are also all the accused who are being tried by this court — I demand that the Court should pronounce the severest sentence on the accused, and thus satisfy justice and punish the most shameful traitors of our peoples in the record of our history«. (Long and enthusiastic applause).

MIHAILOVIĆ'S FINAL SPEECH

The accused Mihailović (after speaking of all his crimes and acts of treason): »As regards connections with neighbouring countries, I had already organized from Serbia a joint action with the neighbouring countries.

I had connections with Bulgaria, a country which I know very well. The indictment cites my contact with Damjan Velčev and Ginovski against me, regarding it as representing a struggle against the communists.

I had contact with Gemet. I tried to form a secret committee of Bulgars and Serbs for action against the Germans. These contacts were maintained through Ika Panić and General Draškić, but the project miscarried, for Ika Panić did not want to carry it through. I founded a committee from Gemet's group, headed by Srbakov. Through Grozni, a reserve officer who fled from Bulgaria to join me, I organized propaganda against Boris. I established contact with Colonel Ivanov. I knew that he belonged to the Military League. I wrote a letter to Velčev. My whole aim with regard to Bulgaria, was to turn Bulgaria against the Coburgs. I established contacts through the Bulgarian Military League and through the followers of Protogerov. I informed the Government in London of these contacts.

I established contact with Zervas. But the British did not permit this contact to be maintained. I sent Captain Mihailo Vemić to Greece. He went, but did not succeed in reporting to me. My intention was to create a union in the Balkans, which would be joined by Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. I considered that it was a sound idea, although it would be difficult to realize it today. Small states can, by uniting, create a greater state commonwealth, more capable of the struggle for existence. I did not succeed with Zervas.

Contact with Gani-Bej Crnoglavić. He wrote to me, but my corps commander, Žika Marković, who was conducting a policy of

antagonism toward the Albanians, censored my letters, and prevented their delivery.

Contact with Pren Pajo, leader of Northern Albania, was in my interest, but the Albanians desired to annex certain parts of Yugoslavia and Montenegro. My letter to Šarković shows my desire that the fighting between the Serbs and Moslems should stop. I did not consider that a Partisan movement was possible in Albania.

The Government instructed me to work, in cooperation with the British Mission, on establishing this contact also. I remember that it was made possible for me to send to Roumania Captain Kornelije Filipović of the airforce, whom I instructed to establish contact with Maniu. But he went to Bucharest and established contact with the Iron Guard, and not with Maniu; he did this in order that he might stay in that country as an agent. I again ordered him to establish contact with Maniu. From the investigation material I see that contact was established with a representative of the Roumanian General Staff. Piletić was frustrating these attempts; he wanted to utilize this contact for local purposes. In due time a message came from Roumania offerring me help in arms, and asking me to come to agreement with Nedić. This agent forged a letter about my agreement with Nedić. I consider all this a game played by agents. I wanted contact with Maniu. I was acquainted with the Roumanian losses at the Eastern Front, which had caused dissatisfaction in that country. I remember sending detachments into Roumania. I know that the Serbian population, especially round Turn Severin, was for us. I informed the Government and the British Mission of all this. We even had a special code, 707.

Contact with Hungary was also established at the order of the Government. My agent was Captain Urošević. The Hungarians sought contact with me through Turkey, but they were told there to seek contact here, on the terrain. General Ujszaszy told Urošević to establish contact with me. That contact was established and I sent Urošević to Budapest. He discharged his role there very well. The Hungarians communicated through him that they were preparing action against the Germans, but that at present they had to wait for an opportunity. They requested me not to undertake any reprisals in Bačka. They set up false trials, after which they allowed the condemned to flee. Urošević masked his position well. He observed their work. The chief British channel for Poland was also in Budapest. And there also was my link with Maček. My contact with Maček, or rather Zagreb, was through Budapest. A group of Maček's men, who had fled from Pavelić, was in Budapest. Torza, an agent of the British

Intelligence Service, was there, and he wished to join my staff. Torza even promised to establish contact between me and Maniu. The Hungarians promised to send me supplies secretly by ship from the Germans. It was clear to me that this was not a German but a Hungarian action. And they said that later they would send me material secretly to Bulgaria in a railway truck That proved that there existed a secret link which was being hidden from me. Urošević then left Budapest for Bačka to carry out the organization. He sent me some French officers and N.C.O-s. I sent them to Cairo. He also attempted once to send us material through the Red Cross. The Germans then entered Hungary, and arrested Ujszaszy, and I lost contact with Urošević. I think that the Government and the British Mission were informed of this.

Those were my connections with the neighbouring countries.

I was representative of the government in the country. I received messages though delegates. The government was in a position to know what was happening in the country. The Western Powers had their men with me. Hudson came with a message, then Bailey came with a message, and then there was the report of Voja Lukačević and the work of McDowell. All this influenced my whole work and attitude.

I found myself in a whirl of events and intrigues. I found myself in a whirl of events and strivings. I was confronted with the aims and tendencies of my own goverment. I was surrounded with all possible inteligence services, the British Intelligence Service, the Gestapo and all the intelligence services of the world.

Destiny was merciless towards me when it threw me into the most difficult whirlwinds. I wanted much, I began much, but the whirlwind, the world whirlwind, carried me and my work away.

I beg the Court to judge my statements justly.«

THE VERDICT

JUST PUNISHMENT FOR TRAITORS AND WAR CRIMINALS

THE VERDICT

In the name of the people, the Military Council of the Supreme Court of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, composed of Colonel Mihailo Đorđević, President, Lt. Colonel Milija Laković and Mihailo Janković, judges, and Lt. Todor Popadić, secretary, in connection with the criminal acts of the accused Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović and the others, which come under the Law concerning criminal acts against the People and the State, and the Law forbidding the instigation of national, racial, and religious hatred and discord, and on the basis of the indictment of the Military Prosecutor ot the Yugoslav Army of May 31, 1946, № 711/46, and according to the decision of this Court of June 1, 1946, held a public trial in Belgrade from June 10 to July 11, 1946, at which the indictment was supported by the Deputy Military Prosecutor of the Yugoslav Army Colonel Miloš Minić, in the presence of the defendant Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, who was defended by Nikola Đonović and Dragić-Joksimović, both lawyers in Belgrade; the defendant Stevan Moljević, who was defended by Rajko Atanacković, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Đuro Vilović, who was defended by Dr. Milan Omčikus, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Radoslav-Rade Radić, who was defended by Lazar Vučetić, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Slavoljub Vranješević and the defendant Miloš Glišić, who were defended by Blažo Radović, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović and the defendant Kosta Kumanudi, who were defended by Slavko Dukanac, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Tanasije-Tasa Dinić, who was defended by Dr. Bogoljub Jovanović, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Velibor Jonić, who was defended by Milan Živadinović, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Djuro Đokić, who was defended by Dragoljub Joksimović, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Kosta Mušicki, who was defended by Đorđe Ćirić, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Boško Pavlović, who was defended by

Slobodan Subotić, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Lazar-Laza Marković, who was defended by Aleksandar Nikolić, lawyer in Belgrade; and in the absence of the defendant Mladen Žujović and the defendant Živko Topalović, who were defended by Ljubomir Radovanović, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Slobodan Jovanović, who was defended by Miloš Terzić, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Božidar Purić and the defendant Petar Živković, who were defended by Pavle Miljaković, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Momčilo Ninčić, who was defended by David Alkalaj, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Radoje Knežević and the defendant Milan Gavrilović, who were defended by Slobodan Subotić, lawyer in Belgrade; the defendant Živan Knežević and the defendant Konstantin Fotić, who were defended by Dragutin Tasić, lawyer in Belgrade; and after the final speech of the Deputy Military Prosecutor of the Yugoslav Army in which he supported the indictment and demanded severe and just punishment for the accused, and the closing speeches of the Counsel for the Defence and the final speeches of the accused who were present, each one of whom appealed for release or clemency, — passed and publicly pronounced on July 15, 1946, the folloving verdict:

THE DEFENDANTS:

1) Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, born April 27, 1893 at Ivanjica, father Mihailo, mother Smiljana, maiden name Petrović; Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, married, father of two children, before the war colonel of the former Yugoslav Army and in the course of the occupation promoted to the rank of army general, was minister of war in the emigrant government and chief of staff of the Supreme Command of the so-called Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland — now in custody;

2) Dr. Stevan Moljević, born January 6, 1888 at Rudo; father Jovan, mother Mitra, maiden name Babić; married, father of two children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war lawyer at Banja Luka, and during the occupation member of the Staff of the Supreme Command of Draža Mihailović — now in custody;

3) Mladen Žujović, born June 5, 1895, in Belgrade, father Jevrem, mother Danica, before the war lawyer's clerk in Belgrade, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, absent — now abroad;

4) Dr. Živko Topalović, born March 21, 1886, at Užice; father Periša, mother Mihava; married, lawyer in Belgrade, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, absent — now abroad;

5) Đuro Vilović, born December 11, 1889, at Brela; father Đura, mother Simona, maiden name Šasić; Croat, Yugoslav citizen,

author and journalist, during the occupation member of the Central National Committee of the organization of Draža Mihailović and President of the Propaganda Committee — now in custody;

6) Radoslav-Rade Radić, born 1890 at Jošavka, Banja Luka District; father Novak, mother Stoja, maiden name Spasojević; merchant, married, father of three children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, during the occupation Četnik commander in Bosnia and member of the Central National Committee of the organization of Draža Mihailović — now in custody;

7) Slavoljub Vranješević, born January 10, 1905 at Kravica village, Srebrnica District; father Dušan, mother Danica, maiden name Kojić; former Yugoslav major, married, father of one child, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen; his last function: commander of West Bosnia in the organization of Draža Mihailović — now in custody

8) Miloš Glišić, born February 27, 1910, at Užička Požega; father Stojadin, mother Stanka, maiden name Bogićević; captain of the former Yugoslav Army, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, married, father of two children, — now in custody;

9) Slobodan Jovanović, born November 21, 1869 in Belgrade; father Vladimir, mother Jelena; bachelor, former professor of Belgrade University, during the war and the occupation vice premier and later premier of the royal Yugoslav government in emigration, deputy minister of war, absent — now abroad;

10) Dr. Božidar Purić, born February 6, 1890 in Belgrade; father Luka, mother Milica, married; earlier official of the ministry of foreign affairs and during the occupation premier of the royal Yugoslav government in emigration, absent — now abroad;

11) Dr. Momčilo Ninčić, born May 28, 1876 at Jagodina; father Aron, mother Pola; married, father of two children, Yugoslav citizen, during the war and occupation minister of foreign affairs in the emigrant governments, absent — now abroad;

12) Petar Živković, born January 23, 1879, at Negotin; father Rako, mother Sava; bachelor, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war army general and during the war and occupation member of the emigrant Yugoslav government, acting supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army and for a time minister of war, absent — now abroad;

13) Radoje Knežević, born August 12, 1901 at Stragari; father Lazar, mother Mileva, maiden name Veljković, married, father of two children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war secondary school teacher in Belgrade, and during the occupation minister of the court in emigration, absent — now abroad;

14) Milan Gavrilović, born November 23, 1882 in Belgrade; father Uroš, mother Agnica, maiden name Vasić; married, father of five children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen before the war diplomat and former ambassador, during the occupation member of the emigrant Yugoslav government, absent — now abroad;

15) Živan Knežević, born June 15, 1906 at Vranje, father Lazar, mother Mileva, maiden name Veljković; married, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war major of the Yugoslav Army and during the occupation chief of the millitary chancellery of the emigrant Yugoslav government and military attaché to Ambassador Fotić, absent — now abroad;

16) Konstantin Fotić, born February 17, 1891 at Šabac, married Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war deputy minister and minister abroad, and during the occupation ambassador of the Yugoslav government in Washington, absent — now abroad;

17) Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, born July 27, 1902 at Požarevac, father Ljubomir, mother Vilma, maiden name Draškoci; married, father of one child, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war chief of the Police of Belgrade; during the occupation chief of the Police of Belgrade, Mayor of Belgrade, chief of the Serbian State Security Department and special commissar of the Government for Belgrade and the Vračar and Grocka districts, — now in custody;

18) Tanasije-Tasa Dinić, 55 years old; father Đorđe, mother Paraskeva, maiden name Jovanović; born at Niš, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, married, no children, before the war infantry colonel of the former Yugoslav Army, ex-member of Parliament, during the occupation special commissar for appointments, deputy commissar for the interior, minister of the interior and minister of social policy — now in custody;

19) Velibor Jonić, born February 12, 1892 at Krnjevo village, Orašac District; father Krsta, mother Sofija, maiden name Veljković; married, father of one child, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war teacher at the Military Academy and journalist, during the war and occupation commissar of the Ministry of Education and later minister of education in Nedić's government — now in custody;

20) Đura Dokić, born 1874 at Užice; father Lazar, mother Katarina, maiden name Lazarević; married, father of one child, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war reserve army general, during the occupation minister of communications in Nedić's government from October 3, 1941, till the end — now in custody;

21) Kosta Mušicki, born April 7, 1897, at Slavonski Brod; father Milan, mother Jelena, maiden name Mihailović; married, father of two children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, active colonel of engineers of the former Yugoslav Army, during the war commander of the Serbian Volunteer Corps, and as such promoted to the rank of general — now in custody;

22) Boško Pavlović, born April 7, 1892 at Jajce, Bosnia; father Vukašin, mother Katarina, maiden name Antres; married, father of two children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, before the war commander of the State Police Guards in Zagreb, during the occupation assistant commander of the Serbian State Guards and undersecretary of state in Nedić's government, now in prison;

23) Dr. Lazar-Laza Marković, born September 21, 1882, in Belgrade; father Petar, mother Stana, maiden name Petrović; widower, father of one child, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, former minister, — now in custody and

24) Dr. Kosta Kumanudi, born 1874 in Belgrade; father Dimitrije, mother Emina, maiden name Holzer; married, father of three children, Serbian, Yugoslav citizen, retired minister — now in custody.

ARE GUILTY

because, in the course of the superhuman struggle which, from 1941 to 1945, the peoples of Yugoslavia, in defence of their liberty and independence and for their existence, carried on against Hitler's Germany, fascist Italy and their satellites, they entered and maintained political and military collaboration with the invader, during the war and the enemy occupation, for joint action in the suppresion of the peoples uprising, and the maintenance of the occupation, so as to establish, with the aid of the invader, a regime of anti-national dictatorship and national oppression; and in this way they committed, in a critical period in the history of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the crime of treason against the people and the Fatherland;

because jointly with the invader — in pursuance of his imperialistic plan of enslaving and exterminating the peoples of Yugoslavia — they organized, ordered and carried out or instigated the perpetration of countless crimes against the peoples: killing, handing over the wounded to the invader, mass murders and massacres, arrests, torturing in concentration camps, forced labour for the benefit of the invader, compulsory mobilization, burning, plunder

and the destruction of public and private property, violation and other war crimes, in consequence of which they are responsible for the deaths and sufferings of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, as follows:

I

THE ACCUSED DRAGOLJUB-DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ:

1) Because, beginning in the second half of 1941, throughout the war and enemy occupation he organized and led the armed Četnik formations known under the name of »The Četniks of Draža Mihailović« and the so-called »Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland« whose aim was, through armed action and a campaign of terror, in collaboration with the invader, to maintain the occupation and suppress the uprising and the liberation struggle of the Serbian and the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

2) Because he established contact with the invaders' commanders and authorities, in order to suppress the National Liberation Struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and to maintain the occupation, from the very beginning of his anti-national activity; he carried on throughout the duration of war, up to the actual capitulation of Hitler's Germany, active political and military collaboration with all the invaders; he concluded, alone or through his subordinate commanders and agents, understandings and agreements for engaging in a joint struggle against his Fatherland; he received from the invader arms and ammunition, equipment, food and other help for his Četnik units; he placed his units under the command of the invader for the execution of war operations against the Army of National Liberation; he authorized his commanders to »legalize« themselves and their detachments with the invader, i. e., to enter openly into the service of the invader, and certain Četnik units to place themselves directly under the command of the invader, under the name of the »anti-communist voluntary militia« — so that all his subordinate commanders and units, according to his instructions and orders, in common with the fascist occupation units, throughout the war engaged in military operations against the peoples' armed forces and committed crimes and acts of terror against the people.

3) Because from the very beginning of his treacherous activity he established contact with Nedić and the other quislings, open servants of the invader, with the aim of maintaining the occupation and uniting all the traitorous forces against the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia; he gave instructions to his commanders

to conclude agreements and collaborate with the Ustašas, to recognize the sovereignty of the so-called »Independent State of Croatia« and to swear fealty to Pavelić, the organizer of the mass slaughter of the Serbian and Croat peoples;

4) Because for the same end, he adopted from the invader the false slogan of »the struggle against communism« which was aimed at diverting the struggles of the peoples from the path of the National Liberation Struggle to the path of civil war. Under the slogan of »the struggle against communism«, he and his Četniks killed the patriots who in any way helped and approved of the struggle against the invader.

5) Because, under the false slogans of: »The defence of Serbdom« and »Saving Serbian lives,« with which slogans the Quisling Nedić also justified the occupation, he destroyed the unity of the Serbian people in the struggle against the invader, and forced a fratricidal war upon them, in which his Četniks killed tens of thousands of Serbs;

6) Because, in agreement with the policy of the invaders, as the representative of all anti-national and anti-democratic elements, and in order to destroy the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia and establish national oppression, he incited national and religious hatred and discord among the peoples of Yugoslavia, on which account his Četnik bands perpetrated mass murder of the Croat and Moslem, as well as the Serbian population, which did not accept the occupation;

7) Because, in conjunction with the emigrant government, in which he was a Minister, he spread propaganda among the people to the effect that it was not yet time for the struggle against the invader until stronger Allied forces landed in the Balkans, or until Germany was on the point of capitulation, and in doing so maintained the occupation and weakened the war effort of Yugoslavia, as well as the common front of the Allied countries against Hitler's Germany and her satellites; and

8) Because, consistent with his treacherous activity carried on throughout the war and occupation, before the final liberation of the country from the invader, after he was politically and militarily broken, he organized terrorist bands and groups trained in the Gestapo schools for terrorists, as the only means left to him, and sent arms and trained terrorists to carry out diversionary acts, sabotage and murders, which these groups did, and he ordered certain of his commanders also to turn to terrorist acts — so as, in the last stage of the struggle, to help the invader who was withdrawing from

our country, and in order to threaten the new constitutional democratic order in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

Thus:

a) In August 1941, although he had agreed with the representatives of the Valjevo Partisan detachment that the Četniks and Partisans should not attack each other, he treacherously and suddenly attacked a section of the Valjevo Partisan detachment at Planinica village (near Mionica), in which attack the accused Mihailović personally commanded his Četniks who on this occasion killed two Partisans, wounded several, and took some prisoner;

b) At the time of the outbreak of the first uprising in Serbia, when the insurgents began to liberate the towns, he established contact with the traitor Milan Nedić, and at his invitation sent a delegation to Belgrade headed by Major Alexander Mišić, with authorization to conclude an agreement with Nedić on a joint struggle for the suppression of the peoples' uprising in Serbia. The delegation of the accused Mihailović, after the negotiations, which lasted from August 29 to September 5, 1941, concluded with Nedić the following agreement: that Nedić, i. e., Nedić's government, and the accused Mihailović should collaborate in the struggle against the Partisans, with the object of annihilating them; that Nedić should immediately give financial help to the organization of the accused Mihailović; that Nedić should immediately appoint a liaison officer, who would be continuously attached to the Headquarters of the accused Mihailović; that Nedić should arrange with the Germans not to persecute the accused Mihailović and his Četniks; and that after the formation of Nedić's armed detachments they should carry out a joint operational plan for the purging of Serbia of the Partisans.

After this agreement the delegation of the accused Mihailović received financial help from Nedić, and towards the middle of September 1941, Pipan, Mihailović's liaison officer with Nedić, brought to the Headquarters of the accused Mihailović the assistant commander of Nedić's gendarmerie, Lt. Col. Marko Olujević, who was appointed by Nedić liaison officer attached to the Headquarters of the accused Mihailović, and carried with him Nedić's operational plan for the joint purging of Serbia of the Partisans. Nedić, likewise, arranged, through the German command of General Dunkelmann, for the Germans not to persecute the Četniks of the accused Mihailović.

c) In preparing a general attack on the Partisans, Mihailović received under his command a considerable number of Kosta Pećanac's

commanders who had placed themselves openly in the service of the German invader, such as Budimir Cerski, Jovan Škavović, Nikola Kalabić, Božo Javorac and others; in September 1941 immediately after the liberation of Požega from the Germans, he ordered his commanders, Miloš Glišić and Vučko Ignjatović, to attack the Partisans at Požega and to capture the town from them;

By his hostile and suspicious attitude towards the Partisans he induced his officer Ignjatović and his Četnik detachment an Požega, to disarm Partisan couriers and small Partisan groups; to intercept trains going from Čačak to Užice with loads of wheat for the population, to seize transports of arms and ammunition sent from Užice to the front, to the troops who were fighting sanguinary battles against the Germans, to remove from a train the commander of the First Šumadija Partisan detachment, Milan Blagojević, who was returning from Užice to the front near Rudnik, and to kill him after brutal tortures.

Having made all the necessary preparations for the general attack on the Partisans, and in accordance with the message that Captain Hudson had transmitted to him from his superiors, and which read: »Yugoslavs must fight for Yugoslavia and the struggle must not be transformed into a communist rebellion for Soviet Russia,« the accused Mihailović broke the agreement regarding the joint struggle of the Četniks and Partisans against the invaders and their hirelings, concluded in October 1941 with Tito, commander of the National Liberation Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia; and on November 1, 1941, he gave orders to the commanders of all his units to withdraw all units facing the Germans, and to carry out a general attack on the Partisans. In carrying out this order all his units in Serbia abandoned their fronts against the Germans, leaving the way open to the German forces for their advance into the liberated teritory, and made a general attack on the Partisans viz.

On the night of November 1st—2nd, 1941, the Četniks, under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović, attacked Užice at a place called Trešnjica (only a few kilometres from Užice);

On the night of November 1st—2nd, 1941, Boža »Javorac« (who put himself under the command of Glišić and Ignjatović) suddenly attacked Ivanjica;

On November 6, 1941, the Četniks, who had abandoned the Kraljevo front a few days earlier, made a sudden and treacherous attack on a Partisans tank unit and artillery, killing the crews, and then attacked Čačak;

Captain Drag. Račić's Četnik detachment made a second attack on Užice;

The Četnik detachments of Captain Neško and Lieutenant Voja Popović attacked the Kolubara Partisan battalion on positions near Valjevo, where it was fighting against the Germans;

d) After the failure of the Četnik attack against the Partisans, the accused Mihailović continued the struggle against the Partisans, encouraged by the broadcasts of the emigrant Yugoslav government which announced in the middle of the Četnik attack on the Partisans that the accused Mihailović was the only authorized representative of the King and the emigrant government in the occupied country, and that all fighting forces should put themselves under his command. After that the accused Mihailović, with the unanimous approval of his staff, went with his officers Major Aleksandar Mišić, Colonel Branislav Pantić and Captain Nenad Mitrović to the village of Divci (10 km. from Valjevo) and, in a café, met the German representatives: the Chief of Staff of the German commander for Serbia, Gestapo officer Captain Joseph Matl, and some other German officers. The meeting was held in the greatest secrecy under the protection of German armoured cars and a large number of German soldiers. The accused Mihailović informed the emigrant government about this meeting by radiogram, through the British Intelligence Service;

e) On November 20, 1941, the accused Mihailović, through his representatives, concluded a truce with the representatives of the Headquarters of the Partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, and pledged himself to fight against the invader jointly with the Partisans; but he broke this agreement also, in the most critical phase of the struggle, during the first enemy offensive against the liberated territory of Serbia, which started on November 23, 1941, by ordering his commanders not to fight the Germans;

f) After the retreat of the chief Partisan forces from Serbia, Mihailović held a conference of his commanders on Ravna Gora, on November 30, 1941, and ordered his commanders to »legalize« themselves with the invader; that is, to enter openly and publicly into the service of the Germans. Acting upon this order, certain commanders of the accused Mihailović, with their units, entered the service of the Germans, namely: Lieutenant Predrag Raković at Čačak, Glišić and Ignjatović at Požega, Pantelić at Loznica, Živan Lazović in the Belgrade area, Borivoje Rajković and Captain Mladenović at Kosjerić, Captain Mitić, Matić, Budimir Cerski, Jovan Škavović, Mašan Đurović and others. These »legalized« units, together with their commanders, while recognizing the accused Mihailović as their com-

mander and taking orders from him, at the same time received arms, food and clothing from the Germans, and joined them in operations against the remaining Partisan units in Serbia, catching and killing patriots who helped the Liberation struggle of the Serbian people.

In carryng into effect the agreement with Nedić on a joint struggle against the Partisans, the accused Mihailović established strong connections with a large number of Nedić's commanders, — Milan Kalabić, Radovan Stojanović and others, who fought against the Partisans in the winter of 1941/42 and the spring of 1942 jointly with him and under his orders;

g) As early as 1941, after having betrayed the uprising in Serbia, and entered into cooperation with the German invader, the accused Mihailović began the organization of Četnik detachments in all the lands and regions of Yugoslavia. Thus:

In December, 1941, the accused Mihailović sent his officers Milivoje Nedeljković and Perhinek to Montenegro with the object of establishing contact with the Četnik commanders in Montenegro and Sandžak — General Blažo Đukanović, Colonel Bajo Stanišić, Major Đorđe Lašić and Captain Pavle Đurišić, and to hand them his instructions for the struggle against the Partisans. The said Četnik commanders, at the end of 1941, organized their units with the full help of the Italian invader and combined with him in fighting against the Partisans, receiving arms, food and in some cases even pay from the Italians;

In Sandžak, the accused Mihailović, at the end of 1941, succeeded in placing under his command the Sandžak Četnik units which were at that time openly in the Italian service and had been fighting against the Partisans from November 1941;

In the autumn of 1941 Mihailović sent to Bosnia and Hercegovina, with the object of organizing the Četniks, his officers Major Boško Todorović, Lieutenant Mutimir Petković, Captain Sergije Mihailović, Lieutenant Momčilović, and others in addition to Major Jezdimir Dangić of the gendarmerie, whom he had sent to eastern Bosnia at the time of the national uprising in Serbia. The accused Mihailović appointed Major Boško Todorović commander of Eastern Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the latter, after his arrival in this area, concluded an agreement concerning the cooperation of Četniks with the Italian invader in the struggle against the Partisans;

Jezdimir Dangić, commander of the accused Mihailović's units in Eastern Bosnia, immediately after his arrival in this area, broke up the unity of the Četniks and Partisans in the struggle against the Germans and Ustašas, and allowed the Germans to enter

the liberated territory, although the Partisans had previously stopped them and succeeded in preserving an important part of this territory. Dangić established contact with the Gestapo captain Matl at Banja Koviljača, and then went to Belgrade, with the knowledge and approval of the accused Mihailović, to ask help from the Germans and Nedić in his struggle against the Partisans in Eastern Bosnia;

At the same time local Četnik commanders an Eastern Bosnia — Father Sava Božić, Cvjetin Todić, and others, who had put themselves under the command of Captain Račić, (one of the accused Mihailović's officers who had crossed into Eastern Bosnia in December 1941), came to an agreement with the Ustaša authorities to cooperate in the extermination of Partisans and to join them in the fight against the Partisans in Eastern Bosnia;

During 1941, Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin, one of the accused Mihailović's commanders, with the help of the Italians, organized Četnik units in Western Bosnia and Lika, and later in Dalmatia, which fought against the Partisans in the closest collaboration with the Italians. He put considerable Četnik forces into special formations, known as the "voluntary anti-communist militia" (MVAC-Milizia Volontaria Anticomunista) under direct Italian command, the main task of these formations being the extermination of anti-fascists in Dalmatia;

During this period the accused Mihailović sent his officer Karlo Novak to Slovenia, and with the help of the invader and the quisling White Guards, this officer organized the Slovene Četniks known as the "Blue Guard;" although few in number, all the units of the accused Mihailović in Slovenia under the command of Major Novak openly collaborated with the invader and the quisling Slovene "White Guard";

h) A general national uprising broke out in Montenegro, Eastern Bosnia and Sandžak at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942. Following the path of treason and aiming at the suppression of the national uprising in these areas, the accused Mihailović left Serbia in May 1942, went to Zlatar mountain, and from there to Montenegro, and personally directed the operations of the Četnik units under the command of Miloš Glišić and Vučko Ignjatović from Serbia, Petar Baćović from Eastern Bosnia, Blažo Đukanović, Pavle Đurišić, Đorđe Lašić, Ivan Ružić, Bajo Stanišić, Jakov Jovović and Sima Mijušković from Montenegro, and the "legalized" units of Nikola Bojović, Vuk Kalaitović, "Voevod" Irić and Rade Korda, which Četnik units were at that time taking

part with the Italians in the Third Enemy Offensive against the Partisan units in Montenegro and Sandžak. All the said Četnik units under the command of the accused Mihailović were receiving arms, ammunition and food from the Italians, while the units of Mihailović's commander Blažo Djukanović were receiving also money. During the operations the Italians transported the Četnik units in their lorries from sector to sector, and the Četnik commanders, including members of the accused Mihailović's supreme command, passed through Italian garrison towns in motor-cars. The accused Mihailović himself, with his staff, was in the immediate vicinty of the Italian garrison. After heavy and tenacious fighting against the Italians and Četniks, especially on the sectors Sinjajevina, Kamena Gora — Kosanica, Nikšić—Golija, Nikšić—Travnik, Orlovac and Gat, and after the treacherous attack of the Četniks on the Partisan hospital and the Fifth Shock-brigade at Ćurevo, the Partisan forces were obliged to retreat from the free territory of Montenegro, Sandžak, Eastern Bosnia and Hercegovina, to Western and Central Bosnia, owing to the pressure of the Italian divisions and the accused Mihailović's betrayal;

i) After the Partisans had been obliged to evacuate the free territory in Montenegro, Sandžak, Eastern Bosnia and Hercegovina, the Četniks of the accused Mihailović strengthened their cooperation with the Italian invader, and, aided by the Italians, established a reign of terror on that territory. In the immediate vicinity of Kolašin, where Mihailović's commander Pavle Đurišić warmly received the Italian war criminal, General Pirzio Biroli, governor of Montenegro, and where the Četniks killed and hanged Montenegrin patriots, — the accused Mihailović, with his staff which was at Lipovo, directed the action of the Četniks for the crushing of the national uprising; at that time he was lavishly helped, both materially and politically, by the emigrant government in London, and supported by Major Hudson of the British army who at that time asked the accused Mihailović to arrange for him "to meet Captain Đurišić and Colonel Stanišić and other leaders who had fought so successfully against the communists and liberated their areas from them."

j) After an unsuccessful attempt, in the autumn of 1942, to crush, together with the Italians, Germans and the Ustašas, the Partisan forces on Dinara and in Western and Central Bosnia, the accused Mihailović, incited by Colonel Bailey of the British army, who told him that it was necessary to annihilate the Partisan forces and to clear the Partisan territory before the landing of the Allies in the Balkans,

began careful preparations for the participation of the Četnik units in the Fourth Enemy Offensive, and personally drew up the operational plan for the participation of the Četniks in the said offensive.

The German and the Italian invaders, realizing the significance of the national uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia for the liberation struggle of the people of enslaved Europe, and realizing the danger that this uprising represented for their plan of operations in North Africa and the Middle East, decided to crush the uprising in Yugoslavia, finally and completely. With this end in view the German and Italian commands made a common plan for joint operations in the coming Fourth Enemy Offensive, assigning the following units for the operation: a) German: 7-th SS "Prince Eugen" division, 369-th Infantry division, 717-th Jaeger division and 718-th Infantry division, and other special units: motorized, armoured, artillery, air-force; b) — Italian divisions: "Lombardia", "Re", "Sassari", "Murgie" and "Taurinense"; c) Ustaša brigades, Home Guard units and militia detachments. The accused Mihailović, having made preparations for taking part in these operations, ordered the following Četnik units to participate :the First corps of Major Bjelajac with 2.000 Četniks, the Second corps of Father Dujić with 2.000 Četniks, the Third corps of Major Baćović with 3.000 Četniks, 600 Četniks under the command of Novak Mijović, 5.000 Četniks under the command of Bajo Stanišić, 3.000 Četniks under the command of Bora Mitranović and 5.000 Četniks under the command of Pavle Đurišić.

The main operations in the Fourth Enemy Offensive took place between January 15 and the middle of April 1943 in the area extending from the Kupa across the Neretva — in the Neretva "pocket" the famous "battle for the wounded" took place — to the Drina. In these operations the above mentioned German, Italian and Pavelić's units took part as well as the units of the accused Mihailović, which had received from the invader arms, ammunition and food, and were supported by the invader's artillery, air-force and tanks. The accused Mihailović led the operations of the Četnik units, both through Major Ostojić, and personally. In the final phase of the operations on the Drina, the accused Mihailović commanded certain parts of the Italian "Taurinense" division. During this offensive the enemy and Četnik formations set fire to villages, laying waste whole regions, and exterminating masses of civilians who were retreating with their people's army before the enemy;

k) During the Fourth Offensive in the area between the Kupa, Neretva and Drina, the accused Mihailović's Četniks, in accordance with his instructions, fought also in other regions of Yugoslavia, together with the invader and quislings, against the Army of National Liberation and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia. Thus in Serbia the accused Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Predrag Raković, Zvonimir Vučković and others, took part in the common struggle against the Partisans, together with the Germans, Nedić's and Ljotić's units, Bulgarian occupation units and units of the Russian White Guards. According to instructions, and with the approval of the accused Mihailović, the Četniks in Bosnia concluded a series of agreements with the Germans and Ustašas in Slovenia and with the Slovene "White Guard". After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, Četnik units of the accused Mihailović throughout the country came under the protection of the Germans, cooperated openly with them, took orders from them and received arms, ammunition and other military equipment;

1) Having received material aid and instructons from the emigrant governments to hold out with his forces at any cost, and the message of General Masterson of the British army to liquidate the communists as soon as possible, after which the situation would become better for the Četniks and the English would change their attitude, propaganda and policy towards Mihailović, the accused Mihailović had, during the summer of 1943 till the end of the war, a series of meetings and contacts with representatives of the German command in Yugoslavia and the home traitors Nedić, Pavelić and Ljotić, as well as the reactionary elements in Croatia, with the purpose of carrying on the struggle against the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Thus, by order of the accused Mihailović, meetings were held in April and May 1944 between Mihailović's commander of Serbia, General Trifunović, the accused Živko Topalović, and Captain Raković, on the one hand, and the Gestapo man, Starker, Milan Aćimović, Dimitrije Ljotić, and Ilija Mihailović on the other, in the villages of Vranići, Trbušani and Brđani. At these meetings it was decided to carry out joint operations against the Partisans and to supply the Četniks with German arms. Apart from his commanders, the accused Mihailović met personally, on August 20, 1944, at Ražani near Kosjerić, Milan Nedić and the accused Dragomir Jovanović, and there they concluded the following agreement: Nedić was to give Mihailović monthly assistance of one hundred million dinars, Nedić undertook to supply Mihailović with 32.000 rifles and three million

rounds of ammunition to be obtained from the Germans, Nedić pledged himself to supply Mihailović with uniforms and footwear, in order to coordinate the action against the Army of National Liberation — if the Germans allowed this — Nedić was to put his armed forces under the command of the accused Mihailović and Mihailović promised Nedić that the arms would not be used against the Germans; further, Mihailović met personally the chief of the administrative staff of the German military commander for Serbia, Neubacher, at Rošci at Caganj school, in August 1944, and the Gestapo man Starker on four more occasions, namely in the village of Pranjani in August 1944, at Dragina on the occasion of the accused Mihailović's flight from Serbia to Bosnia in September 1944, and twice in Bosnia in the region of Sarajevo, at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945. At the first three meetings between the accused Mihailović and German representatives, viz., at the Rošci meeting (at Caganj school), at Pranjani and at Draginja, Colonel McDowell of the American army was present. Colonel McDowell came to Mihailović as chief of the American military mission, after the British government had recalled their missions to the accused Mihailović and his commanders, and as such he requested the Germans to surrender exclusively to Mihailović, and assured Mihailović that he must keep up his position among the people and that the USA would help Mihailović and his organization exclusively. In the winter of 1942, through Pinterović and Mate Rusković, the accused Mihailović established contact with the followers of Maček in Croatia; he maintained this contact until the end of the war, in order to unite the military formations which the Maček men intended to form under the supreme comand of the accused Mihailović, for the purpose of engaging them in a common struggle against the Movement of National Liberation. On the basis of fighting against the National Liberation Movement, the accused Mihailović, in March 1945, through Brašić, a lawyer, established contact with, and sent letters to, Archbishop Stepinec and Ante Pavelić, the organizer of the massacre of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

In the same period, from the summer of 1943 to the end of the war, while the accused Mihailović and his commanders were concluding the above mentioned agreements, the following units, in collaboration with the Germans and quisling formations, continued the struggle against the Army of National Liberation and the Yugoslav Army: the Četniks, under the command of Major Ostojić, a member of Draža Mihailović's Supreme Command, the Četnik units

of Đurišić, Drašković, Kalaitović, Cvetić, Lalatović, Račić, Vučković, Nikola Kalabić, Marković, Radović, Neško Nedić, Tufegdžić, Keserović and others in Sandžak and Serbia and units under the command of Rade Radić, Vranješević, Drenović, Bora Mitranović, Cvijetin Todić, Steva Damjanović "Leka" in Bosnia and finally those of Đuić, Jevđević, Bjelajac, Baćović, Lukačević and others in Bosnia, Croatia and other regions.

m) Concluding the treacherous activity which he had carried out during the liberation war and the occupation, the accused Mihailović, before the expulsion of the Germans from Yugoslavia and the annihilation of the Četnik units, proceeded to terrorism. Thus, in March 1945, at Modrić in Bosnia he created, a school for terrorists, to whom he gave the name "Royal Commandos", and he received the Gašparević terrorist-diversionary group which he knew had been sent to Serbia directly from the Gestapo in Vienna with the object of committing sabotage, diversionary acts, assassination and other crimes, placing it under his own command and giving it orders when he sent it to Serbia with his commander Topalović. He issued orders to his other commanders as well, to proceed to terrorist acts, and so certain commanders, after the conclusion of war operations, blew up bridges and trains, and committed assassinations until they were captured;

The accused Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović and his Četnik commanders, according to his orders and instructions in large-scale actions called mopping-up of the terrain, and with the aid of the flying brigades and the Black Threes, throughout the whole course of the war and the occupation commited innumerable war crimes against the people in all regions of Yugoslavia. Thus:

In November 1941, in the village of Braići at a place called Drenovi Vrh, the Četniks shot about 500 captured Partisans and their supporters;

The accused Mihailović, on the night November 13th—14th, 1941, (i. e. the same night as when he met the Gestapo captain Matl) ordered his commander Daka Tešmanović to hand over some 365 captured Partisans to the Serbian State Guard in the village of Slovac, although he knew for certain that the Serbian State Guard would shoot them or hand them over to the Germans, which was done, and in the following way: Tešmanović handed them over to Jovan Škava, and he handed them over to the Germans. The Germans shot about 270 of the Partisans, while the others were sent to camps;

In the first days of November, 1941, Mihailović's commander, Ajdačić, slaughtered 13 Partisan sympathizers near Kosjerić, at a place

called Ridovi, among whom was the school teacher Jelena Subić-Gmizović, and Mileva Kosovac, whom the Četniks had previously raped and disfigured with hot irons;

In November 1941, near Ravna Gora, the Četniks killed about 30 Partisans who had been captured by a trick, among whom were 18 girls who had been sent to Užice as nurses;

In December 1941, at Čačak, Mihailović's Četniks, in collaboration with the Germans, shot 80 members of the Movement of National Liberation at one time;

In December 1941, in the Požega District, a mixed German-Četnik court sentenced to death, on one occasion only, 12 Partisan supporters;

In December 1941, and during January 1942, the Četniks massacred over 2.000 Moslems — men, women and children, from the Foča, Goražde and Čajniče regions. The massacres were perpetrated on the bridges over the Drina at Foča and Goražde;

In the course of December 1941, and during the whole of 1942, Mihailović's »legalized« Četniks arrested and handed over to the Germans in different regions of Serbia, thousands of Partisan supporters whom the Germans shot in the Banjica, Niš, Užice, Čačak and other camps. Besides this, the Četniks themselves killed thousands of Partisan supporters, looted many villages, flogged thousands of people, and violated a large number of women and girls belonging to Partisan families;

On April 1, 1942, at Jošavka, Rade Radić's Četniks killed 20 wounded Partisans, among them the seriously wounded National Hero, Dr. Mladen Stojanović;

In April 1942, Lazar Tešanović's and Rade Radić's Četniks (who had at that time placed themselves under the command of Mihailović's captain Račić) killed 70 wounded Partisans;

At the end of April, 1942, Spasoje Dakić, Mihailović's battalion commander at Čelebić, killed the British major, Terence Atherton, and his radio-telegraphist, a British sergeant;

In June 1942, Mihailović's Četniks set fire to the hospital in the village of Izgori, near Gacko, burning 10 wounded Partisans;

In June 1942, Mihailović's detachment, under the command of Captain Vladimir Đukić, took from the prison at Nikšić 25 supporters of the Movement of National Liberation and shot them, in collaboration with the Italians;

In August 1942, Mihailović's commander Baćović killed the following sympathizers of the Movement of National Liberation: Judge

Rade Pravica, Toma Galep, Jovo Ljubibratić, Budimir Ukropina and Tasa Kosorić;

In August 1942, Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Petar Baćović, during their occupation of Foča, slew both there and in the villages which together are known as Bukovica, about 1.000 Moslems, among whom were about 300 women, children and old men;

In August 1942 on the terrain round Ustikolina and Jahorina (Eastern Bosnia) Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Major Zaharija Ostojić and Petar Baćović, massacred about 2.500 Moslems and burned down their villages;

In September 1942, at Makarska, Petar Baćović's Četniks killed about 900 Croats, skinned alive a number of Catholic priests, and burned 17 villages;

In October 1942, near Prozor, Petar Baćović's Četniks killed, in collaboration with the Italians and under the command of the Italian lieutenant Vidjak, about 2.500 Moslems and Croats, among whom were women, children and old men, and burned a large number of villages;

In October 1942, Petar Baćović's Četniks in the villages of Gat, Niklice and Cišlo, in Dalmatia, in collaboration with the Italians, killed 109 Croats as sympathizers of the National Liberation Movement;

In the autumn of 1942, at Drežnica (Hercegovina) the Četniks from Gacko massacred about 100 Moslems during a raid on Prozor;

In December 1942, in the village of Vrajinci (Mrkajić—Eastern Bosnia) and in the neighbouring villages, the Četniks of Mihailović's commander Rajko Čelonja killed 160 peasants, and burnt Vrajinci and some other villages. Among the killed were women and children;

In January 1943, Mihailović's Četniks in the Banja village near Aranđelovac, killed the Orthodox priest Isaković, and 18 other Partisan supporters;

In January 1943, Major Cvetić massacred 16 captured Partisans near Užice;

Ii January 1943, in the Posavski District, Mihailović's Četniks under the command of Komarčević, slaughtered 72 Partisan sympathizers;

In January 1943, in the Bijelo Polje District, Pavle Đurišić's Četniks killed about 400 men and about 1.000 women and children of the Mahommedan faith;

In February 1943, in the Plevlje, Čajniče and Foča Districts, the Četniks, under the command of Zaharija Ostojić, Petar Baćović, Pavle Đurišić, Voja Lukačević, Vuk Kalaitović and others, massacred

1.200 men and 8.000 women, children and old people, looted and afterwards burnt about 2.000 houses;

In the middle of July 1943, in the village of Cikota (Eastern Bosnia) the Četniks discovered 80 wounded of the First Proletarian Division, took away their arms, and the next day called the Germans, who killed and afterwards burnt them;

In the course of the Fifth Enemy Offensive, in June 1943, the Četniks massacred the wounded Partisans from Sutjeska, and then butchered Dr. Simo Milošević and the Croat poet, Ivan Goran Kovačić in the Jeleča and Vrbnica villages;

In July 1943, at Bišina (Birać) the Četniks discovered 120 wounded of the First and Second Proletarian brigade, and handed them over to the Germans, who killed them;

In December 1943, at Kolašin, the Četnik commander, Major Petrićević, shot 28 captured Partisans and 6 peasants — Partisan supporters;

In December 1943, the Četnik commander, Živan Lazović, massacred 15 peasants — Partisan supporters in the village of Selevac;

In December 1943, near Bosansko Grahovo, the Četniks massacred 137 captured Partisans;

In December 1943, in the village of Tičevo, near Drvar, the Četniks massacred 28 captured Partisans;

In December 1943, at Zeta (Montenegro), the Četniks massacred 8 peasants — delegates to the First Anti-fascist Assembly of Montenegro;

In December 1943, in the village of Kopljari, near Arandelovac, Nikola Kalabić's Četniks massacred 24 peasants;

In December 1943, an the Sjenica District, Vuk Kalaitović's Četniks shot 18 Partisan supporters;

In December 1943, in the village of Vranić near Belgrade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miodrag Palošević and Major Sveta Trifković, the Četniks massacred 72 persons, among whom were 2 children, one of 2 years of age and the other of 3 months. One of the victims was castrated. In addition to this they pillaged the peasant's houses;

From June 1942, to March 1943, Mihailović's Četniks, under the command of Pavle Đurišić sentenced to death and shot about 1.000 Montenegrin Partisans and peasants, because they had taken part in the liberation uprising in Montenegro;

On April 29, 1944, in the village of Drugovac (county of Belgrade), the Četnik detachments of Captain Živojin Lazović, Major Svetislav Trifković, Nikola Kalabić, Dragutin Bojović, Sveta Bogi-

ćević, Radovan Dokmanović and Sveta Radičević massacred 73 persons among whom were 9 women. On this occasion 37 further persons were gravely maltreated, and 220 houses were pillaged and afterwards burnt;

In April 1944, near Bajina Bašta, the Četniks slaughtered 8 Partisan sympathizers;

In May 1944, at Jastrebac, Dragutin Keserović's Četniks discovered a Partisan hospital and shot 24 wounded and 4 nurses;

In May 1944, in Semberija, the Motajica Četniks discovered Partisan hospitals, and killed about 300 severely wounded;

In the summer of 1944, in the village of Balinović, the Četniks, in front of 20 people, roasted alive the peasant Živan Đurđević, from Balinović, and afterwards killed him and his son;

At the beginning of August 1944, Dušan Radović-Kondor, commander of Mihailović's Zlatibor corps, butchered 2 American pilots of French origin, who had executed a forced parachute landing near the Lim river;

In August 1944, in the village of Selci in Serbia, Sveta Bogićević's Četnik detachment captured Sava Sremčević, Konstantin Vojinović, Ilija Radojević and Ilija Jovanović, and after having tortured them in order to obtain a confession regarding their collaboration with the Partisans, butchered all four.

In addition to this, tens of thousands of people were tortured and flogged by the Četniks, and in Montenegro they introduced a special flogging system with the »Rogalj« (the victim's neck is pinned to the ground by a forked branch).

The accused Mihailović's commanders submitted lists of the Partisan supporters to the invader and quislings, on the basis of which lists these people were arrested and shot. The Belgrade Četnik organization specially collaborated closely with the Special Police for the annihilation of the Partisan supporters in Belgrade.

The crimes here enumerated are only a fraction of the crimes that the accused Mihailović's Četniks commited in all parts of Yugoslavia, in compliance with his orders and directions.

II

THE ACCUSED STEVAN MOLJEVIĆ, MLADEN ŽUJOVIĆ, ŽIVKO TOPALOVIĆ AND ĐURO VILOVIĆ

are guilty because:

during the war and the occupation, in collaboration with the accused Mihailović and in accordance with the instructions of the emigrant governments, they directed the traitorous »Ravna Gora Mo-

vement«, were members of the so-called Central National Committee (CNK) and organized on the territory which was under Četnik control, with the consent of the invader, the Ravna Gora provincial, county, district and local organizations whose fundamental task was the suppression of the Liberation Movement and the maintenance of the occupation, with the assistance of which organizations they persecuted and denounced antifascists to the Četnik bands and the invader, organized emergency tribunals and killed patriots, carried out forcible mobilization and requisitioning for the Četniks, and spread traitorous propaganda among the people;

After the magnificent victories of the Army of National Liberation and especially after the historical decisions passed at the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation (AVNOJ), they organized, in January 1944, in the village of Ba, a congress of so-called Ravna Gora supporters and reactionary elements representing former political parties and groups, whom they elected into their Ravna Gora Central National Committee, all this with a view to giving political support to the traitor Mihailović, and through him to the entire occupation system, as well as to the crushing of the people's authority;

Thus:

1. The accused *Stevan Moljević* as member of the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee from the beginning of 1942 up to the Ba congress and from that time up to the dissolution of the Četnik organization, in his capacity as president of the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee, directed the Četnik organizations in collaboration with the accused Mihailović. He was the originator of decisions of a political nature and elaborated instructions for the organization of the treacherous Ravna Gora Committees;

He received telegrams and reports from the Četnik organizations and officials on the basis of which he issued definite instructions to subordinate organizations for their traitorous activities;

He edited the central Četnik paper »Ravna Gora«, wrote articles for the Četnik papers »Ravna Gora« and »Ujedinjeno Srpstvo«; he wrote proclamations, delivered speeches, organized and held conferences of editors of local Četnik papers and in general organized Četnik propaganda, with the object of leading the people's masses into the path of treason;

He issued instructions for the reorganization and work of Četnik emergency tribunals, and thus declared his solidarity with the

murders which the Četniks perpetrated against the people with only a semblance of a trial;

2. The accused *Mladen Žujović,* as member of the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee, from the summer of 1941, up to his flight from the country in the autumn of 1943, in collaboration with the accused Moljević and Mihailović directed the so-called Ravna Gora Movement;

In May, 1943, as delegate of the accused Mihailović's Supreme Command, he commanded all Četnik units and Četnik organizations in Dalmatia, Western Bosnia and Lika, succeeding, in this function, the most avowed collaborationist, Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin. As delegate of the Četnik Supreme Command, the accused Žujović carried on the closest military and political collaboration with the Italians, had meetings with the Italian general Spigo, with whom he concluded an agreement, according to which the Italians were to supply the Četniks with arms and ammunition, and the Italian and Četnik units were to undertake common operations against the Army of National Liberation — thus these operations were carried out together and numerous crimes were committed, during this period, against the people;

At the of 1944, together with the accused Topalović, and in accordance with an order of the accused Mihailović, he organized the Central National Committee (CNK) abroad in order to rally fugitive Četnik, Nedić—Ljotić and Ustaša bands, to bring them in touch with similar emigrant bands abroad, and with the assistance of certain reactionary elements abroad, to threaten the external security of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and its internal order;

3. The accused *Živko Topalović,* in occupied Belgrade, in agreement with the Gestapo agent and president of the Commissarial Administration in Serbia, Milan Aćimović, organized a series of meetings with members of the leadership of former political parties, at with Aleksandar Popović and Branko Ivković, met the accused Mihailović and to collaborate with him, in order to strengthen his position;

Following on these decisions, the accused Topalović, together with Aleksandar Popović and Branko Ivković, met the accused Mihailović in December 1943, took part at the Ba congress, drafted the project of the Ba resolution, and became a member of the Executive Committee of the Central National Committee, thus becoming a member of the supreme body of the traitorous Četnik organization;

In April 1944, in the village of Trbušani, he met the councillor of the administrative staff of the German commander for Serbia,

Starker and Milan Aćimović. At this meeting it was decided that the Germans should supply the Četniks with arms and ammunition and fight with them against the Army of National Liberation;

At the end of 1944, together with the accused Žujović, he organized abroad the so-called Central National Committee, with the object set forth in part II/2 of this exposition;

4. The accused *Đuro Vilović,* in the autumn of 1942, joined the Četnik organization in Split, although he knew, and saw for himself that the Četniks were collaborating with the Italians, and that they were fighting together against the Movement of National Liberation. In June 1944 he became a member of the Central National Committee in whose criminal activity he took part, as president of the propaganda committee;

He wrote articles in Četnik papers, and shamelessly attacked the National Liberation Movement, calling the fighters of the Army of National Liberation, Ustaša-Comunist bands, although he was conscious of the gravity of these calumnies and lies.

III

THE ACCUSED RADOSLAV-RADE RADIĆ, SLAVOLJUB VRANJEŠEVIĆ AND MILOŠ GLIŠIĆ:

1) The accused *Radoslav Rade Radić* was a member of the Fourth Krajina Partisan detachment at the time when that detachment was fighting against the Ustašas in the Teslić Sector, and, together with part of the command which had been left behind at Jošavka to collect food, he organized, according to a premeditated plan, a group of about 100 Četniks sympathizers. This group, in the night between March 31 and April 1, 1942, cruelly attacked the remaining command and the hospital at Jošavka, and murdered 15 Partisan fighters and leaders, among whom was the National Hero, Dr. Mladen Stojanović;

As the commander of the Četnik group and later of the Četnik detachment "Boje", he organized and directed the attacks on the Partisan hospital at Borje, the Partisan hospital at Čemernica and killed about 60 leaders of the National Liberation Movement on the terrain;

On April 9, 1942, he concluded written agreements with the Ustaša General Brozović, and later, in the beginning of 1943, with the German Command at Banja Luka, about the joint struggle against the Partisans, with the object of crushing the revolt in that region;

From June 25, 1942, as the commander of all the Četnik detachments in Western Bosnia, and in collaboration with the Germans and the Ustašas, he fought against the National Liberation Army, until September 1943, when he was appointed member of the Central Committee by the accused Mihailović. For this criminal work, the accused Radić, at the proposal of the accused Mihailović, was promoted to the rank of officer, and awarded the Karadjordje Star;

As a member of the Central National Committe he organized the Ravna Gora Committees in West Bosnia and directed their work.

2) The accused *Slavoljub Vranješević,* in October 1941 entered the service of the traitor Milan Nedić as chief of section in the Gendarmerie command, and in February 1942, with one detachment of Nedić troops, he went over to East Bosnia and there joined with Jezdimir Dangić and the Germans in fighting against the Partisans;

As Chief of Staff of the Četnik commanders Dangić and Botić in East Bosnia, and from July 1942, as Chief of Staff of the Četnik commander of West Bosnia — Rade Radić, and as commander of the Četnik detachment in West Bosnia from September 1943 on, he organized and directed jointly with the Germans and the Ustašas, operations against the National Liberation Army in the surroundings of Banja Luka. At Manjača, in the course of the Fourth Enemy Offensive, he prevented the Partisans from crossing the Vrbas river, and during the Fifth Enemy Offensive he fought against the Partisans together with the Germans, on the following front: Divan—Kurjače Brdo—Skakavica—Ravna Gora;

Acting on the orders of the accused Mihailović, he organized the »Blak Threes« and the flying brigades, whose task was to capture and liquidate the Partisans and their sympathizers;

After the liberation of the greater part of Yugoslavia, and according to written and oral orders from the accused Mihailović, he commanded the Četnik "Fives" and issued orders to them to carry out sabotage on the liberated territory, to attack communications, to kill Partisan couriers as well as the fighters of the Yugoslav Army and the members of the people's committees, and he continued this criminal work after the liberation of Yugoslavia, until he was caught.

3) The accused *Miloš Glišić,* in July 1941, entered the organization of the accused Mihailović and took an important part in it and, as Chief of Staff of the Četnik Požega detachment, jointly with Vučko Ignjatović, who was the commander of this detachment,

organized and directed the attack of the Četnik units in September 1941, at Užička Požega, which was held by the Partisans, and on the night of November 1st—2nd, 1942, acting on the orders of the accused Mihailović, together with Vučko Ignjatović, he attcked Užice which also was held by the Partisans, although there existed a written agreement between the Partisans and the Četniks regarding the joint struggle against the invader;

At the end of November 1941, after the witdrawal of the bulk of the Partisan forces from Serbia to Sandžak, acting upon the orders of the accused Mihailović, together with the commander of the Požega Četnik detachment, Vučko Ignjatović, he "legalized" himself and his whole detachment, remaining at the same time under the real command of the accused Mihailović, and as such, in the capacity of Chief of Staff of the so-called command of the Požega Četnik Detachment of the Serbian Armed Forces, participated in numerous operations in collaboration with the Germans and Nedić troops, which aimed at the expulsion of the Partisan forces from Serbia, and the annihilation of the remnant of the Partisan forces and their sympathizers in Serbia;

At the end of March 1942, on the orders of the accused Mihailović, in the capacity of commander of the Četnik Corps, he carried the organization and preparation for the Third Enemy Offensive in Sandžak in which he took part as comander of all the Četnik forces, in cooperation with the Italians, from the middle of May till the beginning of June 1942.

IV

THE ACCUSED SLOBODAN JOVANOVIĆ, BOŽIDAR PURIĆ, MOMČILO NINČIĆ, PETAR ŽIVKOVIĆ, RADOJE KNEŽEVIĆ, ŽIVAN KNEŽEVIĆ AND KONSTANTIN FOTIĆ

continuing the policy of the profascist dictatorships in old Yugoslavia, after having concluded the shameful capitulation and having escaped from the country, stubbornly and constantly carried out a policy of supporting the occupation and suppressing the National Liberation uprising in the country, and to this end issued instructions that the time for the struggle had not yet come. They gave constant political support to the traitor Mihailović and were in contact with Milan Nedić and other quisling elements in the country;

With the same aim, they instigated, through the BBC, a fratricidal war among the peoples of Yugoslavia, and issued orders to the accused Mihailović to form Courts Martial and to apply the

Law concerning the Protection of the State, and thus they instigated the Četnik and the quisling bands in the country to commit crimes against the people, for which they are consequently fully responsible;

They supported with money from the State Treasury the accused Mihailović and his Četniks, sending them cash and supplying the Četnik formations;

They carried out propaganda in favour of the accused Mihailović and his Četniks, by means of radio stations and written propaganda abroad, presenting the accused Mihailović to the world in a false light, namely as the leader of resistance to the enemy in the country, and thus deceiving the world about what was going on in Yugoslavia, and induced many people in the country to take the path of treason;

By helping the accused Mihailović and his Četniks in their struggle against the National Liberation Army, and by establishing contact with Milan Nedić and other quisling elements in the country, they undermined and weakened the struggle of Yugoslavia and her Allies against the fascist aggressors; and thus:

1) *Slobodan Jovanović* and *Božidar Purić*, as prime ministers of the emigrant governments, *Momčilo Ninčić* and *Milan Gavrilović* as ministers, *Petar Živković*, as minister and deputy commander in chief and acting minister of war, and *Radoje Knežević*, as minister of the court:

a) in January 1942 appointed Draža Mihailović minister of war, although they knew that he and his Četniks joined the invader in fighting the Partisans, while in July of the same year, they appointed him chief of staff of the Supreme Command, and sent instructions to him not to begin the struggle against the invader until the capitulation of Germany, or until considerable Allied forces should land in Yugoslavia, while on the other hand they approved of, instigated, and assisted politically the accused Mihailović in his struggle against the National Liberation forces in Yugoslavia;

b) they promoted, decorated, and praised the Četnik commanders who, under the command of the accused Mihailović, especially distinguished themselves in collaborating with the invader and in fighting against the Partisans — for example, Ilija Trifunović-Birčanin, Dobrosav Jevdjević, Petar Baćović, Vojislav Lukačević, Dragutin Keserović, Radosav Radić, Nikola Kalabić, Pavle Đurišić, Bajo Stanišić, Momčilo Đurić, Jezdimir Dangić and many others — while on the other hand they degraded officers who remained faithful to their people and joined the ranks of the Libe-

ration Army and fought against the invader — for example, Savo Orović, Arso Jovanović, Velimir Terzić, Petar Cvetković, Branko Poljanac, Ratko Martinović and many others — they arrested and persecuted officers abroad who approved of the Liberation Struggle and wished to return to their Fatherland to fight against the invader;

c) they supplied the accused Mihailović with arms, ammunition, clothing and other war equipment, and large sums of money out of the State Treasury, authorizing him to use them for the suppression of the national uprising;

d) they wasted State money by organizing broadcasts through foreign radio stations, they issued material for propaganda abroad and infiltrated it into the country, they bribed the reactionary press, with the object of showing the accused Mihailović in a false light to the world, as the leader of the struggle against the invader, they instigated the fratricidal war and weakened the power of resistance of our peoples in their struggle against the invader;

e) although they knew perfectly well that the Četniks of Draža Mihailović massacred people, they condoned the Četnik crimes and atrocities, and broadcast the letter "Z", under which citizens of Yugoslavia were to be placed.

2) the accused *Živan Knežević:*

a. as chief of the military chancellery of the emigrant government of the accused Slobodan Jovanović, he really performed the duties of war minister in the emigrant government and in that capacity he inspired the decisions of the government, mentioned under paragraph 1, and carried them out, showing in this matter very great initiative and activity;

b. from this position he was appointed military attaché in the USA where, in cooperation with the ambassador of the Yugoslav emigrant government, the accused Konstantin Fotić, and following instructions received from the Yugoslav emigrant government, he organized a great campaign on behalf of the accused Mihailović and his Četnik organization, endeavouring by every means to prevent the public from knowing that the accused Mihailović collaborated with the invader and even to persuade it, by false and slanderous reports which he got from the emigrant government and the accused Mihailović, or forged himself, that the National Liberation Movement in Yugoslavia was not a liberation movement at all, and that it was not carrying on the struggle against the invader, but only fighting against the accused Mihailović and his organization, and, allegedly, obstructing him in his struggle against the invader;

3. The accused *Konstantin Fotić,* in April 1941, agreed to the partition of Yugoslavia carried out by the invader, and through the newspaper »Srbobran«, which is issued in the United States, organized a campaign for the creation of Greater Serbia, a chauvinistic campaign against the whole Croat people, accusing them of the Ustaša massacres of the Serbian population, and a campaign against the National Liberation Struggle of our peoples which was being conducted by the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments, which in his press campaign he called a band of international criminals and gangsters. Through the reactionary journalists, Ray Brook, Malcolm, and others, he spread false news about events in Yugoslavia among the foreign press and at public meetings in USA he falsely represented the accused Mihailović as a fighter against the invader, using for that purpose the Gestapo spy, Ruth Mitchel, whom he presented as an officer in the service of the accused Mihailović. Through a foreign radio station he organized a broadcast in our language, inciting the Serbs against the Croats, and calling on the whole Serbian people to fight against the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments. He spread false news through radio stations and the press, both in the country and abroad, and also, through a part of the emigrant press among the emigrants abroad. This false news, which he got from the Yugoslav emigrant government and the accused Mihailović, dealt with the latter's alleged struggle against the invader. Thus, although he was an official representative of Yugoslavia, he worked for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the instigation of fratricidal war and chauvinist hatred in the country, in this way helping the accused Mihailović and his Četnik organization, who collaborated with the invader and helped him in his attempts to suppress the National Liberation Struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

V

THE ACCUSED DRAGOMIR-DRAGI JOVANOVIĆ, TANASIJE DINIĆ, VELIBOR JONIĆ, ĐURA DOKIĆ, KOSTA MUŠICKI AND BOŠKO PAVLOVIĆ

continuing their former anti-national activity, immediately after the occupation of the country they put themselves openly in the service of the German invader, and by his orders they organized the state administration in Serbia, at the head of which stood the government of Milan Nedić; and this state administration carried out the decisions of the German invader, the accused showing great initiative and activity in this work;

With the help of the invader they organized the Special Police, which, within the framework of the German Gestapo, introduced a reign of terror over the Serbian people; they also organized, with the help of the invader, the military formations of the Serbian State Guard, the Serbian Volunteer Corps, and the Serbian Frontier Guard, into which they forcibly mobilized and recruited our citizens, and with which they carried on jointly with the invader, an armed struggle against the units of the Army of National Liberation, receiving from the Germans arms, and carrying out their orders;

As faithful servants of fascism and reaction, with the help of the above mentioned military and police formations and state administrative apparatus, throughout the war they committed mass murders among the population, organized concentration camps to which they sent tens of thousands of men, women and children, whom they exposed to brutal tortures and extermination; they sent tens of thousands of men to forced labour in the country and in Germany; they organized and executed plunder of national and state property; insured the working of mines, industrial enterprises, transport and other public services primarily in the interests of the war needs of the Germans; they terrorized the Serbian youth and tried to educate it in the spirit of subservience to the invaders; by all means at ther disposal they spread treacherous nazi propaganda with which they deceived the people and maintained the occupation — all this with the object of suppressing the Movement of National Liberation, of turning the country to fascism and making Serbia a part of Hitler's »new European order«;

Thus:

1) The accused *Dragomir Jovanović:*

immediately after the occupation put himself at the disposal of the German occupation authorities and, as a person trusted by the Gestapo, with which he formerly had relations, was appointed extraordinary commissar of the Belgrade Prefecture, Prefect of the Belgrade Police and Mayor of Belgrade at the proposal of the Germans, and in November 1941, at the request of General Meisner he was appointed Chief of the Serbian State Security Department and finally, in the summer of 1944, Commissar for the city of Belgrade and Vračar, Grocka and Posavina districts, with extraordinary powers for the suppression of the national uprising in these territories;

Continuing the well-known system of the Belgrade Glavnjača, assassinations, tortures and the persecution of the best sons of the people, which the regime in old Yugoslavia had been practising for twenty years, the accused Dragomir Jovanović, serving the

German invader faithfully against his own people during the war and occupation, among a series of crimes, committed the following:

He reorganized and put at the disposal of the invader the police spy system of the notorious Belgrade Prefecture; he organized the Special Police with the notorious agents Paranos, Bećarević, Kosmajac, Grujičić and others; as Chief of the Serbian State Security Department he controlled the above mentioned police apparatus and gave instructions and orders to the Serbian State Guard, Serbian Frontier Guard, county and district commissionerships and police prefectures in towns; the whole police and administrative apparatus, under his command and according to orders from the Gestapo, throughout the war and occupation, in Belgrade and the interior of Serbia, executed mass arrests, and was responsible for the beating and shooting of patriots, and other crimes; together with the Gestapo and by order of the Nedić government he organized the Banjica concentration camp in Belgrade, where thousands of men were tortured and shot with his approval; by Belgrade Prefecture Order № 9991 of September 23, 1943, instituted a Court martial in the Belgrade police area which sentenced to death a large number of people; ordered that for each gendarme or police agent killed, men should be shot as a reprisal: as Chief of the Serbian State Security Department he issued an order that every inhabitant of Belgrade who knew of or sheltered a person who was taking part in the liberation struggle, and failed to report such a person, would be shot. He organized the system of forced labour in Serbia and the sending of workers to Germany; as early as 1941, he had begun to cooperate with the Četniks, and in 1944 he met personally the accused Mihailović and sent arms, ammunition, money etc. to the Četnik organization.

2) The accused *Tanasije Dinić:*

in April 1941, as regimental commander, he disarmed his regiment and surrendered it to the Germans, and then, continuing a collaboration that he had begun with the Gestapo before the war, immediately after his return to Belgrade he put himself at the disposal of the Gestapo chief, Kraus; when at the end of April 1941, Milan Aćimović formed the commissar government, he was appointed deputy commissar for the interior and as such — as a person in whom the Germans had full confidence, and by their order — he organized an enquiry into the events of March 27, 1941, and communicated the results of the enquiry, which were a state secret, to the Germans;

During his office of deputy commissar of the interior, he controlled the police system jointly with Aćimović and, acting on the

orders of these two, the police took hostages in various places in Serbia and handed them over to the Germans, who shot them, — at Čačak, Valjevo, Šabac, Užice and other places;

Besides his post as deputy commissar of the interior, he was also commissar for appointments and approved the nomination of commissars in all branches of the state administration, and dismissed civil servants from the state service, without right of redress, and he held this position until his flight from the country. During this period he dismissed from the state service 10.000 civil servants who sympathized with the liberation movement, and their dismissal automatically brought with it imprisonment in a concentration camp;

From October 1942, till November 1943, as minister of the interior in Nedić's government, he was at the head of the administrative system in Serbia, through which he committed crimes against the people; and from then up to the liberation of the country, as minister of social welfare, he did all he could to strengthen the position of the invader in the country and suppress the national uprising;

in various towns in Serbia he made speeches inciting people to fight against the Movement of National Liberation, and in the newspaper »Novo Vreme« he wrote articles in the same spirit and praised national socialism.

3) The accused *Velibor Jonić.*

immediately after the capitulation of Yugoslavia he entered the service of the German invader, and on July 10, 1941, was appointed commissar of education in Nedić's government, and at the end of 1941, was appointed minister of education, keeping this post until the flight of the Nedić government from the country; as commissar of education and later minister of education he was the direct organizer and leader of the policy of the introduction of fascism into schools and cultural institutions, persecuted and dismissed from their posts progressive and anti-fascist teachers and expelled pupils; ordered the division of pupils in secondary and technical schools into A, B and C categories, the B category including »nationally unreliable« pupils who were expelled from school without the right to take examinations or continue their schooling, after which they were arrested and sent to a camp; by his order the system of spying and delation was introduced into the schools and both teachers and pupils were obliged to carry it out;

On his initiative a decree was adopted introducing a police regime into the university, while short term courses were organized for members of the Serbian State Guard and Serbian Volunteer Corps, in order to bring the greatest possible number of students into these treacherous formations;

He organized the youth camp at Smederevska Palanka, calling it the Institute for the compulsory education of youth, and young men, considered as »incorrigible«, were handed over, by his orders, to the special police, while a certain number were drafted into the Serbian State Guard, Serbian Volunteer Corps and the Četniks of the accused Mihailović;

As a well-known sympathizer of fascism, he maintained throughout the occupation the closest contact with leading German personalities, such as Benzler, Neubacher, Turner, Feine and others, and as one of Nedić's closest collaborators he constantly proposed stricter measures against those who were considered unreliable by Nedić's government, and actively participated in the publication of the shameful »Appeal to the Serbian People«, issued on August 13, 1941;

With the help of the Germans, he organized the »anti-communist exhibition« at Kolarac Popular University and »anti-communist courses« which were directed against the Movement of National Liberation, and in various towns in Serbia held a series of speeches and lectures which were published in the daily press.

In addition to this, he published in Nedić's newspapers »Novo Vreme« (New Time) and »Srpski Narod« (The Serbian People) about a hundred articles in which he glorified national socialism, and under the slogan »order and peace« called upon the people to show servile obedience to the invader;

He participated in the drawing up of the plan for the creation of Greater Serbia, and in doing so worked for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the disunion of her peoples;

Before the flight of Nedić's government from Serbia, he was appointed Nedić's deputy for the coordination of work, and in this capacity, and authorized by Nedić, he organized a meeting which was attended, besides himself, by Kosta Mušicki, General Radovanović of Nedić's army, Bećarević, the Chief of a Department of the Special Police, General Jonić of Nedić's army, Ivan Pavlović (Đoka), commander of Draža Mihailović Četniks and Saša Mihailović, at which the following agreement was concluded: that all Nedić and Četnik units in Belgrade should unite and place themselves under a single command and, after the withdrawal of the Germans from Belgrade, they should stage the »taking« of Belgrade.

4) The accused *Đura Dokić:*

as army general of the former Yugoslav Army, repudiating his oath of allegiance to his Fatherland and the glorious traditions of the ancient Serbian Army, became minister of transport in Nedić's government, and throughout the occupation, under the instructions

and orders of the German invader, directed the establishing, maintaining and securing of transport, which was of exceedingly great importance for the German war effort;

Towards the end of 1941, and the beginning of 1942, he ordered that an investigation should be carried out concerning the transport personnel who had been working on the territory of West Serbia when it was liberated by the Partisans, and as a result of this investigation, discharged several hundred officials, a large number of whom were sent to concentration camps; in addition to this he dismissed from service transport officials who were sympathizers of the National Liberation Movement, although he knew that the dismissed officials would be sent to concentration camps.

He wrote articles and delivered speeches in which he urged submission to the invader and incited the people to commit crimes.

5) The accused *Kosta Mušicki:*

in September 1941, he was appointed commander of the »Serbian Volunteers Corps« and formed from the Ljotić and other fascist elements 10 detachments with which he engaged in joint operations with the Germans against the Partisan detachments in Serbia. One of these detachments, under the command of Marisav Petrović, acted with the Germans in the shooting of about 7.000 men at Kragujevac, in October 1941;

Towards the end of November 1941, as commander of the so-called United Serbian Forces, he took part in a German punitive expedition on the liberated territory in West Serbia, and after his arrival at Čačak carried, together with the Germans, arrests and shooting of the citizens;

In December 1942, when the »Serbian Volunteers Command« was re-organized as the »Serbian Volunteers Corps«, as commander of this corps, supplied with arms and war equipment by the Germans and directly under the German Military Commander of Serbia, he led actions against Partisan detachments in Serbia, Sandžak and Montenegro, and he carried out the blockading of villages, investigations of the area, mass arrests, deportation of the people to the concentration camps, forcible mobilization, murders, plunders and other crimes;

In collaboration with the Germans, he took part in operations against the Army of National Liberation and the Red Army, in the battle for the liberation of Belgrade, and in April and May 1945, he joined with the Germans and the Četniks of the accused Mihailović in actions against the Yugoslav Army in the battles for the liberation of Slovenia and the Slovene Littoral;

In the Slovene Littoral, with the aid of Ljotić and the Gestapo, he organized espionage-terrorist groups called Commandos, who had been sent by German planes and by other means to the liberated regions of the country, with the object of carrying out espionage, diversionary and terrorist acts, which they did.

6) The accused *Boško Pavlović:*

as a high police official of former Yugoslavia, after the occupation he entered the service of the Germans as chief of the Department of the Police Armed Forces in the Commissariat of the Interior, with the post of deputy commissar, and in that capacity established the police apparatus in Serbia;

In October 1941, at Kragujevac, in collaboration with the Germans, he took part in the arresting and imprisoning of 7000 citizens of Kragujevac, whom the Germans shot;

From November 1941, until the beginning of 1944, he was Deputy Commander of the Serbian State Guards, which throughout the war fought side by side with the Germans against the Partisans, and committed countless crimes against the people and as such, he is jointly responsible for the crimes committed by them;

From July 1944, until the flight of Nedić's government, he was state secretary in the cabinet of Milan Nedić and in this post, following on the agreement concluded between Nedić and the accused Mihailović, he organized the delivery of 10.000 rifles and large quantities of other war material, supplied by the Germans, to the Četniks.

VI

THE ACCUSED LAZAR MARKOVIĆ AND KOSTA KUMANUDI:

in August 1941, in Belgrade, they attended the conference organized by the Gestapo through Milan Aćimović, from which was issued under their signature and that of many others the »Appeal to the Serbian People« published on August 13, 1941. In this »Appeal« they urged upon the Serbian People submission to the invader and the merciless annihilation of everybody who resisted him, and thus they incited the people to commit crimes against those who rose in their masses against the invader;

Towards the end of August 1941, they attended a conference, also organized by the Gestapo through Milan Aćimović, at which Milan Nedić was chosen as president of the government and his nomination submitted to the Germans, and thus they helped the invader in establishing the quisling administration in Serbia, in this way supporting the occupation.

The accused *Lazar Marković,* in addition to this:

during the occupation wrote the pamphlet »The Croats and Their Behaviour«, in which he attacked the Croat people with criminal determination, throwing upon them the whole responsibility for the horrible crimes committed by Pavelić's Ustašas against the Serbs — that is, he wrote a pamphlet whose object was to sow hatred between the Serbian and the Croat people;

During the occupation he wrote the pamphlet »New and Old« in which he slandered the National Liberation Movement, calling it the »Ustaša-Croat Movement, led by the Bolshevik Partisan Firm«, i. e., he wrote a pamphlet with the aim of destroying the unity of the Serbian and Croat peoples in the struggle against the invader;

At the beginning of September, 1944, on the eve of the final liberation of Belgrade, he formed, with his own sympathizers and followers of the accused Mihailović, »the Belgrade representative committee« with the object of helping, during the withdrawal of the Germans from Belgrade, the accused Mihailović and his Četnik bands to enter Belgrade and to stage the liberation of the capital; and with that end in view he wrote a »memorandum« which was to be sent to the Allies; after the liberation, persevering in his antinational work he wrote a »Declaration of united Serbian Parties« in which he slandered the people's authority, demanded demobilization of the army and protection for the traitors in emigration, and all with the purpose of undermining the people's authority and the defensive capacity of the State.

By the above mentioned actions the accused: Mihailović, Moljević, Žujović, Topalović, Vilović, Radić, Vranješević, Glišić, Slobodan Jovanović, Purić, Ninčić, Živković, Radoje Knežević, Gavrilović, Živan Knežević, Fotić, Dragomir Jovanović, Dinić, Jonić, Dokić, Mušicki and Pavlović have committed criminal acts of treason and war crimes as defined under article 3, items 3, 4 and 6 of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the People and the State, and the accused Mihailović, Vranješević and Mušicki have also committed the criminal acts of organizing armed bands with the purpose of the forcible overthrow of the existing State order as defined under article 3, item 7 of the same law; the accused Marković and Kumanudi have committed criminal acts of treason and war crimes under Article 3, items 3 and 6 of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the People and the State, and the accused Marković has also committed a criminal act defined in Article 2 of the Law prohibiting the provocation of national, racial and religious hatred and dissension.

For the acts enumerated above, and in accordance with the mentioned prescriptions of the law and Article 4 of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the people and the State; and the accused Kumanudi on the basis of Article 6/I of the same law; of Article 5 of the Law concerning Criminal Acts against the People and the State in connection with Article 16 of the Law concerning Nationality of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and Articles 1, 3, 5 and 6 of the Law concerning the Kinds of Punishment — the Court sentences the accused as follows:

1. **Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights and confiscation of entire property;

2. **Stevan Moljević** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights, except parental rights, for 10 years, and to confiscation of entire property. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from September 3, 1945, when he was arrested;

3. **Mladen Žujović** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship;

4. **Živko Topalović** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 10 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

5. **Đuro Vilović** sentenced to 7 years imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 3 years and confiscation of entire property. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from September 3, 1945, when he was arrested;

6. **Radoslav-Rade Radić** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship;

7. **Slavoljub Vranješević** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights, except parental rights, for 10 years, and confiscation of entire property. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from September 20, 1945, when he was arested;

8. **Miloš Glišić** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

9. **Slobodan Jovanović** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 10 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

10. **Božidar Purić** sentenced to 16 years imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 10 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

11. **Momčilo Ninčić** sentenced to 8 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 5 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

12. **Petar Živković** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship.

13. **Radoje Knežević** sentencend to 10 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 5 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

14. **Milan Gavrilović** sentenced to 15 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 8 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

15. **Živan Knežević** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 10 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

16. **Konstantin Fotić** sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, subsequent loss of political and civic rights for 10 years, confiscation of entire property and loss of citizenship. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from the date of his arrest;

17. **Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

18. **Tanasije Dinić** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

19. **Velibor Jonić** sentenced to be shot , with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

20. **Đuro Dokić** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire propetry;

21. **Kosta Mušicki** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

22. **Boško Pavlović** sentenced to be shot, with permanent loss of political and civic rights, and confiscation of entire property;

23. **Lazar-Laza Marković** sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights, except parental rights, for 3 years, and confiscation of entire



During the reading of the verdict (from left to right): Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, Stevan Moljević, Đura Vilović, Radoslav-Rade Radić, Slavoljub Vranješević, Miloš Glišić, Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, Tanasije-Tasa Dinić, Velibor Jonić, Đura Dokić, Kosta Mušicki, Boško Pavlović, Lazar-Laza Marković and Kosta Kumanudi.

property. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from September 2, 1945, when he was arrested;

24. **Kosta Kumanudi** sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment with hard labour, with subsequent loss of political and civic rights, except parental rights for 2 years, and confiscation of entire property. The sentence of imprisonment with hard labour will run from March 3, 1946, when he was arrested.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE VERDICT

After reading the verdict, President of the Court, Đorđević, gave the following oral justification.

On April 6, 1941, the German and Italian conquerors, with their satellites Bulgaria and Hungary, attacked Yugoslavia treacherously and suddenly. Because of the treason and cowardice of the military and civil authorities at that time, the fascist conquerors succeeded in occupying Yugoslavia in less than ten days, and almost without meeting with any resistance. The peoples of Yugoslavia were then faced with the alternative: either to reconcile themselves to slavery and gradual annihilation, or to seek salvation and liberty in an armed struggle.

Led by their best sons, the peoples of Yugoslavia resolved to enter into armed struggle for their salvation and liberation from the yoke of the fascist invaders. At the call of the Communist party of Yugoslavia, which called all patriots, regardless of their political, national and religious differences, to armed struggle against the invaders the people rose in all districts in the struggle for freedom. The first to rise in arms were the people in Serbia and Montenegro, then in Bosnia and Hercegovina, then in Dalmatia and other parts of Croatia, and in Slovenia and Macedonia. In incessant struggles against the incomparably stronger enemy, the Army of National Liberation and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia were created, grew, and gathered strength, dealing the invader heavier and heavier blows. Instead of obedient slaves to be used for labour in the factories and mines, and as cannon fodder at the fronts, the invaders found in the peoples of Yugoslavia a bitter and resolute enemy against whom they were forced to use tens of their own and satellite divisions, which they would have otherwise used at the fronts against the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America. The liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia served as in example to all peoples enslaved by the fascist conquerors, and spread the glory of our peoples throughout the whole world.

In the fight against the liberation uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, a handful of reactionaries and traitors to their own country, guided by their narrow and selfish interests, joined the invader and placed themselves at his service, hoping, by his help, to suppress the general national uprising and establish a regime of dictatorship and national oppression, and to accomplish the extermination of certain nationalites in some parts of Yugoslavia.

While the chief and the most urgent task of the general national liberation movement was the struggle against the invader, the struggle for national liberation; for the traitors of our country, hirelings and assistants of the invader the most urgent task was the supression and annihilation of the national liberation rising through the help of the invader, and the annihilation of every one who rose

against the invader. Their most urgent task was the struggle for the maintenance of the occupation.

That was the general line of action, during the occupation, of all the traitors and the hirelings and assistants of the invaders. Such also was the general line of action of all these servants and assistants of the invader who are now sentenced.

The more the liberation struggle spread and grew in strength and the more new patriots — conscious that the only good and possible way was the one followed by the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia — joined the National Liberation Movement, the more open became the cooperation of all the traitors of our country with the invader, and the closer grew the mutual collaboration and union of all hirelings and assistants of the invaders. Together in a united front on the side of the invader in the struggle against the rising for liberation were Nedić's troops, Ljotić's troops, Pavelić's Ustašas, the Slovene "White Guard", Mihailović's Četniks, and the greater part of the Yugoslav emigrants with the government and the king at their head, a great majority of reactionary politicians, from the executives of former political parties, such as the Democrat party, the Radical party, the Agrarian party, the Socialist party, the Yugoslav National party, the former Slovene parties, associated in the "Slovene Union", and other hirelings and assistants of the invaders. All these, each in his way, waged a struggle against those who rose in the liberation struggle against the invader; thus, in the interest of Germans, Italians, Bulgarians and Hungarians, they fanned the flames of the fratricidal war. These traitors impeded to a great extent the liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the invader, for the peoples of Yugoslavia, while fighting against the invader had at the same time to fight against all the traitors of our country, against hirelings and assistants of the invader.

In the struggle against the liberation movement, the traitors spared considerable forces to the invaders; otherwise the invaders would have been obliged to draw extra forces from other allied fronts and throw them into the struggle against the liberation uprising, thus adding them to the forces which they already kept in Yugoslavia. Thus the servants and assistants of the invaders, by fighting against the National Liberation movement, weakened the war effort of Yugoslavia, at the same time doing enormous harm to the general Allied fight against the fascist conquerors. If there had been no traitors in our country, the contribution of Yugoslavia to the general Allied victory would have been still greater.

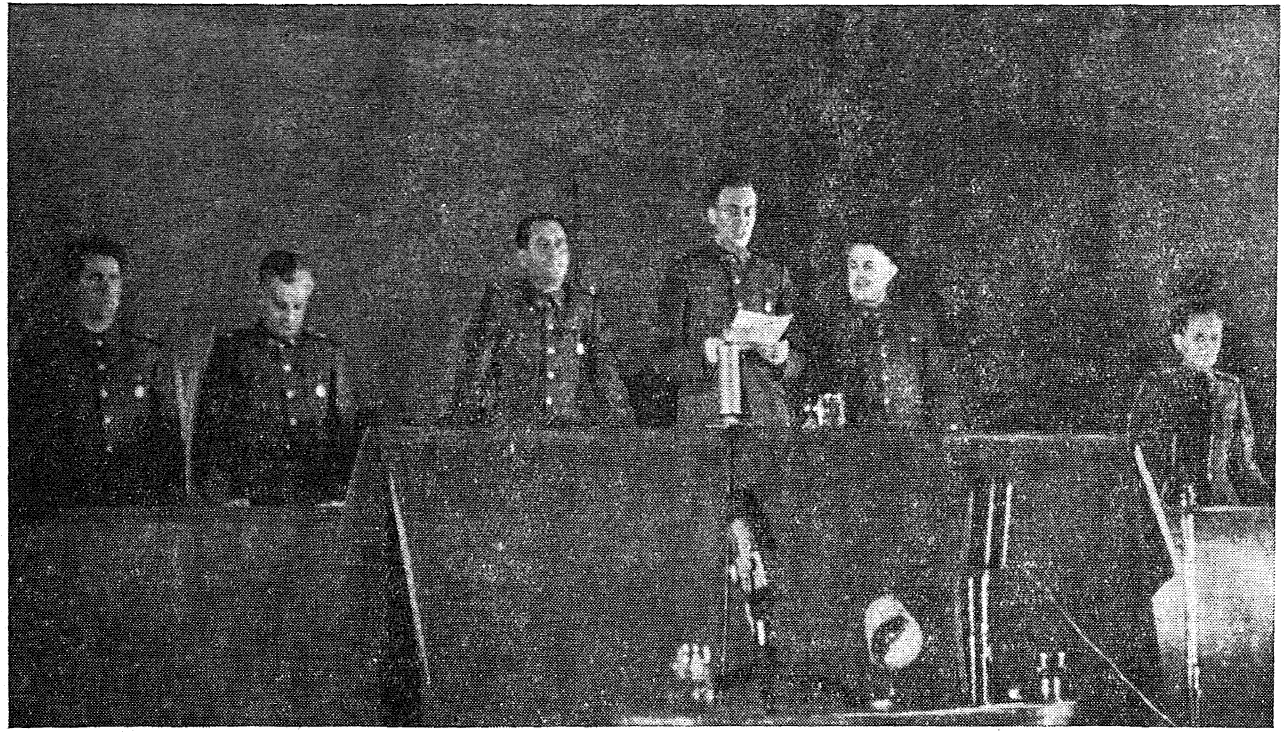
Such was the traitorous work of all the hirelings and assistants of the invaders. Such was the work of all these sentenced.

In order to mask and justify their cooperation with the invader, and in order to mislead a part of our people to follow the road of fratricidal war all the accused, during the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the invader, tried to justify their treason by false pretexts that they were waging a war against communists, and that by their struggle against the liberation movement they were saving Serbian heads, saving the Serbian people from extermination. The falsity of the slogans about the struggle against communists and about saving Serbian heads were best revealed by war crimes perpetrated by the traitors, hirelings and assistants of the invaders. The war crimes show that the traitors were annihilating not only the communists, but every one who rose in the struggle against the invader, or in any way helped the liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and in some parts of Yugoslavia, they exterminated entire populations.

Even before the Court, all the accused emphasized in their defence that in their traitorous work they were guided by patriotic motives, and alleged that they desired to save the Serbs from extermination and reprisals by the invaders.

However, as the Serbian people were the first to rise in the struggle against the invaders, the hirelings and assistants of the invaders directed their greatest efforts against the Serbian people. From the very beginning of the general national liberation uprising in Serbia, there fought against this rising, and placed themselves on the side of the invaders, Nedić and Ljotić, as well as Mihailović with his Četniks, the Yugoslav emigrant government and all other reactionaries and enemies of the Serbian people, although they all knew that the rising was not only the action of the communists, but of the broad masses of the Serbian people, who had risen in the struggle for liberty. And afterwards, during the whole of the occupation, all these traitors, each in his own way, helped the invader in suppressing the liberation struggle of the Serbian people. And while some were annihilating, not only the communists, but also thousands and thousands of other Serbian patriots who were fighting against the invader or in any way helping the liberation struggle, others gave them moral and political support and encouragement and incited them still more in their traitorous and criminal action.

Thus the false saviours of the Serbian people caused the greatest losses and sufferings to that very Serbian people in the most difficult days of its history, when it was shedding its blood for its



Members of the Council of the Court during the reading of the verdict: Major Nikola Stanković, judge; Major Radomir Ilić, judge; Lieutenant-Colonel Milija Laković, judge; Colonel Mihailo Đorđević, the presiding judge; Lieutenant-Colonel Mihailo Janković, judge; and Lieutenant Todor Popadić, secretary.

existence and liberty; they thus caused inestimable harm to the liberation struggle of all the peoples of Yugoslavia; and some of them, such as Mihailović and his Četniks, were annihilating Moslems, as well as Serbs and Croats, thus fanning the chauvinist hatred and fratricidal struggle between the Serbian people and the other peoples of Yugoslavia, in order to separate for ever the brotherly peoples of Yugoslavia.

Mihailović, the members of the emigrant government, the members of the so called Central National Committee, and the Četnik commanders, especially distinguished themselves among the accused, by their attempt to hide their traitorous action by spreading propaganda that they were on the side of the Allies, and that they wanted to fight against the invader, but that they were only waiting for an opportune moment to do so. By their false propaganda they wanted to hide from public opinion in Allied countries their cooperation with the invader, to deceive a part of the population inside the country, to preserve the legality and continuity of the emigrant government in the eyes of the Allies, and lastly, by their false allegations that they were fighting against the communists, they wanted to create abroad the false impression that in Yugoslavia there was no liberation struggle against the invader but only a civil war, and on the basis of this they tried to justify their cooperation with the enemy.

From October 1941, till January 1945, Mihailović had British and American military representatives with his General Staff. Through these military representatives and through the Yugoslav emigrant government he was for a long time getting moral, political and material help, in spite of the fact that at the same time he was receiving help in arms and other war equipment from the German and Italian invaders.

The British and American officers with the Staff of the accused Mihailović, by pushing him into the struggle against the communists, were in fact inciting him to cooperate with the invader in the struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia. The conduct of these officers was an expression of the policy of certain reactionary circles abroad, who wanted to direct political developement in Yugoslavia and the Balkans according to their own interest, and not in the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and other Balkan peoples.

The help which the accused Mihailović was getting from abroad made it easier for him to hide his cooperation with the invader from the national masses and enabled him to hold out for so long. If it had not been for the help from abroad, the peoples of

Yugoslavia would have annihilated much sooner and with much smaller losses Mihailović and the whole of his organization, as ordinary collaborators of the fascist invaders.

Mihailović also distinguished himself by his cooperation with quisling military and political circles in various reactionary groups of the neighbouring countries: Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary, on the basis of the common struggle against the liberation movement of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the liberation movement in the neighbouring countries. On that basis Mihailović established contact and cooperated with Zervas in Greece, Muharem Barjaktar and other traitors of the Albanian people, with generals of the Bulgarian occupying forces, such as Stančev, Malinov and other higher officers, and with Bulgarian politicians such as Gemet, Velčev, Ginovski and others, with the Hungarian general Usjszaszy and the quisling minister Kálay and also with the representatives of Antonescoe's General Staff, the Iron Guard and Maniu.

In spite of all the attempts of the invaders and their hirelings and helpers to suppress the liberation rising in Yugoslavia, the peoples of Yugoslavia emerged from that great and terrible struggle as victors, and created their new common State, the brotherly commonwealth of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

In the light of these historical facts, which were confirmed at this trial, the Court has judged the gravity of the criminal acts and of the criminal responsibility of all the accused.

On the basis of numerous written documents and depositions of witnesses and also complete or partial admissions of the accused, and taking into account universally known facts, the Court has come to the conclusion that all the accused did in fact commit all the criminal acts described in this verdict and that they are criminally responsible.

The court has also duly considered the defence of the accused and has found that:

The defence of the accused Mihailović is, that he did not cooperate with the invader in the struggle against the liberation uprising of the peoples of Yugoslavia and that he did not support the occupation, that he did not order his commanders and organizations to commit war crimes, that he did not organize terrorist bands and that he did not order the perpetration of terrorist acts and, finally, that in his organization he had no influence on his commanders and that they did what they liked.

But it has been confirmed that the accused Mihailović cooperated with the invader and supported the ocupation system.

As early as August, 1941, the accused Mihailović concluded an agreement with the quisling Nedić, who was openly a servant of the German invader in the suppression of the national liberation rising in Serbia and in the establishment of peace and order, which were so necessary to the invader. This was partially admitted by the accused Mihailović. It is also confirmed by the written deposition of Nedić given to the examining magistrate, which was read at the trial.

On November 1, 1941, the accused Mihailović ordered his Četniks to attack the Partisans at Užice, and immediately after this he ordered a general attack by all Četnik forces against the Partisans, with the intention of annihilating the main body of the Partisan forces which were fighting against the invader, and of suppressing the rising of the Serbian people, at the time when the invaders were carrying out their First Offensive against the rising in Serbia. The Court was convinced of this also by the deposition of the witness, Radosav Đurić, and also by the deposition of the accused Glišić.

During the general attack on the Partisans, on the night of November 13, 1941, the accused Mihailović met in the village of Divci, near Valjevo, the representatives of the German military commander for Serbia, and on that same night his Četniks delivered to the Germans in the village of Slovac, near Divci, 360 Partisans, whom the Četniks of the accused Mihailović had taken prisoner and conducted from the Ravna Gora to Slovac. Of this the Court was convinced by the partial admission of the accused Mihailović and by the deposition of the witness Darinka Marić-Popović, and as regards the delivery of the Partisans to the Germans, by the deposition of Živko Lalović and Branislav Popović, who were in the group of the delivered Partisans, and also from the deposition at the Court by the witness Jovan Škava.

In December 1941, Mihailović ordered his commanders to legalize themselves, that is, to put themselves publicly and openly in the service of the Germans, under the command of the traitor Nedić. Of this the Court was convinced by the letter of Captain Raković, which was read at the trial, and in which Raković informs Mihailović that he has executed this order and legalized himself, acting on the instructions given at the meeting held on November 30, 1941. The Court was also convinced of this by the deposition of the accused Glišić which he gave when confronted with Mihailović, who affirmed that, at a meeting in a village in the Takovo District in December 1941, Mihailović personally ordered him to legalize himself.

It has been confirmed that Mihailović, personally, and through other commanders, especially through Ostojić, directed the opera-

tions of the Četnik forces in which, from January till the midlle of April 1943, they cooperated with Germans, Italians and Ustašas in the Fourth Enemy Offensive against the units of the Army of National Liberation, and helped the invader to regain the territory liberated by that army. This was partially admitted by Mihailović himself, and it has been confirmed by numerous original telegrams and letters exchanged between the accused Mihailović and his commanders Lukačević, Đurišić and others.

It has been confirmed that during 1944 the accused Mihailović met once Neubacher, German representative for the South-East, and twice Neubacher's delegate, Starker. Colonel McDowell, of the American Army, was present at this meeting; and he also met twice Starker and the German agent, Aćimović, in Bosnia, in 1945.

All this was admitted by the accused Mihailović, and of the meeting with Neubacher the Court was convinced during the trial, through the deposition of the witness Vlada Jovanović.

In 1944, Mihailović personally, and in accordance with his instructions, his commanders also, met Nedić, Ljotić, and the Ustašas. Mihailović, admitted that he met Nedić in 1944, when it was agreed to give help to Mihailović. In connection with this his commander Raković was sent to Belgrade to receive the help specified by the agreement with Nedić, and through Boško Pavlović 30.000 rifles, equipment, clothes etc, were delivered to Mihailović's organization. The Court satisfied itself of the truth of this by all these facts and instructions, by letters and telegrams and by a letter sent to Pavelić through Brašić, a lawyer; and Dragi Jovanović and Boško Pavlović testified as to the delivery of the above mentioned material.

It has been confirmed that all the commanders of the accused Mihailović and all his Četnik formations cooperated with the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupyng troops, during the whole of the occupation, in armed struggles against the Army of National Liberation and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, receiving all that time arms, ammunition, food and other supplies from the invader, with the object of suppressing the liberation rising and of helping the maintenance of the invader's regime. All this has been admitted by the accused Mihailović, and it has all been confirmed by numerous telegrams, letters, orders and reports of Mihailović's commanders, read during the trial. It has been ascertained that Mihailović's commanders cooperated with the invaders on the orders from the accused Mihailović. Of this the Court became convinced through Mihailović's original telegrams read at the trial, in which he orders his commanders to cooperate discreetly with the invader, to utilize the

invader, to establish contact with the invader for the purpose of getting arms and ammunition from him and of coordinating operations mith him. That the accused Mihailović, contrary to the statements of his defence, ordered his commanders to commit war crimes: the killing of Partisans taken prisoner, arson, looting, massacre of the civil population etc, the Court is convinced, through numerous original telegrams of the accused Mihailović, in which he ordered his commanders to attack, annihilate and exterminate everyone who in any way helped the Partisans, and particularly to exterminate the Moslems and the Croats. Numerous written documents and telegrams show that the commanders executed Mihailović's orders. Thus, for instance, the Court is convinced that the crimes committed by Mihailović's Četniks in the villages of Vranić, Drugovci and Boleč, and in the Bijelopolje, Čajniče, Foča and Plevlje districts, on which full light has been thrown during the trial, by means of written documents and depositions of witnesses who survived, were perpetrated at the direct orders of Mihailović. That the commanders of the accused Mihailović and his Četnik formations acted on his orders, and not on their own initiative and against the will of the accused Mihailović, has been proved by numerons original telegrams already mentioned, and by the written reports of Mihailović's commanders in which they informed him that they had executed his orders. That the accused Mihailović organized bands for terrorist diversionary acts, and that he issued orders to them towards the end of the war to perform terrorist acts, and that these bands became ordinary bands of highway robbers who attacked trains, committed murders, looted private property and killed members of the people's committees, is confirmed by the admission of the accused Mihailović that he founded a school of so called commandos, that is, a school for terrorist bands, and that he sent these bands to execute terrorist acts on the terrain, and that he received and sent to Serbia the espoinage and terrorist group of Gašparević, sent by the Gestapo in Vienna, and that to that group he attached a group of his own, under the command of his commander, Topalović. This is also confirmed by the deposition of the accused Vranješević who, confronted with the accused Mihailović, affirmed that the latter ordered him first orally and then in writing, in spring 1941, to form small terrorist groups and to attack trains, kill members of the people's committees and perform other terorrist acts.

And all the other acts described in the indictment, for which Mihailović was criminally responsible and has been sentenced, prove

that Mihailović's defence is founded on untruth, and the Court has therefore rejected it as such.

The counsel for the defence of the accused Mihailović alleged at the trial that the accused Mihailović did not personally cooperate with the invader, and that he cannot be held responisible for the cooperation of his commanders with the enemy. But it has been proved by original telegrams and letters of the accused Mihailović, and by his admission regarding his meetings with the Germans and Nedić, that he personally cooperated with the invader, and that also, through his commanders, he concluded agreements of cooperation with the invader, and therefore the above mentioned assertion of the Counsel for the Defence has been rejected as unfounded.

Dragić Joksimović, lawyer, Counsel for the Defence of the accused Mihailović, maintained that the accused Mihailović did not commit integral treason against the people by cooperating with the invader in the struggle against the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but that he only committed treason against the Partisans. If the Court had accepted this statement of Mr. Joksimović, it would actually be justifying the cooperation of the accused Mihailović with the invader and condoning this treason against the people, for Mr. Joksimović, in putting forward the defence that Mihailović did not commit full treason, but only treason against a part of the people, the part which fought against the invader, is in fact defending those who not only did not fight against the invader, but supported the invader and his regime. It means that he is defending that small number of those who found themselves in the traitorous organization of the accused Mihailović and in the organizations of other hirelings and assistants of the invader. The Court could not take the view of Mr. Joksimović, and justify support of the invader, or cooperation with the invader against the peoples of Yugoslavia, and has therefore rejected Mr. Joksimović's argument.

Mr. Joksimotić maintained that the accused Mihailović fought against the liberation rising for ideological reasons, that is, that the accused Mihailović was an upholder of one ideology and the National Liberation movement of another, and that therefore the struggle of the accused Mihailović against the liberation movement was based on a conflict of ideologies. He also maintained that the accused Mihailović was the only legal representative recognised by the legal government, and that the national liberation movement was illegal. Because of all this, he maintained that the accused Mihailović could not be considered guilty of treason against the people and the state.

The Court did not accept the arguments of M. Joksimović, because the cooperation of the acused Mihailović with the invader in maintaining the regime of occupation and in suppressing the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia has been proved, and therefore any defence of Mihailović's traitorous action based on ideological reasons is in reality a defence of the ideology of maintenance of the occupation, of supporting the system of enslavement of the peoples of Yugoslavia, a defence of the ideology of treason against the fatherland, as in reality and by its essence Mihailović's ideology was.

The fact emphasized by the Counsel for the Defence of the accused Mihailović that the latter was a member of the legal emigrant government and that that government proclaimed Mihailović to be its only legal representative, approving fully of his action and assisting him with all the means at its disposal, shows only that the emigrant government was also supporting the regime of the occupation and helping the invaders in suppressing the liberation rising of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and therefore it in no way excludes the criminal responsibilty of the sentenced Mihailović."

After presenting the argumentation for the criminal responsibility of each of the sentenced persons, the President of the Court concluded as follows:

"By pronouncing this verdict the Court considers itself to be a faithful interpreter of the national feeling for justice and equity, and that by the stigmatization of treason against the fatherland it has remained consistent to the agelong freedom-loving traditions of our peoples, who from time immemorial esteemed liberty above everything, and treason against the fatherland as the gravest crime.

Death to Fascism — Liberty to the People."

(At the conclusion of the speech of the President of the Court, there was enthusiastic applause, and shouts of »Long live the People's Court«).

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE FEDERATIVE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA REJECTS THE APPEAL FOR MERCY OF THE TRAITORS AND WAR CRIMINALS SENTENCED TO DEATH

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia at its meeting on July 16, 1946, considered the pleas for mercy submitted by those sentenced to death; namely: Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović personally; by the Counsel for Defence of Mladen Žujović; by Radoslav-Rade Radić personally; by Miloš Glišić personally; by the Counsel for Defence of Petar Živković; by Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović personally; by Tanasije-Tasa Dinić personally; by Velibor Jonić personally; by Đura Đokić personally; by Kosta Mušicki personally and by Boško Pavlović — and has decided to reject the appeals for mercy of the above mentioned persons.

EXECUTION OF THE DEATH SENTENCE ON DRAGOLJUB-DRAŽA MIHAILOVIĆ AND OTHER TRAITORS AND WAR CRIMINALS

Belgrade, July 17, 1946

After the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia had rejected the appeals for mercy of the traitors and war criminals who were sentenced to death, the death sentence was executed on Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, Radoslav-Rade Radić, Miloš Glišić, Dragomir-Dragi Jovanović, Tanasije-Tasa Dinić, Velibor Jonić, Đura Đokić, Kosta Mušicki and Boško Pavlović.

NOTE ON THE PRONOUNCIATION OF YUGOSLAV NAMES

Most letters of the Yugoslav alphabet are pronounced as in English.

The English equivalents of those letters of the Yugoslav alphabet which by their sound or form differ from the English are as follows:

Yugoslav alphabet	English pronounciation
a	as a in father
e	e (pet)
i	i (machine)
o	o (Olivia)
u	oo (fool) or u (rule)
c	ts (lots)
ć	tch
č	ch (church)
dž	j (John)
đ	j
g	g (go)
j	y (yacht)
lj	ly or as li in million
nj	ny or as n in new
š	sh or as s in ship
ž	zh or as s in pleasure

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